

**Education Aid & National Interest:  
A Study of British and American  
National Security and Education  
Aid Strategies 2010 – 2015**

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**Abstract**

The adaptation of the Millennium Development Goals and Education for All targets in 2000 highlighted the importance of education in development efforts. Simultaneously, foreign aid has been increasingly securitized in the aftermath of the 9/11 terror attacks, raising concerns over the distribution of aid and the purpose of aid programs. This thesis adds to the securitization of foreign aid literature by examining the influence of national interest in the United Kingdom's and United States' education aid. The research is guided by a theoretical framework that combines the insights from Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism theories, conducting a mixed method analysis of the British and American education and national security strategies to identify their main motivations, and if their education aid efforts are based on national interest or altruism. The analysis of the four key policy documents, education aid documents, and interviews with government aid agency employees demonstrates an inherent connection between education aid and national interest.

**Key words:** *Education Aid, National Interest, Altruism, Securitization of Foreign Aid*

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**Declaration**

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of York. The material contained herein has not been published in any other form nor has it been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.



“Our moral responsibility is not to stop the future, but to shape it. To channel our destiny in humane directions and to ease the trauma of transition.”

*Alvin Toffler*

## Chapter 1 Introduction

Education is a key pillar in facilitating development. Several governmental policies and international declarations, such as the Education for All (2000) targets and the Millennium Development Goals (2000), have highlighted the importance of education. The Center for Global Development (2006) best sums up the rationale for emphasizing education in development efforts, explaining that education gives people the skills to help themselves, and positively impacts other sectors such as social development and health, economic growth, democracy and governance, social cohesion, state stability, and peace efforts. These are sentiments reiterated by both the British and American governments, who have highlighted education as the key tool in facilitating economic and social development both at home and abroad. In 2011, UNESCO published its Education for All Global Monitoring Report *the Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education*, raising concerns over the increasing securitization of foreign aid. It presented evidence that the fragile state discourse and state's security objectives have increasingly been influencing development efforts, especially in the aid allocation process, pointing to the fact that in 2007 – 2008, Afghanistan and Iraq received 38% of the development aid distributed (UNESCO, 2011, pp. 173 – 174). I read the report as part of my undergraduate degree, and it has continued to be a source of inspiration in my studies, being the initial inspiration that helped develop this thesis' research puzzle.

The influence of geostrategic objectives in aid allocation is not a new phenomenon. One need only look to the Marshall Plan, the Berlin Airlift, and other aid practices used to combat communism during the Cold War to see this. However, the 9/11 terror attacks and the subsequent War on Terror have again altered the aid allocation process, as well as the security and development discourse (Cosgrave, 2004). Thus, the progress made in the 1990s to bring human rights, poverty reduction, and social elements into the

development efforts have been inverted as security objectives have increasingly influenced foreign aid (Duffield, 2006, p. 14). The motivation and rationale for this study stem from these concerns, and is an attempt to narrow down the securitization of foreign aid literature, by examining the securitization of education aid.

In 2010, Britain and the United States simultaneously published their national security strategies and education strategies, both covering the same time period of 2010 to 2015. This presented a unique opportunity to examine and compare the British and American approaches to education aid, and identify to what extent security objectives and national interest influence their education aid, now almost a decade after the 9/11 terror attacks. These four policy documents are the key documents that represents and outlines their national interest and education discourse: The national security strategies outline the British and American security challenges and objectives, but it also represents their wider national interest and values. Similarly, the education strategies outline their education efforts and objectives, as well as their ideas and beliefs about the impact education has for society and development. Thus, they are the key documents for analyzing and identifying the securitization and influence of national interest in British and American education aid. Analyzed together with previous national security and education strategies, interviews with their respective aid agencies, as well as other governmental policy documents and academic literature, a clear picture of the securitization of education aid will be developed.

This chapter serves as an introduction for the research topic, and as a roadmap for the research process. The aim is to introduce the research puzzle and the parameters in which it operates, as well as present the research methodology utilized in examining the research puzzle. This chapter has six objectives. The *Research Puzzle* will discuss the

rationale for this research, as well as present the research questions. The *Foreign Aid: Philosophy to Practice* section will provide an overview of the context in which this research operates, as well as give a brief background to the evolution and philosophy of foreign aid. The methodological approach and research process will be outlined and discussed in *Research Methodology*. Furthermore, previous literature and key concepts relevant to this research will be presented, along with presenting the *Research Ethics and Considerations* relevant to this study. Additionally, the *Structure of the Thesis* will be outlined.

## **1.1 Research Puzzle**

The concept of providing development aid gained momentum following the Second World War, firstly to help Europe in its post-war reconstruction efforts and to support the newly independent nations (Easterly, 2008). Now, aid is given to struggling states all over the world, and with the establishment of the Millennium Development Goals (2000) and Sustainable Development Goals (2015), foreign aid has focused on education and health. Concurrently, following terrorist attacks and security threats as the world entered a new millennium, academics, practitioners, and everyday people held discussions about security in the Twenty-First Century (Murphy, 2010). During the last decade, academics and development practitioners have discussed the increasing securitization of foreign aid (Brown, 2015), and UNESCOs Education for All Global Monitoring Report (2011) raised several concerns regarding the increasing securitization of aid, which I find interesting since states simultaneously have increased their spending on social development measures, especially education aid (Anderson, 2015). According to Brown (2015), the security concerns have managed to permeate into foreign aid, influencing typically apolitical development measures. However, studies on the influence of securitization on specific aid sectors are few, including the

popular education aid sector, as previous studies have preferred to look at the whole umbrella instead of separating it. This thesis examines this interesting relationship between education aid, a social sector, and national interest, which is highly politicized and often driven by security concerns. The education aid sector is an especially interesting sector to research due to the impact and importance governments and non-governmental organizations place on education, this is especially due to the positive impact it has on economic development, democracy and governance, and health. According to OECD (2017) aid statistics, education is one of the largest aid sectors amongst official OECD donor countries. Every aid sector is unique, presenting their own set of potential positive impact and issues. However, the education aid stands out as a foreign aid sector due to the wide and long-term social and economic impact it can potentially have, which is the recurring reasoning outlined by governmental aid agencies and non-governmental organizations (Riddell & Nino-Zarazua, 2016; Tarnoff, 2016). The largest category for both British and American foreign aid was the education and health sector, with 20% of UK aid allotted to education and health, and 30% of US aid allocated to the education and health sector (OECD, 2017).

Developing states are often considered a breeding ground for conflict and terrorism, and as a result states have included international development as an important element of their foreign policies. While the world is dealing with security threats, some academics and organizations in the international community are promoting a plan termed 'sustainable development' as a potential solution. Brinkerhoff argues that "the current view of the developmental state can be encapsulated in the concept of good governance, in which the state connects to citizens, civil society, and the private sector in ways that enable socio-economic progress but also are characterized by accountability, transparency, responsiveness, participation, and equity" (Brinkerhoff, 2008, p. 987).

The key component here is a belief that development should be a long-term effort, and instead of providing monetary funds or short-term programs, donor states should invest in efforts that have a long-term impact in different sectors such as governance, infrastructure, education, and health, which is more sustainable. Similarly to other foreign aid sectors, education aid has specific and measurable outcomes, however, it differentiates itself from other sectors due to the generational and wide impact it can have (Tarnoff, 2016), and how it is continuously related to other aid sectors because of its potentially wide social and economic impact. This means that the findings are relevant to other aid sectors, because education aid objectives and outcomes are continuously linked to them. However, I find that the wide, and at time idealistic, discussion of education aids impact is exactly what makes it possible to generalize the findings, and simultaneously is the reason for why it should be done so with caution. While the findings indirectly finds that other foreign aid sectors are securitized, and supports previous findings by Brown and Gravingholt (2016) on the securitization of foreign aid, I would urge for research to be conducted on the specific sector, to identify if and how national interest has specifically impacted that foreign aid sector X.

The evolution into sustainable development can be attributed to the Millennium Development Goals (2000) and the Sustainable Development Goals (2015), designed to reduce poverty and promote development. Education was an important part of the goals, described as an essential component of human development (Greig et al., 2007, p. 36), and important in promoting sustainable human development. The reasoning for focusing on the education aid instead of other aid sectors, is the wide agreement the international community has on the wide and positive impact education aid has on other aid sectors. Qualitative research and statistical evidence claim education aid has a wide social and economic impact (Tarnoff, 2016), including positively influencing democracy and

governance, health, economic development, and peacebuilding. The securitization of a sector held in such high regards by the international community will present an interesting insight into the formulation of aid policies and help examine how security objectives can be mainstreamed into aid objectives.

The World Commission on Environment and Development (2006) refers to increasing poverty and hunger, as well as staggering numbers on people who cannot read or write, and a shortage of safe water, proper shelter, and fuel. Governmental security briefs tackle more than weapons and terrorist attacks, including development measures as a tactic to reduce security threats. The purpose of this research is to revisit the debate on donor motives and narrow down the securitization of foreign aid research. Aid objectives vary based on the needs of the recipient state, so naturally the allocation, effects and success<sup>1</sup> would be more correctly measured when done on a sectoral level. Using the same logic, identifying donor motives should also be done on a sectoral level. The international emphasis on development measures, such as education, while foreign aid is simultaneously being more securitized is interesting. This research is inspired by and building on the securitization of foreign aid literature, and by utilizing a content analysis to examine American and British education strategies and security strategies for the 2010 – 2015 period.

### **1.1.1 Research Questions**

Research on aid discourse and trends have identified a growing relationship between development and security since the end of the Cold War (Chandler, 2007). The debate

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<sup>1</sup> It is important to note, that while the allocation, benefits, and effectiveness of education aid is discussed, this research focuses on the motives for foreign governments to give education aid.

about the securitization of foreign aid gained momentum following 9/11, and research conducted by Brown and Gravingholt (2016) found that the language, aid recipient and the organization and objectives of foreign aid overlaps with the security interests of donor countries. Demirel-Pegg and Moskowitz (2009) explains that this overlap between security and development objectives is due to the argument that fragile states pose a security risk, by being a source of instability and terrorism, and providing foreign aid to fragile states will promote development, and in turn mitigate the security risks. The aim of this dissertation is to identify if national interest and the securitization of foreign aid influences the education aid policy discourse in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, and if the findings from previous research that British and American foreign aid has been securitized, has also influenced their education aid. The overarching research question this dissertation seeks to answer is:

**RQ1.** Have national interest and the securitization of foreign aid influenced the British and American education aid policy discourse, and if so, how?

Additionally, to further help guide the research and break down the different components of the main research question, this dissertation has two sub-research questions:

**RQ2.** What are the main national interest objectives of the United Kingdom and United States governments? How does Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism help explain these objectives?

**RQ3.** What reasonings does the British and American government give for providing education aid to underdeveloped countries? How does Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism help explain these reasonings?



The sub-research questions reflect different aspects of the main research question, and will help identify to what extent national interest impacts British and American foreign aid policies regarding education, if their education aid have been securitized, and assist the research in exploring the overlap between national interest objectives and education aid motivations.

## **1.2 Foreign Aid: Philosophy to Practice**

This research examines a specific sector of foreign aid, namely education aid, but it is important to have an understanding of the basics of the general field of foreign aid.

Later chapters will provide a review of previous literature and theories, as well as give a specific context and deeper insight to the research topic. This section will give a brief background to the development of foreign aid from a philosophical to practical perspective, discussing the founding philosophical perspective of foreign aid, and how it has evolved on a practical level since the Marshall Plan to current development efforts. This research is focused on education aid in the Twenty-First Century, but it is helpful for both the researcher and reader to understand how foreign aid has progressed since the Twentieth Century.

### **1.2.1 Philosophical Perspective**

Foreign aid is often treated as a capital creation tool, as it was originally designed to help fix capital deficits and stimulate economic growth. While aid has moved in a different direction to focus on development, it is the same fundamental principle that guides foreign aid theories and development theories, which is that capital is the key factor in development and economic growth (Easterly, 2008). Philosopher Adam Smith (1904) acknowledged the need for trade, specialization, and technical skills as important factors in achieving economic growth, but argued that capital was the key, as it would

achieve both economic growth and assist with the development in other areas. Political economist David Ricardo and Alfred Marshall furthered these sentiments. In his book *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, Ricardo (1821) argued that while accumulation of capital is important for economic growth, it has negative effects as well. When economic growth picks up, the profit will decline due to wages rising along with higher prices, which is a result of a growing population and greater use of land. Thus, economic growth will eventually end, resulting in a decline of capital accumulation and population growth. In the book *Principles of Economics*, Marshall (1920) noted the importance of capital and free trade as the key instruments for economic growth and development. However, Marshall also argued that both economic and non-economic factors will affect economic growth, listing natural resources, climate, human characters, and political freedom as causes that also influence economic growth and development.

Foreign aid is often discussed in the realm of economic development. This is not necessarily without good reason, but foreign aid goes beyond economics. While the early stages of foreign aid were focused on economics, foreign aid has developed to entail so much more. Simply focusing on economics fails to include the importance of indigenous efforts in the development process, and indigenous efforts is not something which can be imported. Development relies on both economic and non-economic factors. While capital, foreign exchange, and technical knowledge is crucial, a solution cannot be reached without dealing with poor human capital, a deficient infrastructure, harmful government policy, and hostile socio-cultural values (Alesina & Dollar, 2000; Balla & Reinhardt, 2008; Brech & Potrafke, 2013). Foreign aid can be imperative, especially when a nation does not have sufficient resources to mobilize to their potential; but to completely focus on economic aid would not be a sustaining or long-

term measure to deal with the domestic issues. In fact, it can have serious economic and political implications, such as aid dependency and the aid contributing to the persistence of the issues (Abuzeid, 2009; Moyo, 2009).

Development economist Peter Thomas Bauer is one of the foremost critics of foreign aid, having gone so far to argue that foreign aid has no positive correlation to growth and development. In *Dissent on Development* (1976), Bauer argues the determining factor for development comes from people's personal beliefs, social and political values, and economic attitudes and objectives, not from a flow of unearned foreign exchange. This is because of the differences between domestic and foreign capital, and due to the dependency and political strings foreign aid comes with. Nor does foreign aid help with the social, political, and cultural issues that have resulted in these deficiencies. These sentiments are also expressed in Bauer's other important works, including *Equality, the Third World, and Economic Delusion* (1982) and *Reality and Rhetoric: Studies in the Economics of Development* (1984). Bauer argues natural resources and external market opportunities are what help advance growth and development. In the context of the 1970s, Bauer uses the example of Belgium, which has little natural resources, but has made noteworthy progress in economic development by using opportunities presented by the external market. Perhaps the most vital criticism by Bauer and other economists is that foreign aid hampers learning and development of new skills, processes, and technology. Economist Joseph Schumpeter (1976) argued in the book *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* that growth and development is not based on the accumulation of capital, but rather entrepreneurship and innovation. By showing entrepreneurship and conquering new supply, materials, methods and products, Schumpeter argued it would result in long-term and sustainable growth and

development of states. This is still with a focus on economics, but it does look beyond accumulation of capital as being the simple answer to facilitating development.

These aforementioned theorists are all grounded in economics, in their praise and critique, but since the end of the Second World War, foreign aid has taken a new form that tries to look beyond just economic aid. As Kanbur et al. (1999) explains, the “primary goal was spurring economic growth. But over the years, our conception of development has changed. While growth is still viewed as essential to the development process, ‘development’ has become more focused over the years on poverty alleviation, and its definition has widened to include criteria such as ‘basic human needs’ (such as food, health, and education) and ‘capabilities’ (such as the ability to partake in the life of one’s community)” (Kanbur et al., 1999, p. 9). The impact of Schumpeter’s and Bauer’s arguments are still evident in foreign aid theories and practices today, however, with the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (2000), new development research and aid practices, foreign aid has evolved to consider long-term development, facilitating the advancement of new skills, innovation, and entrepreneurship. Non-economic factors such as cultural-institutional bottlenecks, social and educational obstructions, shortages of materials and skills, and the lack of technological innovations and entrepreneurship, combined with a rapid growth of population, are considered to be key factors that limit development and economic growth (Bearce & Tirone, 2010; Dalgaard et al., 2004; Easterly, 2008). These are the issues foreign aid and development programs now try to deal with, by focusing on a long-term process that help less-developed states overcome their deficiencies.

### 1.2.2 The Marshall Plan

Foreign aid is an effort in assisting other states achieve social and economic development. There have been major shifts in the foreign aid practice, especially noticeable and frequent shifts following the end of the Second World War (Easterly, 2008). The Marshall Plan, officially named the European Recovery Program, was a huge economic recovery assistance program launched by the United States to European states after the Second World War, designed to help alleviate low productivity and growth rates (Baldacci, 2005). Within a few years, the Marshall Plan produced great results; industrial production increased by 35%, and poverty and starvation rates were greatly alleviated (Hogan, 1989). While there is a debate as to what extent the Marshall Plan should be credited for the recovery of Europe, there is no question that the plan sped the recovery process. The Marshall Plan is hailed for its economic effects, but the plan also had great political outcomes. For example, it brought with it many structural changes to bring political stability and reduce discontent within the European continent. Perhaps more importantly for the United States, it also ensured that the communist influence within Europe was significantly curtailed and resulted in the subtle Americanization within European countries (Agnew & Entrikin, 2015; Mee Jr., 2015). In many ways, the effects of the Marshall Plan are what cemented the North-Atlantic alliance; an alliance still strong today.

The Marshall Plan is often hailed as the most successful foreign aid program, and has been used as a road map for other foreign aid program. It has become a metaphor for large scale aid programs aiming to fix specific social issues. However, there are significant reasons as to why the Marshall Plan was fit for Europe, and not necessarily for other continents (Agnew & Entrikin, 2015). As a result of the Second World War, Europe had a shortage of resources, food and capital, but it still had a healthy and well-

developed source of human capital and technological skills. The issues were not infrastructural; it was missing resources. In contemporary cases, the less-developed countries receiving aid have yet to build a solid infrastructural base. The Marshall Plan consisted almost entirely of food aid and a cheap supply of materials and capital, which was fitting for Europe in the post-war period, but for less-developed states with structural and social issues, a flow of unearned capital and materials will not solve the underlying issues (Hogan, 1989; Mee Jr., 2015). It might help alleviate some of the most visible challenges, but in the end, it will simply serve as a band aid on an open and blood gushing wound. This is perhaps why the 1990s brought along a plethora of research looking at the importance of education, governance, and health in facilitating development, which has continued to greatly influence the foreign aid and development discourse (Abuzeid, 2009; Gulrajani, 2011; Riddell, 2007).

### **1.2.3 The Development of Foreign Aid**

During the Cold War, US concerns centered around the spread of communism and security of Europe, and poverty was perceived to be a breeding ground for communism. These sentiments have been classified by some as a ‘geopolitical crusade’ to save the world from communism (Greig et al., 2007, pp. 70 – 71). With the political and military arms race, the US utilized grants, and the USSR used loans, during the 1950s and 1960s to bolster their distinctly different ideological values and influence around the world (Greig et al., 2007, pp. 70 – 71). During the 1970s, there was a rise of multilateral development assistance with organizations such as the United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and non-governmental organizations rising to prominence (Lancaster, 2007; Riddell, 2007). This was thanks to the growth of communication and technology, allowing for the easy spread of information and the ability to mobilize across borders. However, states, the traditional actors, still play a central role.

While remnants can still be found, foreign aid and the development discourse have continued to evolve since the Marshall Plan and Cold War rhetoric. The Report of the Independent Commission on International Development (1980), also referred to as the Brandt Report, was a solution-oriented analysis on the international economic issues, as well as suggestions on the future discourse of aid policies. The Brandt Report is a landmark document, advocating for a stronger emphasis on aid programs that have meaningful and mutually beneficial objectives (Brandt, 2002). Development research in the 1980s and 1990s echoed the sentiments from the report, looking at other influential factors to sustainable development and economic growth, including governance, education, human rights, and health (Pal, 2005) The World Conference on Education for All in 1990 and 2000, as well as the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (2000), highlighted the importance and need for education in development efforts, and education has continued to be a pillar of the development discourse (Goldstein, 2004). However, while the foreign aid discourse has expanded to look at other factors beyond economics, becoming more focused on human needs such as education, health and food security, governance, and social cohesion (Bates, 1989; Heynemann, 2000; Pattillo et al., 2007; UNDP, 2018), it has also become increasingly securitized. Research by Riddell (2007), and Brown and Gravingholt (2016)<sup>2</sup> explain that after 9/11 aid has been increasingly influenced by national security objectives, as states focus on fragile state that pose a threat to their national security, merging their development and security efforts by reconstructing their internal surceases to better cooperation between security

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<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that Brown and Gravingholt (2016) traced the securitization of aid further back, to the geopolitical interests and changes during the Cold War as well as the impact of 9/11, but this research has focused primarily on the effects of 9/11 and the aid discourse that followed.

and aid agencies, as well as changing their aid discourse to be more focused on security and national interest. It is this relationship, the increasing focus on education in their aid development efforts while aid simultaneously is becoming more securitized, that this research examines.

### **1.3 Previous Research & Contribution**

Research on the securitization of aid at the sectoral level is scarce, and there is no research dedicated to how national interest influences education aid. However, there are two research fields that have produced relevant literature. Research conducted on the effectiveness and impact of education aid, and research on the securitization of foreign aid discuss some of the same variables examined in this research. Research by Joshi and Smith (2012) compared concepts in the World Bank education policy perspectives, while Nordtveit (2012) did an analysis of the education strategy discourse. Vavrus and Segher's (2010) research of poverty reduction in Tanzania through education is part of the education development discourse literature. Their focus was on partnership and comparing the different stakeholders, and they conducted their research by analyzing strategy papers and related documents, looking at the macro, meso, and micro level. However, the research was more focused on the language and discourse of the documents, than donor motives. Data on the effectiveness of education aid in promoting economic growth has been systematically more researched than donor motives and the allocation process. In 2007, Doucouliagos and Paldam (2007) published their research on development aid allocation, and stated that literature on aid allocation at that time consisted of 166 academic articles, covering an assortment of donor and recipient countries, theories, types of aid and time periods. Furthermore, Riddell's (2007) book "Does Foreign Aid Really Work," and articles published by Alesina and Dollar (2000), and Schraeder, Hook and Taylor (1998) examine and compare donor motives in foreign



aid, discussing the influence of national interest. Additionally, Brown and Gravingholt (2016) published their research in the book *The Securitization of Foreign Aid* specifically examining how security interest have influenced donor's foreign aid practices, looking at American, British, Canadian, and Japanese foreign aid.

The aforementioned literature discusses the different factors for foreign aid allocation looking at different aid donors, as well as the impact and effectiveness of education aid. However, literature on allocation determinants at the sectoral level is scarce, and there is no dedicated study to the influence of national interest and the securitization of education aid specifically. In their research, Brown and Gravingholt (2016) found that American and British foreign aid has been securitized, but acknowledge that the securitization might not have affected all aid programs employed by donor states. Thus, there is a research gap in the allocation determinants and securitization of aid on a sectoral level. This research seeks to fill this literature gap, as well as determine if the securitization of foreign aid has impacted education aid. This research will be the first to explore the influence of national interest and securitization of education aid, contributing to the foreign aid literature and debate, as well as providing deeper insight to foreign aid practices for policymakers and fieldworkers.

#### **1.4 Research Methodology**

This research is a mixed method comparative content analysis of the United States and United Kingdom's national interest and education aid policy strategies, aiming to discover whether and how their national interest influences their respective education aid strategies. A comparative method and strategy of paired comparison research is being utilized, as well as a content analysis of their policy documents, in order to identify motives and draw parallels and contrasts between two similar nations and their

respective aid agencies. The research seeks to identify to what extent national interest impacts policies regarding foreign education aid, and how this is reflected in the formulation of their foreign education aid policies and program implementation. This section will outline the research process in more detail, explaining the methodological approach, and the process of collecting and analyzing the data. Additionally, it will cover some limitations and challenges experienced during the research process.

I utilize a mixed method approach in my research, defined by Creswell & Plano Clark (2011) as a "design that include at least one quantitative method (designed to collect numbers) and one qualitative method (designed to collect words)" (p. 2). While the research is primarily qualitative, there are quantitative aspects, including gathering budget and statistics on education aid spending, and conducting a quantitative content analysis on government strategy documents. Different from a quantitative content analysis, the qualitative process is interacting with key concepts, the different data and literature, and the analysis. Altheide (1996) explains the process as linear, first identifying the topic, conducting a literature review, examining key documents, drafting and revising the protocol, collecting data, then comparing and discussing the case studies, before developing a completed report. The research process has been a qualitative and interactive process, starting with setting the research parameters and identifying the case studies. After outlining the analysis methodology and theoretical approach, the key literature was identified, which allowed for key national interest and education aid motives to be categorized. It has been a snowballing process, as the aim was to be systematic and analytical, not rigid, in the analysis and examination of the national interest and education discourse. Thus, the wider security and development context have also been included in the analysis, casting a wide net of data collection (Altheide, 1996). As Creswell and Plano Clark further explains that "in mixed methods,

the researcher collects and analyses both qualitative and quantitative data, mixes the two forms of data by combining them" and uses both types of data to prove or back up the subject of study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011, pp. 5 – 6). While considered to have different epistemological assumptions, quantitative and qualitative methods can corroborate and complement each other, which is why both methods have been utilised for this study (Brannen, 2005). Using statistical data will provide for contextual information, while the textual data and interviews will analyse the contextual information and further describe the research subject.

While the main research method is qualitative, a quantitative research method has been incorporated, as combining the two methods allow for them to corroborate and complement each other. Qualitative research is a descriptive method of collecting, analysing and interpreting data, and allows for a research topic to be explored and get an in-depth understanding to the different elements (Creswell, 2009, p. 173). Quantitative research is empirical data beneficial in establishing or demonstrating specific groups and characteristics, or creating mathematical models, that help explain or illustrate certain components of a research topic (Denzin & Lincoln, 2012, pp. 11-14). This research is looking at education aid policies from a top-down perspective, collecting data through semi-structured interviews with DFID and USAID employees, academic literature, and governmental documents and reports. The benefit of utilizing both methods in this research is that it has allowed me to explore statistical data and government budgets, which I in turn have used in my dissertation to illustrate or bolster my arguments and analysis from the qualitative data I have collected. For example, while investigating my two case studies, I explored their government aid budgets, allowing me to compare their total foreign aid budget and education aid budget to other countries, as well as exploring trends and patterns in their foreign aid budget and

specifically their education aid budget. Additionally, when analyzing the interviews and governmental policies, I could better identify patterns and categorize my findings. A topic such as national interest and education aid is inherently shaped by local, national and international actors, as well as complex events and emergencies. The flexibility of a mixed method is appropriate for the challenging environment and topic, and by combining qualitative with quantitative data, the research will not only have more evidence, but also achieve a greater understanding of the research topic. Qualitative methods allow for the topic to be investigated and explained in detail, while quantitative methods allow for empirical data to be collected, specific categories and trends to be identified. These two research methods fit together as they allow for more data to be collected and analysed, allowing for the topic to be explored and understood on a deeper level.

A comparative method and strategy of paired comparison research is also being utilised, as the objective of the dissertation is to draw parallels and contrasts between two similar nations and their aid agencies. Paired comparison is a common used strategy in comparative analysis to comparing the most different or most similar system (Tarrow, 2010, pp. 230 – 233), and "has been used to compare similar and different countries; [...] to study political contention; and to examine different levels of the polity" (Tarrow, 2010, p. 231). The paired comparison method is utilised for two reasons: 1) it allows for an intimate analysis of the research topic, and 2) it depends on in-depth knowledge of the systems being examined (Tarrow, 2010, p. 243). This paired comparison strategy is utilised to compare two similar case studies: USA/USAID and UK/DFID. This allows for an intimate analysis of the research topic by comparing the same action by two different actors (Tarrow, 2010, p. 243), giving a deeper insight. The benefit of using case study research is its applicability to real-life and its accessibility. The detailed

analysis a case study method provides, helps bring a deeper understanding to complex issues, events, and people (Roselle & Spray, 2012, p. 33). The objective by having two relatively similar case studies is to keep constant as many unrelated variables as possible, except for the phenomenon being examined. The implications of my choice of case studies is that they will help keep my research and findings focused and remove variables not directly relevant to the scope of the research. Essentially, it will help ensure that the findings of my research are focused on if and how the securitization of foreign aid has influenced education aid policies. Researching Britain and America, which are considered to have very similar backgrounds and ideologies, will remove many of the distracting variables a comparative study of two very different countries would have, thus allowing for a more focused study and identifying how despite a shared background and outlook they can still have different approaches to same objectives, allowing the subtle differences to come out. Subtle differences that can have a potentially significant impact on my findings.

As far as the rationale for choosing to focus on the US and UK, they are both in the top seven economies of the world and ranks high on the lists because of their education systems, military capabilities, and economic conditions. As for influence and donor ranking, America has held it placing as the largest donor of foreign aid in dollar amount (OECD, 2015; UNESCO, 2014), and is ranked as number one on both the Global Presence Index and the National Power Index. The US is at the head of four parameters: economy, technology, military, and foreign affairs capabilities; and the UK is not far behind. Although ranked differently every year, Britain has always stayed within the top five as a foreign aid donor, and on the Global Presence Index and the National Power Index (Elcano Royal Institute, 2015; International Futures, 2014; UNESCO, 2014). However, according to the most recently published UNESCO aid disbursements table,

the UK lists as number one in education aid, while the US is further down the list, but still within the top 10 (UNESCO, 2014). The rationale for focusing on these two case studies is due to their well-established roles and influences in the international community, prolific role in the war on terror and by extension their mentions in securitization of aid debate, as well as being amongst the leading foreign aid donor countries. It is important to note that while the US and UK share a lot of similarities, discussed by authors such as Abernethy (2000), Grant (2004), Dumbrell (2006), Kaufman and Slettedahl Macpherson (2005), Nye (2005), and Wedeen (2002), they also have many differences between the two, and I will discuss more in-depth the similarities and differences between the US and UK in chapter four. The heart of a comparative study is to examine causations and connections, and the benefits of examining the UK and the US, two case studies with relatively similar backgrounds, ideologies and focus, is that the similarities will allow the subtle differences and patterns to be exposed. If I were to examine education aid by two completely different case studies, for example the United Kingdom and China, the apparent different government ideology would become the emphasis of the study and the focus of the findings. The selected case studies allow for a focused study and allowing the findings to identify the subtle similarities and differences, the subtle causation and effects, instead of becoming a discussion between democracy and communism. While this an interesting topic for future research, examining the ideology and impact on securitization of foreign aid, it goes beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Education and security have always been of personal interest, especially considering the effects of 9/11 and the changes to the international security and development discourse. When developing this dissertation, these were the basic parameters guiding the initial research. Choosing the two donors to investigate was primarily the result of discovering

that for the first time America and Britain had both published national security strategies and education aid strategies for the same time period of 2010 to 2015. The overall aim of this research is to develop knowledge on a topic, the influence of national interest in foreign aid, and fill a literature gap by focusing on a specific aid sector, education aid. Furthermore, political science scholar Robert W. Cox (1981) wrote that problem-solving research “takes the world as it finds it, with the prevailing social and power relationships and the institutions into which they are organized, as the given framework for action. The general aim of problem-solving is to make these relationships and institutions work smoothly by dealing effectively with particular sources of trouble” (pp. 128 – 129). My aim with this research is not to reinvent the institutional infrastructure but assist in improving the policies within the existing framework, potentially assisting in improving education aid policies and practices by two of the largest contributors to international development efforts.

#### **1.4.1 Data Collection**

I utilized a triangulation strategy in my data gathering. Creswell and Plano Clark presents two definitions, one by Greene, Caracelli, and Graham (1989) who defines triangulation as a "convergence, corroboration, and correspondence of results from the different methods" (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011, p. 62), which simply put means using multiple collection methods and data sources. Bryman (2006) elaborates on the definition to include mix methods, defining triangulation as "the traditional view that quantitative and qualitative research might be combined to triangulate findings in order that they may be mutually corroborated" (Creswell & Plano Clark, p. 62). By utilising a triangulation strategy, the hope is that it will lead to a singular proposition of the studied phenomenon. Primarily, my data collection was qualitative, which is a descriptive method of collecting, analysing and interpreting data, with the aim to get an in-depth

understanding of the research topic (Creswell, 2009, p. 173). I collected primary qualitative data through semi-structured interviews with DFID and USAID workers, and utilized secondary sources such as books, articles, and government documents and reports (Creswell, 2009; Denzin & Lincoln, 2012).

There are four key policy documents analyzed in this research: the *British National Security Strategy 2010 – 2015*, *DFIDs Education Strategy 2010 – 2015*, the *American National Security Strategy 2010 – 2015*, and *USAIDs Education Strategy 2011 – 2015*. When these strategies were published covering the same five-year period, which has not happened before, it presented a great opportunity for a comparative analysis of the influence of national interest and the securitization of British and American education aid. In addition to the four key policy documents, there are some other important papers from the British and American governments, including the former British security strategy (2008), and several reports published by DFID including *Global Challenges and National Interest* (2015), *Education Position Paper* (2013), *Development and Security* (2005), *Education and Development in a Global Era* (2007), and *Globalisation, Education and Development* (2007). Additionally, former American security strategies (2002 & 2006), and other policy documents published by USAID, including a report on *Foreign Aid and National Interest* (2002), *Violent Extremism and Insurgency* (2011), and USAIDs *Policy Cooperation with DoD* (2015), and their joint strategic plan with the State Department (2007 & 2014) have been included in the analysis. The emphasis was on the national security strategies when identifying the motives, as this is the documents where the national interest objectives and strategies of the US and UK are defined and outlined. These documents are primary sources because the government themselves *tell us* what their sentiments, concerns, interest, and actions are. Combining the context provided by academic literature and the theories with the



evidence from the primary sources will allow for a comprehensive content analysis on the influence of national interest on British and American education aid.

It is important to note that I draw from literature and research on both education in the traditional sense of teaching and learning, and on education as a foreign aid sector. Traditional education literature, education aid policies and education aid programs research are three different things, however, findings from research on traditional education has influence the discourse of education aid policies and programs, as such, all three literature categories are consulted. Literature on traditional education by Dewey, Berman (1992), Rose and Dyer (2008), Shultz (1960 & 1997), Sweetland (1996), and Becker (1992 & 2017) have helped inform the research, and presented a background to the education aid programs and policies research. The Education for All (1990 & 2000) and Millennium Development Goals (2000) have been two important international documents aiding this research in identifying the importance of education aid in governmental policies, and literature published by Peters (2004), Sommers (2002), UNESCO (2011 & 2015) and the United Nations (2011 & 2013) have been central literature in the research of education aid policies. Similarly, publications by DFID (2001, 2005c, 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010 & 2013a) and USAID (2005a, 2006 & 2011) have been crucial in understanding the underpinnings of education aid policies, as has literature related to Human Capital Theory and Democratic Peace Theory. Furthermore, I have utilized research conducted by Bengtsson (2011), Bennell and Furlong (1997), Bush and Saltarelli (2000), and Colclough (2012 & 2005), looking at the impact and effects of education aid to understand the attractiveness of education aid. Moreover, this research builds on the existing research on the securitization of foreign aid, meaning the influence of national interest on aid, as well as research that has

investigated donor motives, and the impact of education aid. Research by Brown and Gravingholt (2016), Duffield (2003, 2006 & 2007), Hills (2006), Kirk (2007), Marriage (2006), McConnon (2014), Riddell (2007) and Woods (2005) are key securitization of aid literature that aids this research. Publishing's by Oxfam (2011), UNESCO (2011), and Samoff (1999) have been important readings on the politicization of education aid. Chapters two and three will provide a deeper literature review, and the key British and American government documents will be further discussed and analyzed in chapters five and six.

#### **1.4.2 Semi-Structured Interviews**

I also gathered primary data through semi-structured interviews with employees at the United States Agency for International Development and the United Kingdom's Department for International Development. I chose to do semi-structured interviews because it allowed me to be prepared with a set of questions and topics to discuss, while allowing the participant the freedom to express their views and perspectives in their own term. As Galletta (2013) and Adams (2015) explains, the benefit of semi-structured interviews is that it permits new ways of understanding the topic and new information to natural be introduced, while at the same time having similarities between the participants questions so comparable qualitative data can be gathered from their answers.

The individuals interviewed were recruited based on how long they had been working for the agency, and that their role within the agency was or had at some point been related to overarching research topic. I identified the participants using the respective agencies database, sending request and inquiries with office managers or communications liaisons, and by utilizing the snowballing-technique. For example,

during interviews, participants would suggest other individuals to talk to, sometimes even introducing me or arranging for an interview right after. The interviewed USAID and DFID employees all had various positions and ranks and were interviewed in person or via skype between 2016. The table below gives an overview of the research participants, who have been anonymized and will be referenced to in the dissertation as *Agency Interview X*, for example DFID Interview 12.

*Table 1 Interviews with DFID & USAID Employees*

<b><i>Interviews with Employees at DFID</i></b>		
DFID Interview 1	London	2016
DFID Interview 2	London	2016
DFID Interview 3	London	2016
DFID Interview 4	London	2016
DFID Interview 5	Skype	2016
DFID Interview 6	Skype	2016
DFID Interview 7	Skype	2016
DFID Interview 8	London	2016
DFID Interview 9	London	2016
DFID Interview 10	London	2016
DFID Interview 11	Skype	2016
DFID Interview 12	London	2016
DFID Interview 13	London	2016
DFID Interview 14	London	2016
<b><i>Interviews with Employees at USAID</i></b>		
USAID Interview 1	Skype	2016
USAID Interview 2	Skype	2016
USAID Interview 3	Skype	2016
USAID Interview 4	Skype	2016
USAID Interview 5	Skype	2016
USAID Interview 6	Washington D.C.	2016
USAID Interview 7	Washington D.C.	2016
USAID Interview 8	Washington D.C.	2016
USAID Interview 9	Washington D.C.	2016
USAID Interview 10	Washington D.C.	2016
USAID Interview 11	Skype	2016

USAID Interview 12	Washington D.C.	2016
USAID Interview 13	Washington D.C.	2016
USAID Interview 14	Washington D.C.	2016
USAID Interview 15	Washington D.C.	2016
USAID Interview 16	Washington D.C.	2016

Before interviews, I emailed the research participants an information sheet and consent form, providing information about me, the research and the interviews purpose and use. I also brought soft copies and we went through this information together at the start of the interview before signing the consent form. All interviews were recorded, but they were given anonymity and the option to withdraw their interview from the research within two months of their interview date. The interviews were formal but semi-structured with open-ended questions to allow the participant to give in-depth answers, and for follow up questions, instead of eliciting short answers (Dilley, 2000). I had a list of questions or topics that I needed to cover but allowed for topical trajectories where I felt it was appropriate, especially when something new and interesting were brought up by the participant.

The interview question and topics were based on the preliminary literature review and the aforementioned motives that has been established based on the British and American national security strategies. The aim of the semi-structure interviews was to gather original, reliable and comparable qualitative data. Not only did the interviews yield new perspectives, insight and information that has been helpful in research process and answering the research questions. Additionally, the 30 interviews conducted were helpful in viewing the research topics and variables from a different perspective and understanding the practice of the strategies and reports examined in the research, and the participants suggested additional literature to consult that have been helpful in the research process. This has bolstered both the research analysis and findings and

provided original contribution to the research topic. The information from the interviews will be used in the analysis and discussion of the research in later chapters.

### **1.4.3 Content Analysis**

As the aim of my research is to identify whether and how national interest has influenced British and American education aid, and finding correlation and patterns between policy objectives will help answer the research questions. The content analysis method was used to analyze different governmental texts and speeches, governmental policy documents, academic books and articles, and transcripts from interviews I conducted with DFID and USAID employees. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) explain the analysis phase, stating that “categories are patterns or themes that are directly expressed in the text or are derived from them through analysis. Then, relationships among categories are identified. In the coding process, researchers using content analysis create or develop a coding scheme to guide coders to make decisions in the analysis of content” (p. 1285). The categories I identified and labeled as motives, are recurring themes that are expressed in the British and American national security strategies, the key documents which reflect the respective states national interest. I categorized their national interest based on the security strategies into different motives, and expanded by data collection from there, coding key words, themes and concepts based on other governmental texts, academic literature and the theoretical approach and concepts outlined in the international relations theories Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism. I utilized the help of computer software NVivo and SPSS, which is beneficial for the data linking and mapping, but mostly the content analysis was done by me sorting the data myself.

Downe-Wambolt (1992) defined content analysis as “a research method that provides a systematic and objective means to make valid inferences from verbal, visual, or written data in order to describe and quantify specific phenomena” (p. 314). Bengtsson (2016) outlines the process of qualitative content analysis as having four main stages. First stage is *decontextualization*, where you familiarize yourself with the data and select the content which you will analyze. You also start mapping insights and themes that helps answer the research question, these are meaning units. Secondly, you *recontextualize*, meaning you condense the meaning units that will be coded, and develop a set of rules for this coding. For example, recording the frequency of words and phrases, the recurrence and emphasis of themes and concepts, and what words are coded with what category. This is followed by *categorization*, which is organizing the units of meaning and coding them into categories by following the rules. Lastly, *compilation* stage is after you’ve coded the data according to the rules and start analyzing the results, finding patterns, parallels and trends, that help you answer your research aim (Bengtsson, 2016, pp. 9 – 13). While this dissertation utilizes a mixed method, gathering and referencing both quantitative and qualitative data, the content analysis will be primarily qualitative. However, some quantitative content analysis will also be included, to demonstrate the overlap between national interest documents and education aid documents.

In essence, the analysis process had three steps. The first step was to identify the key words through content analysis, then utilizing the sentiments from the literature and theories to categorize the key words. The second step was to conduct the content analysis, analyzing the text to identify frequency and emphasis put on the different motives. The third step was to analyze other texts referenced or directly relevant to the strategies, as well as revisiting the review literature and theories, in order to situate the findings from the analysis with the international security and development context.

Completing the analysis of the strategies and comparing it to the wider context, the findings were further analyzed, compared, and discussed, allowing for a conclusion and answer to the research questions. Downe-Wambolt (1992) and Bengtsson (2016) does indicate that the content analysis process does not necessarily have to be chronological order of stages, but consistency and transparency is crucial. I often had to revisit the recontextualization and categorization stages to ensure consistency in my data gathering and dissemination. Further details and discussions about the analysis, the categorized motives and results are in chapter six and seven.

#### **1.4.4 Limitations & Challenges**

Adhering to ethical rules and regulations is a fundamental characteristic of academic research and is set to be a guiding principal for what is acceptable research practice. All research involves questions of ethics, ranging from data collection, access, consent, confidentiality and data protection. I've ensured that I followed the ethical procedures set by the University of York<sup>3</sup>, as well as the research norms outlined in the Framework for Research Ethics<sup>4</sup>, established by the Economic and Social Research Council.

While there was a natural flow in the research and analysis process, there are some limitations. As I am not researching the outcome of education aid programs, but the influence of national interest in education aid policies, there are some limitations to the findings. Education aid policy, especially the high-level policies which I am researching, does not necessarily translate into education aid programs and projects, and

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<sup>3</sup> Read the key policies on research and ethics set by the University of York:  
<https://www.york.ac.uk/staff/research/governance/research-integrity-and-ethics/>

<sup>4</sup> Read the Framework for Research Ethics outlined by the Economic and Social Research Council:  
<https://esrc.ukri.org/funding/guidance-for-applicants/research-ethics/>

that the actual results of programs are not always a reflection what the aid policies hope to achieve. Thus, there is a risk of discrepancies between the education aid policies, and the actual outcome of education aid programs. However, the education aid policies are theoretically the guiding document for education aid projects, outlining the values and objectives that are supposed to inform education aid programs and projects, and will as such yield interesting insight to determining the influence of national interest objective on education aid.

Additionally, one of the strengths of the research is also a limitation, in that while focusing on two case studies allows for an in-depth analysis, previous research has often analyzed and compared more than two donors which helps ensure the validity and reliability of the findings. Quantitative data is often considered unbiased and labels the research as reliable and valid. While I utilize a mixed methods approach, since this is an examination of a state's education and national interest discourse, examining the how and why, it has relied more on qualitative data than quantitative data. There is often a concern that due to the interpretative nature of qualitative research, bias might inadvertently be introduced into the analysis (Kirk & Miller, 1986, pp. 19 – 24). Establishing the reliability and validity in quantitative study is based on being replicated, qualitative credibility is based on coherence and level of insight. In quantitative research, missing, distorted or wrong numerical data will skew the results. In qualitative research, bias and objectivity is crucial for the credibility, which is why it is important to disclose all sources (Bryman et al., 2008). However, as Kirk and Miller (1986) explain "reliability and validity are by no means symmetrical. It is easy to obtain perfect reliability with no validity at all. Perfect validity, on the other hand, would assure perfect reliability, for every observation would yield the complete and exact truth" (Kirk & Miller, 1986, p. 20). Thus, ensuring that the research, the analysis, and



findings are coherent, insightful, and truthful will safeguard the validity and credibility of the research.

## 1.5 Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework serves as a foundational support mechanism for your research, helping to frame the research topic within existing theories, ideas and key concepts. It provides a context for the research, as well as a roadmap for the data collection and analysis (Grant & Osanloo, 2014). I've utilized the three international relations theories Structural Realism, Neoliberalism and Social Constructivism in the development of my theoretical framework, but instead of comparing and contrasting the theories, I will synthesize the insights and construct my own theoretical framework, meaning creating "a hybrid theory that combines the insights of a range of theories" to help explain a process (Cairney, 2013, p. 4). The key tenants, insights and concepts of Structural Realism, Neoliberalism and Social Constructivism will be discussed in chapter two, where the composite theoretical framework will also be presented in a more natural setting. However, the aim of this section is to clarify the use of the theories and how the theoretical framework were developed.

In order to develop an effective theoretical framework, it is important that the theories and their assumptions are relevant to my research, and can help identify and explain key concepts, as well as the relationship between the different concepts and aspects of my research, aiding me in my data gathering, analysis and conclusions (OECD, 2008, pp. 19 – 23). Theories categorize the overwhelming information available and clarify the fundamental ideas that guide international politics and its different sub-fields (Walt, 1998). Just like theories are hypothesized from events in the real world, the real world relies on theories to understand behavior and events (Boucher, 1998; Hutchings, pp. 10 – 14). The theories are designed to help explain the realm in which the research operates in, and provide key insights to the research aspects, assist in the analysis process, and help explain the findings. Structural Realism, Neoliberalism and Social Constructivism

explain and understand state behavior by giving different insights, and while they utilize the same key concepts, including national interest, security and altruism, when discussing the rationale for state behavior, they understand the concepts differently. The theories were selected after a review of foreign aid literature and international relations theories, and I found that they have both relevance and insights to the different aspects of this research, including in how they defined national interest, how they explained why states behave and do the things they do, such as how and why their foreign aid is developed, rationalized and delivered the way it is.

Cairney (2013) explains that theories help us generalize and identify common elements, and the use of multiple theories in political studies are particularly relevant as the discipline is of a complex nature that relies on many different insights and concepts (p. 2). The idea of synthesizing multiple theories into a hybrid that combines the key insights and concepts of a range of theories has been done before, specifically in studies on policymaking (Cairney, 2013, pp. 4 – 7). The composite framework I have developed is grounded and based on the insights and key concepts from the three theories. This method of developing a theoretical framework connects my research to existing knowledge and theories, while also allowing me to build on the existing knowledge and advance a synthesized theoretical approach that others might find useful. Theories are fixed in their underlying assumptions, but that does not mean you cannot challenge and modify them (Cairney, 2012a & 2013; John, 2012). The theories provide a coherent theoretical framework where international relations can be studied, providing a set of ideas that attempt to explain the international environment and state behavior. However, the theories and their key tenants are fiercely debated, and viewing them as universal truths about international politics would be illogical. But they do provide a narrative and tools that can be helpful in guiding, analyzing, and explaining the key

variables in international relations, and in this research. This research utilizes all three theories because they each highlight different key variables and factors that explain state behavior and national interest, and together they complement each other (Walt, 1998; Waltz, 1979). For example, the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was due to a common enemy: the USSR and communism. However, once the Soviet Union fell, the alliance did not dissolve as might be expected when the common enemy dissolves, and instead it grew stronger and increased its membership (Medcalf, 2005). The debate on NATO's expansion and continued existence can be explained in different ways depending on the theoretical approach one takes. A Structural Realist perspective would see an effort to extend Western influence and NATO's conflict management mechanisms, ultimately to ensure the security of the member-states. Neoliberalism would argue that the expansion is a way to expand democracy and spread a shared common identity, as well as for improving trade and economic opportunities. Lastly, Social Constructivism would argue that the historical and social ties among the NATO member-states is the reason for its continued existence and expansion (Medcalf, 2005; Nazemroaya, 2012). This example demonstrates that one theoretical approach cannot singlehandedly capture the complexity of contemporary international politics.

The purpose of developing my own composite theoretical framework was to utilize the different concepts and insights from existing theories, but allowing more than one perspective to inform my framework, and by extension this allows me to engage more effectively with my research. Furthermore, I am taking an inductive reasoning approach, meaning, rather than testing an existing theory (deductive), I am developing a theory. Feeney and Heit (2007) explains the process to be threefold: firstly, making observations, followed by identifying a pattern, ending with developing a theory based on the observations and pattern identified (pp. 11 – 22). The theoretical framework is

designed to help me in this process. Essentially, the theoretical framework is like the toolbox for your research. It details the propositions, concepts and relationships that helps with the examination and analysis of your research. Additionally, it keeps your research scope focused and enable us to present a coherent answer and explanation to the research questions. Applying this toolbox analogy to my research, my literature review focused on the influence of national interest on foreign aid, especially since 9/11 where the securitization of foreign aid debate has emerged. The theoretical framework highlighted key concepts and ideas that helped inform my research, especially in how they defined and explained state behavior, national interest and security, and foreign aid and altruism. This resulted in a discussion of security and capabilities, cooperation and alliances building, economic development and human capital theory, democratic values and democratic peace theory. The limitations of taking an inductive approach is that the findings and conclusions I draw from my research can never be proven true, but they can be discredited with contradictory data. However, the reliability and validity of my research will rely on the evidence gathered through utilizing a composite theoretical framework.

International relations describe both the interdisciplinary academic field and the political activity, both which encompass a multitude of fields, including but not limited to state behavior and interaction, politics, development, economics, diplomacy, war and intervention, history, aid, security and crime, human rights, social science, cultural studies, and technology (Baylis, Smith & Owens, 2013). There is a wide range of theoretical approaches when studying aspects of international relations. Some approaches have been imported from other fields such as economics and sociology, while others have emerged from the discipline itself. Few scholars are completely dedicated to one theory, often advocating for different theories based on the context,

scenario, and field. This is due to the internal and external critical discourse of said theories, but also because of the diversity of the field that is made up of several distinct variables (Dunne, 2013). Education aid is a small piece of the international relations puzzle, and to understand education aid, one needs to understand the context in which it operates. With the help of the theories, the composite theoretical framework developed will identify, analyze, and discuss the different motives and how national interest influences the British and American education aid. The competing theories identify the different variables that influence world politics, as well as revealing the strengths and weaknesses each theory has. More importantly, by employing Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism, a diverse array of competing ideas can be researched and synthesized into a composite framework, instead of relying on one single belief or having them compete against each other.

## **1.6 Research Ethics & Considerations**

Adhering to ethical rules and regulations is a fundamental characteristic of academic research and is a guiding principal for what is acceptable research practice. All research involves questions of ethics, ranging from data collection, access, consent, confidentiality, and data protection. This research follows the ethical procedures set by the University<sup>5</sup>, as well as the research norms outlined in the Framework for Research Ethics<sup>6</sup>, established by the Economic and Social Research Council. Furthermore, this

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<sup>5</sup> Read the key policies on research and ethics set by the University of York at: <https://www.york.ac.uk/staff/research/governance/research-integrity-and-ethics/>

<sup>6</sup> Access the Framework for Research Ethics at: <https://esrc.ukri.org/funding/guidance-for-applicants/research-ethics/>

research took seriously the question of plagiarism, copyright laws, data protection, and freedom of information, ensuring that all data are properly sourced and protected.

Even though the topic and interviewees do not fall into a sensitive category, there are still regulations to low risk fieldwork, including following the ethical forms by the university, providing the research statement to the research participants, and receiving their informed consent (Dilley, 2000; Sieber, 1982). In compliance with ethical regulations, permission for conducting the research and an ethics form will be filed with the university. Fieldwork plans were reviewed by an ethics board, and full disclosure about the research, survey, and interview process was given to the participants prior to the interviews and survey. This research adhered to guidance regarding the use and protection of the data. Research participants were provided the ability to withdraw from the interview before and after their interviews, along with the option to change their status to anonymous within a year after the interview.

## **1.7 Structure of the Thesis**

Since elementary school, we are taught in Norway that when writing we need to follow ‘den røde tråden’ – meaning that as you write there is a ‘red thread’ that you follow, ensuring that the text is a coherent story and reader friendly. This is applied to fairytales and academic research. This thesis is organized into eight chapters, each having their own aims, but together they create one story. The research questions represent the red thread, and each chapter tackles different components. The first three chapters provide a background to the research questions. Chapter one is the introduction, presenting the research puzzle and outlining the research methodology. Chapter two and three provide theoretical and academic context and background to the research topic. A review of the literature utilized in this research will be presented, focusing on academic literature

related to the securitization of foreign aid, and the impact and effectiveness of education aid. Additionally, the international relations theories that have helped guide this research, Structural Realism, Neoliberalism and Social Constructivism, will be discussed, and the theoretical framework will be presented.

Chapters four, five, and six analyze the different components of the research questions, British and American national interest and education, as well as compare and identify the different variables and mechanisms that impact the research questions. In chapter four, the context for the two donor states this research focuses on, the UK and US, is presented. Chapter five examines the education – national interest nexus, analyzing and comparing the British and American national security strategies and education strategies. Chapter six provides a further analysis of the motives and the British and American education – national interest discourse, looking at the securitization of their education aid.

Following the red thread, each chapter builds on each other. The aim of chapter two, three, and four is to contextualize the research topic by examining various theories, perspectives, and literature, providing context for the analysis and discussion of British and American education aid and national interest in chapter five and six. After presenting the methodological and theoretical approach, and providing a review of the literature, the next step is analyzing the findings from the approaches and literature review, and applying this to the analysis of British and American national interest objectives and education discourse. Finally, the findings from the review of the literature and analysis of government strategies in the previous chapters will be presented and discussed in chapter seven. Lastly, chapter eight will conclude the research by providing a summary of the findings, revisiting the research questions,



discuss the contribution of the research, and give concluding remarks. The aim of following the ‘den røde tråden’ is to organize the chapters in a way that it tells a coherent story, and also ensure that the research is reader friendly and accessible to academics, policy makers, and fieldworkers alike.

## 1.8 Central Concepts

There are several concepts specific and central to the research field that are used in this thesis, and while they are discussed and clarified more in later chapters, they are done so from an analytical and applied perspective. For example, *foreign aid*, *international development*, *education aid*, *motive*, *altruism*, and *security* are key terms used throughout, but only in an applied setting. Furthermore, *national interest* and *the securitization of aid* are key concepts of this thesis, and while they are described and elaborated upon in the review of the literature and in the research discussion, it might be helpful to define them in a setting that is not discussing other variables. Thus, to ensure clarity and that there is no misunderstanding, some of the key concepts that are used in the thesis have been defined in this section. The concepts are not organized alphabetically, but in an order that allows for definitions to build upon each other and illustrate the relationships between the different concepts and variables central to this research.

**International Development:** International development is not easy to define as it is a wide term encompassing different disciplines, literature, and efforts, and it means different things to different people. But generally, the common factor is that it focuses on improving the quality of life in countries that struggle with social and economic issues. Development efforts are often focused on facilitating poverty reduction and economic growth, social development, democratic governance and infrastructure,

security and peace, health and education, equality and human rights, and more. (Weiss et al., 2014). Traditionally, the focus has been on economic growth to facilitate development and help ensure states become industrialized, but in the 1990s, the development discourse changed and included more social aspects such as health, education, equality, and human rights (Brandt, 2002; Pal, 2005; Goldstein, 2004). Similarly, foreign aid focused on providing economic capital, but expanded their efforts to include providing quality education, promoting human rights, food security and health, democratic governance, social skills, peacebuilding and social cohesion.

**Foreign Aid:** In this thesis, foreign aid and international development are often used interchangeably, as foreign aid is considered to be a government's way of contributing to international development. In essence, foreign aid is the transfer of resources (capital and goods) or services from government A to government B to assist in industrialization and development, support conflict resolution and rebuilding, or following a humanitarian or environmental disaster. Traditionally, government A is a rich and industrialized country, while government B is a poor and underdeveloped country. Foreign aid can be in the form of military and economic assistance, debt forgiveness, humanitarian assistance, and multilateral or bilateral development projects. However, the most common type is official development assistance (ODA), which is aimed at poverty reduction and promoting development (Dietrich, 2012; Riddell, 2007).

**Education Aid:** This research is examining a specific sector of foreign aid, education aid, but it is looking at the education aid *discourse* and the influence of national interest, not the education aid *programs and outcomes*. In the interest of being clear, education aid refers to programs aimed at improving the education sector, social and practical skills, and literacy. This includes, but is not limited to, providing teacher training,

developing and distributing learning materials, building schools, increasing quality and access, and improving administrative practice. It also entails skills and workforce development workshops, social development and skills workshops, and peace and reconciliation workshops (Campaign for Education, 2015; Tarnoff, 2016). However, while governments provide skills, training and resources for education aid, most education aid is financial, as in government A provides funds to government B either by directly (bilateral) or indirectly (multilateral) providing funds to their education sector or a specific project, which finances the different workshops, training, materials and resources. Furthermore, Steans and Pettiford (2005) explain that the term and notion of human rights has filled the global discourse, providing groups and individuals with a 'powerful vocabulary' to 'articulate their grievances and demands' (Steans & Pettiford, 2005, p. 3). This has also influenced the education aid discourse, and while the traditional focus is on basic education and literacy, it is also concerned with higher education, and social and professional skills development. It is important to note that the aim of the research is to identify in which ways the selected case studies use education aid to promote their national interests, not the outcome or results of their education aid. Thus, the research does not focus on a specific type of education or education aid programs, just the primary objectives of the overall education discourse of the selected case studies.

**Education – Education Aid – Education Aid Policies:** While education aid policies and programs builds on education literature and concepts, they are essential three different things. Education aid policies outline the values, standards, regulations and objectives, while education aid programs are a the specific implemented activities, including but not limited to conducting research, building schools, training teachers, supplying books and other resources (DFID, 2018 & USAID, 2018). Education itself is

the process of facilitating the teaching and learning of knowledge, skills and behavior, and refers to domestic education systems (Dewey, 1916; Dewey, 1933; Dewey, 1938).

It is important to note, that the education aid policies do not always reflect the education aid programs and its outcomes. Education aid policies tend to be more optimistic and reflects on the possibilities of education. Thus, the literature and discussion on the possibilities of education does not necessarily reflect the programs and outcomes.

Additionally, while education aid policies and programs utilize the same practices and discourse as traditional education, findings from research on traditional education, does not necessarily translate into the same findings in education aid policies and education aid programs.

**Bilateral & Multilateral Aid:** This research does not discuss aid programs specifically, but there are some references to bilateral and multilateral aid. To clarify, bilateral aid is when aid is directly from one government to another government, while multilateral aid is when the aid comes from multiple governments and organizations (Girod, 2008). Aid provided by the UK (DFID) and the US (USAID) is bilateral aid, although they sometimes cooperate and participate in multilateral aid efforts. Aid efforts by international organizations such as the United Nations and the World Bank is multilateral aid. Governments tend to be part of both bilateral and multilateral aid, and often cooperate with other organizations in their efforts (Davies & Pickering, 2015).

**National Interest:** As a concept, national interest is exactly what it says, it is the interest of the state. However, when the concept is applied the definition becomes more problematic. It is a term used to describe a nation's goals or ambitions, often related to self-preservation, economic prosperity, diplomacy and influence, military power, and security. Additionally, national interest helps explain the reasoning behind states actions

towards and in relation to each other, where they try to achieve benefits and gain advantages (Griffiths et al., 2014; Nye, 1999). State benefits and advantages are what is understood as power or state capabilities, defined below. Morgenthau define national interest to be the preservation of state identity, explained as the cultural and political identity of the state, but also the physical identity. Thus, national security is a very important component to national security. The problematization with national interest is identifying the individual interest of nations, as their specific goals and ambitions is distinct to them and based on their distinct history, culture, identity, needs and resources, capabilities and ambitions. Thus, the national interest of the United Kingdom and the United States will not be the same. The term national interest is elaborated on in chapter two and three when reviewing previous literature and the theories Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism, and in chapter five and six it is further discussed when specifically examining British and American national interests.

**Power / Capabilities:** Understanding the concept of *power / capabilities* is important and relevant in understanding *national interest*. This thesis uses Nye's writings to define power, also referred to as state capabilities. Nye explains power to be like the weather: it is something everyone talks about and depends on, but only a few understand the concept (Nye, 2004). In this research, power is defined as capabilities (hard power: military, economic wealth, and other resources) and influence (soft power: values, culture, foreign policy, and diplomacy). Hard power is often what people think about when discussing the term power; it refers to military and economic might and using threats and coercive and violent methods. However, the nature of power has changed since the days of Machiavelli and hard power may no longer be the primary source of power. In the globalized world, states are realizing that their strategies for power are in need of a softer aspect. Soft power refers to using culture, political values, admiration,

and diplomacy to achieve a nation's goals. The argument in favor of soft power is that in the long run, converting neutral parties or potential enemies to one's side by getting them to want the same outcome and to believe in the same values and goals is better than threatening with military and economic actions (Nye, 2004, pp. 5 – 11). It is better to create a new friend and ally than to routinely mobilize the military to temporarily weaken an old foe. Nye further explains that by promoting universal values and interest, a government furthers the attraction and admiration for its country. This definition of power / capabilities will be further discussed when analyzing the case studies.

**National Security:** Security is a wide concept, but in the context of this research and relevant to the definition of *national interest* and *power / capabilities*, national security is when a state is free from danger or threat, when the citizens are free and safe, and the government is stable and reliable. Furthermore, it refers to state measures taken to protect and ensure the safety of its borders, resources, and citizens. Traditional security measures are the defense establishments, particularly the military, but with globalization, technological advancements, and new threats and challenges, it is also ensuring proper infrastructure, data protection, taking care of the environment, building economic wealth and capabilities, and much more (Cabinet Office, 2010; Mavrotas, 2011; Murphy, 2010; White House, 2010). As with national interest and power / capabilities, national security is further discussed in later chapters.

**National Interest – Power / Capabilities – National Security:** While they are defined separately, the concepts *national interest*, *power / capabilities* and *security* are heavily intertwined and build on each other. Security is part of national interest because the state wants to ensure its own survival and the safety of its population, as well as protect their borders and resources. Capabilities or power is what is needed to ensure national

interest and security, thus it is in the national interest to increase their capabilities, such as economic wealth, military capabilities, technological advancement, healthy, educated, and prosperous citizens, and diplomatic and cultural influence. The British and American national security strategies demonstrate the intertwining between national interest, security, and capabilities, outlining what their security concerns are (fragile states, conflict, terrorism, cyber threats, weapons proliferation, health, and environment), and that their national interest is to ensure security, economic growth, technological advancements, promotion of democratic and stable governance, diplomatic relations, and cooperation with allies. These national interest objectives also represent the need to increase capabilities, such as gaining economic wealth, having technological advancements, increasing influence, and building security capabilities.

**Altruism:** National interest is classified as self-serving, because if an action is motivated by national interest it is in essence done to serve self-interest, not in the interest of others or to assist someone else. Altruism is the opposite; it is selfless, and would describe an action that is done to benefit someone else, or out of the concern with the happiness, quality of life, or safety of someone else (Seiglie, 1999; Younas, 2008). Thus, in theory, the more national interest influences foreign aid, the less altruistic it is. The more foreign aid is concerned with the needs of the recipient state and its citizens, the more altruistic it is.

**Securitization of Foreign Aid:** The securitization of foreign aid is a term that describes the influence of national interest, especially security objectives, in the formulation of aid policies, aid practices, and the aid allocation process (what countries get aid) (Duffield, 2006; Riddell, 2007). Brown and Gravingholt (2016) provide the best understanding of what the *securitization of foreign aid* means, identifying two key aspects to the

securitization of aid: the introduction of fragile states in the security and development discourse, and the adaptation of the whole-of-government approach. Brown and Gravingholt (2016) explains that the whole-of-government approach refers to an integrated government response in tackling a specific issue, meaning government agencies work across their field and collaborate to achieve a shared goal. The whole-of-government approach is also a reference to the comprehensive / 3D approach, which is combining the efforts of defense, diplomacy and development in their foreign policy. Following 9/11, inter-departmental coordination mechanisms and agencies were established between the security and development agencies, thus, foreign aid has been formulated to be coherent with national interest objectives, especially in reference to national security objectives. The fragile states discourse was introduced following 9/11 and the War on Terror, and has labeled fragile and conflict afflicted states as security threats because they create an environment that allows for terrorist and criminal networks to operate. The term fragile states have been adopted by the development discourse, thus demonstrating the merging of the security and development discourse.

**Discourse:** Fairclough (1992) explains discourse as a generalization and a totality of verbal and written communication, looking at the meaning beyond the word. Thus, it is not just the words and language, but also the context, structure, and relationship between different communications. A *discourse* can be an international discourse, a discourse of a field, a government discourse, or the discourse of a document.

Admittedly, defining discourse can be quite abstract, but to better illustrate, in the case of a governments political discourse - it is determined from policies, reports, sentiments and speeches, and other formal and informal communication.



**1.8.1 List of Abbreviations & Acronyms**

DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	United Kingdom's Department for International Development
EFA	Education for All
GCE	Global Campaign for Education
GDP	(State's) Gross Domestic Product
GMR	Global Monitoring Report
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
IDA	International Development Association
IDS	International Development Statistics
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IO	International Organization
IOEA	Institute of Economic Affairs
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODA	Official Development Assistance
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OED	Operations Evaluation Department
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SPRS	Sourcebook for Poverty Reduction Strategies

UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
US	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WBG	World Bank Group
WCEFA	World Conference on Education for All
WDEFA	World Declaration on Education for All
WDI	World Development Indicators
WDR	World Development Report

## **Chapter 2 Foreign Aid: The Good, The Bad & The Theories**

Since the 1950s, industrialized countries have sent foreign aid to underdeveloped countries in excess of more than two trillion dollars. Where this money originates from, where it ends up, and what effect it has, has been a source of an academic debate across a multitude of fields. This chapter will provide an understanding of motives and rationale by outlining previous academic literature on foreign aid, international relations, theories that can explain governmental policy, national interest, and development studies. It will build the foundation for the question of this dissertation, why foreign governments target education aid, and help guide the research when identifying motives and interests. Furthermore, this chapter will present the theoretical framework and theories that guide this dissertation: Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism. The objective is to identify the recurring themes of state interest and the motivations underpinning foreign aid, laying the first building block in the analysis of British and American motivations and interests in their education policy.

The foreign aid debate has largely concluded that norm-based objectives are a large part of aid, but that aid spending is rarely independent of the pursuit of self-interest. Studies have found that aid motives and the aid allocation process is heavily influenced by economic and political interests. While there is a wish to develop sustainable economic growth in the recipient country, economic and trade interests are a vital part of why countries wish to boost the economic growth in other states. Additionally, helping improve infrastructure and governance has a dual purpose. First, it may be designed to ease resource extraction from the recipient country, stimulating economic interests. Secondly, it may be designed to promote stable governance, which can have both political and security benefits for the donor nation. Studies have also found that aid is used as a reward for ‘good’ behavior and strengthening alliances, meaning states can

use aid to promote the norms and ideals they believe are correct. However, previous research on foreign aid motives has predominantly concluded that donors have dual goals, with both humanitarian and strategic objectives influencing their aid allocation and motives. While the aid literature generally agrees on the factors which influences the aid allocation process, there is little agreement on what variables matter the most. This chapter aims to consolidate the knowledge about foreign aid in order to frame the empirical analysis conducted in subsequent chapters, and to gain an understanding of donor motives by reviewing the foreign aid debate and the arguments and theories that influence that debate.

The question of what foreign aid is may seem to have an obvious answer, yet three international relations theories – Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism – have generated three different responses. Practitioners of international relations and foreign policy often dismiss academic theories, but there is an unavoidable link between the theoretical world and real-life implementation. Theories categorize the overwhelming information and clarify the fundamental ideas that guide international politics and its different sub-fields. Just like theories are hypothesized from events in the real world, the real world relies on theories to understand behavior and events. There is a wide range of theoretical approaches when studying aspects of the international arena. Some approaches have been imported from other fields such as economics and sociology, while others have emerged from the discipline itself. Few scholars are completely dedicated to one theory, often advocating for different theories based on the context, scenario, and field. This is due to the internal and external critical discourse of said theories, but also because of the diversity of the field that is made up of several distinct variables. This study examines if and how national interests influence education aid, a specific sector of foreign aid, which is best understood by examining the

foundations of foreign aid and international relations through the lenses of the theories that dominate the field: Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism.

Not only do we need to ask what the effects from aid are, we also need to ask what the drive behind education aid and foreign aid is. Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism, three popular international relations theories, have different takes on the foreign aid discourse. The Neoliberal argument sees foreign aid as an opportunity for cooperation and economic opportunities, to foster democratic values, and a free market (Mowle, 2003). The Realist school defines aid in the terms of national interest and power, where aid is used as an instrument to ensure and promote states own self-interest, which is to gain more power (Kanbur et al., 1999). Social Constructivism takes a middle point, as it theorizes that states' national interests are defined by social interactions and international norms, which are fluid and constructible. According to Constructivists, aid is given due to the historical ties and international codes of behavior to which donor nations are bound (Adler, 1997), and which they have internalized. Nevertheless, all three theories point to different important aspects in international relations and factors which guide foreign aid.

It is important to gain a deeper understanding of the evolution and motives of foreign aid; doing so will cement the foundation of this research and help give crucial insight and background to the deeper research objective. Thus, much of the literature presented in this chapter is taken from the foreign aid debate and international relations, which is the basis for this study. The following chapter will tackle the specific sector, education aid, examining motives for education aid and how this corresponds with the foreign aid literature and theoretical framework. Together this will set the scene for the case studies. However, this chapter intends to not only outline and discuss the selected

theories which guides this study, but also to explain the context in which foreign aid operates and the literature which surrounds it. The chapter will give an overview of the ‘great foreign aid debate’ before devolving into the theories and literature. The objective of the chapter is to ensure that all the key concepts and variables are disclosed and examined, and that the applied framework is described and clear. The aim is to examine and discuss the scholars and literature within the Realist, Neoliberal, and Constructivist realm. This is to guarantee that future readers get a clear understanding of the research, that a well-rounded assessment of the theoretical account of foreign aid is provided, and to provide a framework for the analysis. After outlining the preliminary groundwork of foreign aid, its theories, purposes, and processes, the chapter will present the theoretical framework and hypotheses which guide this research.

## **2.1 The Great Foreign Aid Debate**

Thomas Oatley (2010) describes foreign aid as financial assistance from developed countries and multilateral institutions to developing countries. The economic and political split of the world into ‘North’ and ‘South’ states is often at the center of foreign aid research and in the foreign aid debate. The North-South split is not strictly geographical, but based on progress and development, as well as shared cultural, economic, and political characteristics. ‘North’ states are also referred to as ‘Western States’ and ‘Developed States,’ and generally refers to the United States, Canada, and parts of Europe and Asia. ‘South’ states are also referred to as ‘Eastern States,’ ‘Underdeveloped States’ and ‘Developing States,’ and generally includes Africa, Latin America, and parts of Europe and Asia (Cassen et al., 1982; Sogge, 2002). Described in more technical terms, foreign aid is the transfer of resources from country A (aid donor) to country B (aid recipient), either directly (bilateral) or through an agency or NGO (multilateral) (Williams, 2015).

The theories and opinions about foreign aid – its purposes, motives, and effects – are not simple, and are strongly debated amongst academics, policy makers, and fieldworkers. Foreign aid as a topic is debated in the fields of development, economics, politics, and international affairs, split into two sides: those who oppose aid and those who believe it can yield great results. It is an ideologically based debate that does not just look at the expenditures and programs, but the morality of aid: does it benefit the intended recipients, or does a host of externalities overwhelm good intentions resulting in negative side effects that do more harm than good? These two sides and their debate, and the discourse and literature about foreign aid they provide, are often referred to as the ‘Great Foreign Aid Debate.’

The foreign aid debate spans several decades with participants from a multitude of different fields and backgrounds presenting their arguments and theories on the determinants and effectiveness of aid. Research by Gulrajani (2011) takes a look at the foreign aid debate and its participants, which can be generalized into two sides; the aid sceptics and the aid optimists. Aid optimists argue that aid promotes development and economic growth, albeit the success is dependent upon the cooperation and efficiency of existing institutions and governance in the recipient state. They theorize that the deficits which developing states experience are due to the global economic structure not allowing them to join and generate the necessary capital to mitigate their deficits.

Foreign aid is thought to be the solution to this, as it is a way to start the initial process for the beneficiary state to generate capital and join the global market, which will result in state development (Morrissey, 2001; Pattillo et al., 2007).

Aid sceptics argue that aid can impede domestic initiatives and create a dependency on aid, such that underdeveloped countries lack the accountability and capabilities to

stimulate their own development. Aid can overwhelm domestic investments, hindering local entrepreneurship and development. Additionally, transparency and corruption are of great concern. In an already unstable or underdeveloped country, it can be easy to take advantage of the situation without necessarily being discovered. Donor governments and organizations have discovered several incidents of resources and funds that were unaccounted for or being funneled into personal use rather than its intended target.

Some also accuse aid of being a new form of colonialism; that donor states give aid because they have interests in the recipient nation, or that they use it as a bribe or method of persuasion (Easterly et al., 2004). For example, Japan has admitted to using its foreign aid to protect its whaling industry. The Japanese government gave aid to underdeveloped countries under the agreement that it would join the International Whaling Commission and vote with them to keep commercial whaling legal (Brown, 1999). Aid sceptics argue that the issues developing states struggle with go beyond capital deficits and require more than foreign aid. Instead of stimulating development and growth, they argue foreign aid enables governments and creates a dependency. This in turn, they find, can cause corruption and rent seeking, and in some cases, it can even prolong the existing issues or conflict (Easterly, 2003 & 2006; Easterly et al., 2004)

However, aid optimists claim that aid can be the thing that is needed to get a country out of that underdevelopment trap, and as a result it enhances diplomatic relations and enable international cooperation on global challenges. Added capital can alleviate poverty, and in time that can spread to impact other sectors, increasing the effects of the original aid given. Additionally, aid optimists point out the evolution of foreign aid over the years, and how programs have been polished and evolved from being more than just



financial aid. They specifically mention aid programs targeting institution building, education, skills, and health (Gulrajani, 2011; Riddell, 2007). These are programs that cultivate national competence and enable them to continue to promote their own development. Sachs (2012b), an outspoken aid optimist, cites the efforts following the adoption of the MDGs in 2000 and the impact it has had on public health as evidence that foreign aid works. Sachs (2012b) writes “around 12 million children under five years old died in 1990. By 2010, this number had declined to around 7.6 million [...] worldwide, deaths of pregnant women declined by almost half between 1990 and 2010, from an estimated 543,000 to 287,000.” These are impressive numbers. In *does foreign aid really work?* Roger Riddell (2007) synthesizes the foreign aid debate by stating that some aid has had a positive and significant impact, and some has had harmful or little impact. But he concludes that the question about aid should not be ‘does it work,’ but how it can be made more effective (Riddell, 2007, p. 257) This sentiment is echoed by other authors. Sachs (2014) wrote that “the issue is not ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to aid. Aid is needed and can be highly successful. The issue is how to deliver high-quality aid to the world’s poorest and most vulnerable people.”

## **2.2 The Issues with Aid**

There are polarized views on foreign aid, as some praise aid as a solution to world poverty and underdevelopment in some nations, while others argue it can do more harm than good. Traditionally, foreign aid has been viewed as a tool that can bridge the development gaps between nation-states, but there is also evidence of the failure of aid. (Pattillo et al., 2007). A well-known, but not modern, theory within foreign aid is ‘the big push theory’, which crudely argues that pumping in large amounts of money and resources will solve the underdevelopment problem (Rosenstein-Roda, 1943). Abuzeid (2009) researched the big push theory in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa, where over

one trillion dollars were given in aid to the region over a time span of fifty years.

Despite this 'big push' the Sub-Saharan states did not experience growth.

Staunch aid sceptic William Easterly (2003, 2006 & 2008) often cites corruption as his main issue or concern with foreign aid. Unfortunately, poverty and corruption are related, and the countries in need of aid are often the countries with a corrupt government. This puts donor states in a predicament, as withholding aid to corrupt countries is essentially denying aid to the poor citizenry who need it the most. However, giving aid to the corrupt government is accepting the notion that a portion of that aid will not go to its planned purpose. A significant downside to providing aid in these countries is that it contributes to the already existing corruption by strengthening the corrupt governments' practices and giving them a 'source of income', ultimately deterring the development of democratic institutions. Research by Abuzeid (2009) found that 'pushing aid can have deleterious effects' in the recipient state, and can cause aid dependency, strengthen corruption, distort good governance, and exacerbate conflicts. Dependency on aid hinders the receiving countries from taking ownership of their own economic and social development. It harms the recipient state by relieving pressure to actually change, and unintentionally perpetuates the social, economic, and political structures that are driving the state's underdevelopment (Moyo, 2009). In the case of Mobutu in Zair, which was strife with governmental corruption and mismanagement, financial aid kept coming in. International aid absolved the local government of its responsibility to provide for its people, with President Mobutu rumored to have one of the largest private fortunes in the world (Ndulo & van de Walle, 2014). As a solution, Abuzeid argues for building good governance and institutions.

There is a question of morality here. One might find the highest moral good in giving aid to the country that needs it the most, but if that country is ruled by a corrupt government and you know aid will be misused, it is essentially taking away aid that could have gone to a country that may be in less need, but would utilize the aid better. As Kaufmann (2009) explains, just two decades ago the issues of corruption and a lack of transparency in aid were mostly just accepted as part of the practice. However, since the 1990s taxpayers in donor countries have become much more aware and much less accepting of public funds feeding corruption in other nations, and policy makers along with academics and fieldworkers have taken action to mitigate the issue. There are now aid ‘watchdogs’ and monitoring mechanisms in place to ensure that aid is not just effective, but also transparent, and that aid recipients are being held accountable. It is now largely acknowledged that good governance and anti-corruption matters need to be included in the foreign aid policy agenda. Admittedly, aid accountability and transparency are still an issue, but the evolution from aid mismanagement simply being ignored or accepted, to mitigation measures now being included in policy formulation, along with creating specific agencies to investigate and research aid effectiveness, is a positive change.

Further solutions to counter corruption have been proposed. Research by Ndulo and van de Walle (2014) argues aid programs focused on social and environmental development, governance and accountability, human rights, and investing in agriculture and education could be a means to circumvent corrupt governments, at least to a degree.

Correspondingly, research by Petrikova (2014) on short- and long-term impact of development projects in Ethiopia found that knowledge transfer projects, highlighting agriculture and social-infrastructure, had more of a long-term impact compared to direct-transfer projects. Meaning that knowledge-transfer has a greater impact compared

to direct delivery of resources in the long-term. Kaufmann (2009) also argues that leadership and accountability from state leaders in donor countries are important to mitigate corruption, but also to start educating the youth about accountability and transparency. A Principals for Responsible Management Education Anti-Corruption Toolkit has been developed and has been tested by countries worldwide. At Mzumbe University (Tanzania) the toolkit was utilized to discuss “how integrating East Africa could minimize corruption and how to deal with ethical dilemmas in cross-cultural settings” (Tripathi & Nyamsogoro, 2015). Educating the future leaders about ethical behavior is a good start to fight corruption.

### **2.3 The Securitization of Aid**

Since the end of the Cold War, development and security have been slowly connecting, but the 9/11 terrorist attacks sent a shockwave around the world and catapulted the development discourse into a new era where development and security have been merged. In the years following 9/11, countries linked their aid policies with security, and made changes to their organizational infrastructure to match this policy change (Chandler, 2007). In the book *The Securitization of Foreign Aid* (2016), Brown and Gravingholt identify some major changes made by key international actors in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. British and American foreign aid discourse focused on failing and unstable states, increasing their overall aid budget and aid specifically to states that posed a threat to their national security, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq. USAID was folded into the State Department, and the Department of Defense became involved in the development policy, while DFID included conflict and reconstruction in their aid strategy. The European Union, France, and Japan also included fragile states into their development discourse. Japan, along with the UK and US, also included the impacts and goals of the War on Terror in their foreign aid

strategy. Large scale efforts such as peacebuilding activities, focusing on conflict-affected countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Tanzania and Kenya, also played a part in developing strategies for foreign aid.

Donor countries have been accused of sacrificing development goals for the sake of security, without regard for the original aims of aid: poverty reduction and promoting development. The discourse that has followed the securitization of aid can be characterized into having three objectives. At first, it is about the security interests of states, to keep their interests and populations secure. Secondly, it is about the security of humans, best expressed by the American ideology of freedom and liberty, and the sentiments outlined in the initial democratization goals in the War on Terror. Thirdly, it deals with the reconstruction and strengthening of the military, police, and judicial system in countries that struggle with conflict or have fragile governments (Duffield, 2007; Spear & Williams, 2012). Brown and Gravingholt (2016) found that in the aftermath of 9/11, the EU, Japan, France and the UK all securitized their aid in varying forms. The US, which demonstrated the highest level of securitization in their findings by including self-interest and military actors in their aid policies, had experienced a securitization of foreign aid since the end of the Cold War, but there was a significant surge after 9/11 as well. The UK also combined their development and security objectives, although while including their own interests they have still managed to focus on poverty reduction in their aid strategy.

However, the two largest changes yielded by the securitization of foreign aid is the focus on fragile states and the comprehensive government approach. Brown and Gravingholt (2016) found that the focus on fragile states is undeniably linked to 9/11, as they serve as breeding grounds for terrorist and criminal groups, which can pose a threat

to the industrialized states and international security. This link helps justify aid to fragile states, as it directly supports underdeveloped nations, while indirectly supporting the donor countries' national interest. Both the US and the UK were early users of the term fragile states and have used it in their development policies. Both the Clinton and George W. Bush administrations were concerned with fragile states and the security threat they posed. The UK has claimed since the 1990s that fragile states threaten international security and peace, and this is reflected in DFIDs development policies as well as British national security strategies. Furthermore, both Britain and the US adopted a comprehensive approach for dealing with development and security, integrating departments' efforts to support both instead of the previous bifurcated system. Not all countries have made this change though, such as Japan, which, while it has participated in the securitization of foreign aid, still keeps government departments more separate and keeps the focus on peacebuilding activities.

The securitization of foreign aid is the result of a strategic framework that was overtaken by events. 9/11, and the resulting fear of follow on attacks, damaged the previous understanding regarding development, national interest and security, and forced policy makers as well as academics to look at things from a new lens. Chandler (2007) explains that "security has been redefined to encompass not merely the security of people rather than the security of states, but also to redefine security concerns much more broadly than merely the threat of violence: to include economic and social concerns such as welfare, employment and the distribution of national wealth." This redefinition, combined with the inclusion of failing, fragile, or failed states in both the aid and security discourse, inherently links aid, national interest and security together.

## 2.4 Millennium Development Goals

The securitization of foreign aid becomes even more interesting as it happened during the same time as 191 countries and 22 international organizations committed to the United Nation Millennium Development Goals (2000)<sup>7</sup> aiming to “free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty [...] *making* the right to development a reality for everyone.” The goals were prepared with the input from governments and humanitarian organizations, and consisted of eight international development goals, aimed to be achieved by 2015:

1) eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, 2) achieve universal primary education, 3) promote gender equality and empower women, 4) reduce child mortality, 5) improve maternal health, 6) combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, 7) ensure environmental sustainability, and 8) develop a global partnership for development. (United Nations, 2015b, pp. 4 – 7).

The MDGs initiated a cancellation of debt by heavily indebted countries to allow them to contribute to reaching the goals by focusing on programs related to human capital, government infrastructure, and human rights, with the intent to alleviate poverty and conflict, and increase development and living standards (Radelet, 2004; Roberts, 2010). The 2000s was also a decade that saw a steady rise of aid spending, thought to have been brought on by the MDGs. In 2000, aid spending went from being slightly over \$80 billion to \$134 billion (Brown & Gravingholt, 2016). The MDGs were purposefully ambiguous in an effort to allow underdeveloped countries to tailor it to their specific

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<sup>7</sup> The United Nations Millennium Development Goals were replaced by the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals in 2015 (United Nations, 2015c).

needs, instead of a one-size-fits-all approach. The developed countries were expected to assist the underdeveloped countries by increasing aid spending, providing debt relief, allowing access to medicine and technology, and promoting trade and partnership.

The reasoning behind the MDGs, to essentially jump start the journey to sustainable development, is best explained in the MDGs progress report for Africa:

[...] the development process and its challenges and opportunities will persist long after the MDGs have passed. Africa must commit to inclusive, transformative development that reduces income poverty, creates decent jobs, enhances the quality of and access to social services, reduces inequality and promotes resilience to climate-related hazards. Achieving these objectives will invariably put Africa on a trajectory towards sustained and sustainable development. The continent must ensure that the outcomes of its interventions meet the litmus test of economic, social and environmental sustainability (United Nations, 2013, p. 4).

The rate of extreme poverty has reduced by almost half since 2000, with poverty rates in Africa declining almost 40% (United Nations, 2013; United Nations, 2015b), as well as generating positive results on child mortality and AIDS/HIV rate and education. The MDGs have been a strong incentive for an increased aid budget among developed states and help focus their development policies. For example, DFID included the MDGs in their education strategy 2010 – 2015. The US government affirmed in 2009 that the MDGs are American goals, and that USAID has saved over three million lives annually by providing immunizations, as well as being key in providing safe drinking water and combating HIV/AIDS (Kremer, van Lieshout & Went, 2009; Radelet, 2004; Sachs,



2012a). Admittedly, the MDGs have yielded uneven success, but they have been instrumental in spearheading the development agenda into the new millennium.

## **2.5 National Interest & Altruism**

It is important to note that while the concept of national interest might be clear and concise, identifying what the national interest of individual states are, is neither obvious nor brief. While there are similarities, the national interest of state A, will be different from states B to Z. Theories have been developed to help identify and explain the national interest of individual states. Many European leaders in the middle ages spoke the language of morality and religion when explaining state behavior and objectives, where national interest played second fiddle. There is no uniformity across so many actors over an extended period of time. Some genuinely acted primarily in support of what they believed to be moral. Others simply sought self-aggrandizement and used brute power to enforce their will without claiming to act for the greater good. But most felt the need to at least justify their actions with appeals to something other than self-interest, even if the goal was primarily to benefit the king. This was a time when even those with supreme earthly power justified their rule by claiming to be God's anointed.

The primacy of national interest was championed by Niccolo Machiavelli (1469 – 1527), and since then has been an important concept in the field of international relations and politics. In theory, national interest represents the common interest for the state and its citizens. States have a responsibility to ensure the safety, survival, and growth of the state, and the term is used to organize the objectives, ambitions, reasoning, and actions of states as it pertains to their military and security, economic, diplomatic, and cultural goals (Clinton, 1994). Nye (1999) explains that in a democratic

state, national interest is a “set of shared priorities regarding relations with the rest of the world” and is “used to describe as well as prescribe foreign policy.”

National interest has been the founding block of Realism, but some states found it unsavory to be seen as purely acting out of self-interest, especially after the First World War. The flourishing of idealism and the establishment of the League of Nations added the term ‘collective security’ to the foreign policy discourse. Collective security is the agreement that the security of one state is the concern of all the states in the agreement, and that they are committed to collectively respond to threats against any of their number (Nye & Welch, 2016). However, the League of Nations failed due to important states either refusing to join, or not finding it in their national interest to deter the use of force with each other. Following the Second World War, Realism and Liberalism had a rebirth and helped shape the creation of the United Nations, a less idealistic version of the League of Nations, but still concerned with collective security (Burchill, 2015).

How states define their national interest has changed over the years with globalization and technological developments, and is also distinct to the individual state.

Traditionally, national interest was primarily concerned with ‘hard power,’ which led to a focus on military and economic power. But the importance of ‘soft power’ – cultural and ideological appeal, and diplomatic skills – has increased. National interest is not just about economic and military power, but also culture, diplomatic skills, and international relations (Nye, 2005 & 2011). Nye (1999) explains this change as states now having to play a three-dimensional chess game, where you are “playing on several boards at the same time” and as a result, policymakers find it hard to keep their foreign policy strategies categorized and coherent. Thus, it might not be a surprise that research

by Morgenthau (1962), Liska (1960), Hoadley (1980), Griffin (1991), White (2004), and Milner and Tingley (2010) all found that the state's national interests directly influenced their allocation of foreign aid.

Additionally, the border between national interest and altruism has been blurred. As policymakers seek to include morality and cooperation with other states or institutions as part of their strategy to secure their national interest, it is hard to keep the two separate. In a nutshell, national interest would be classified as selfish-motives and altruism would be classified as unselfish-motives for foreign aid. Despite studies finding that both donor interest and recipient needs matter in allocation of aid, research has primarily concluded that previous relationships and national interests tend to trump the economic needs of the recipient state. A study by Alesina and Dollar (2000) found that previous relationships between donor and recipient, and the national interests for the donor state heavily influenced the aid allocation process. Research by McGillivray and Oczkowski (1992) on the UK, concluded that British aid tended to favor its former colonies. While the economic needs of the recipient are not labelled a main factor, research has concluded that the donor's economic interests are. Ali and Isse (2006) researched over 150 countries and found that existing or the possibility of import, trade, and investment relationships greatly impacted the aid allocation process. Research by Hoeffler and Outram (2011) and Dietrich (2012) made similar conclusions about cultivating trade relationships being a crucial factor in the aid allocation process. Sogge's (2002) research on foreign aid and the North-South relationship, observed that with the humanitarian, commercial, and strategic motives that guides aid, donor states also benefit from the knowledge and capital which leaves the developing states (south) and arrives at the doorstep of the developed donor states (north). Sogge called this a joint process of giving and taking.

Furthermore, Bearce and Tirone (2010), Berthelemy and Tichit (2004), Berthelemy (2006), and Younas (2008) all found evidence that while altruistic motives such as having a lasting and effective impact on development and it being their moral duty were mentioned, that aid was motivated by national interest. Research by Hook (1995) and Berthelemy (2005) found a strong link between foreign aid and national interest, including political, economic, cultural, diplomatic, and security interests. That is not to say that aid cannot be both in the donor state's national interest and altruistic. As Svensson (1999) stated, while most countries demonstrated national interest as a motivation in their foreign aid, they also demonstrated altruistic motives, one cannot disregard the donor state's self-reported altruistic motives.

## **2.6 Structural Realism**

Structural Realism, also referred to as Neorealism, takes a systemic approach when looking at state behavior. Structural Realism looks at the relationships between the actors (states) in the international system and the elements (anarchy and security) of the structure related to their behavior (Mearsheimer, 2013). Similar to its ideological origins in traditional Realism, the main factors of Structural Realism are anarchy, capabilities (hard power), self-help, and national interest (Waltz, 1979).

The 'father' of Structural Realism, Kenneth Waltz (1979), describes the structure of the international system as anarchic, meaning there is no overarching global authority or formal hierarchical organization to provide stability and security, thus the most important aspect for states are their capabilities. As a result, it creates a self-help system where states are responsible for their own security and survival. Sovereign states are the primary actors in international relations, because they are the only actors who have the capabilities to use force and defend themselves. The key motive for a state is security

and survival, and capabilities are crucial in achieving this. Capabilities are what states need to defend themselves, and refer to a state's economy, demography, natural resources, military, and technology. As Waltz (1979) explains, capabilities are relative, being unevenly distributed and measured against what other states have. States seek to maximize their relative power, and this results in the balance of power, meaning security is enhanced due to no state being the dominant military power. With capabilities being key for state survival, and since states continually seek to acquire more capabilities and cannot be sure of other states intentions, states always feel insecure, resulting in a continued cycle of competition for security (Herz, 1950). This predicament also results in the security dilemma. Jervis (1978) uses the example of the arms races between Germany and Britain during the First World War, and the United States and Russia during the Cold War, which saw the deadliest arms race in human history.

Structural Realism considers national interest to be a cumulation of security concerns and the desire to expand capabilities. For example, it can be in their national interest to protect territory or gain more economic and military power. Thus, one can conclude that: (1) the national interest of states is best understood when looking at their relative capabilities; and (2) national interest is shaped by the states 'placing' in the international system. Before states can realize their preferences, they must gain enough capabilities. Thus, Structural Realist domestic politics and preferences are not a driving factor in state's foreign policy, as their primary motivation is in seeking security and developing capabilities. As Mearsheimer (2013) explains, "the structure of the international system leaves them [states] little choice if they want to survive" (p. 71).

While being a well-known international relations theory, many academics argued Realism and its ideological children were outdated and not applicable to deal with the structural changes following the end of the Cold War, globalization, and economic integration. In *Structural Realism after the Cold War*, Waltz (2000), who does not consider the Realist perspective to be outdated, explained that the reason why this was argued was due to the perceived notion “that international politics is being transformed and Realism is being rendered obsolete as democracy extends its sway, as interdependence tightens its grip, and as institutions smooth the way to peace” (Waltz, 2000, p. 6). However, as Waltz explains, only “changes *of* the system would do it; changes *in* the system would not” (Waltz, 2000, p. 5) make a theory obsolete. Following 9/11, Structural Realism made a comeback, mainly due to the strengthening of the state through the rise of nationalism (Mearsheimer, 2013, p. 86) and sense of insecurity felt around the world.

While it is not a theory of foreign policy but of international relations, it does explain state behavior in the international system (outcome of foreign policy) and national interest (influencer of foreign policy), and based on the assumption put forth, according to Structural Realists’ foreign aid is given only if it helps further their own national interest. We can also borrow from one of Realism’s ‘founding fathers’ Hans Morgenthau. In his article *A Political Theory of Foreign Aid*, Morgenthau (1962a) claims all forms of foreign aid are politically motivated and are used as a means of buying influence, which increases power in the long-term (Morgenthau, 1962a, pp. 301 – 308). In their research, Bueno de Mesquita and Smith (2009) examined the movement of aid and policy deals. They found that trade and security were the driving motivations of foreign aid allocation, and concluded that foreign aid can indeed buy influence.

While ‘aid for policy deals’ might be ethically questionable, Realists would argue it is

rational state behavior and can be beneficial for both the donor and recipient state.

Bueno de Mesquita and Smith conclude that despite the entangled motives, aid can be beneficial for both donor and recipient states, and their respective leaders. They use the Camp David Peace Agreement to illustrate their hypotheses: The peace agreement made the former Egyptian state leader Hosni Mubarak forge peace with Israel, in order for Egypt to receive aid from the US. In return, Israel got one less contentious relationship with an Arab state, and the US augmented its power in the Middle East region (Bueno de Mesquita & Smith, 2009). The example illustrates that states will, within their capabilities, give aid to where they need it the most, as it is the principle of survival.

A Structural Realist outlook on the current challenges in the world shows that poor and failing states are even more unpredictable actors than the already unpredictable and anarchic world order, thus they pose a risk. As Riddell (2007) explains, collapsed and fragile states can serve as a breeding ground for criminal and hostile non-state actors, as well as a utopia for illegal trafficking and dealing. These groups and activities have a tendency to spread and can affect the security of even the most stable states. These concerns are also voiced in both British and American national security and development strategies. As Realism argues, state security and survival are the priority of all states, and the international structure forces them to act according to their capabilities. Thus, by tactically giving aid to failing states, it will have long-term positive effects on a state's security measures.

While foreign aid from a Realist perspective is not about helping other states achieve an equal level, it does serve as a bargaining chip in a long-term strategy of gaining influence and balancing power. Foreign aid is like an investment, a proactive method of targeting states of strategic interests and sowing influence that will have long-term

benefits. With no hierarchical authority, law can only be enforced through state power, and states will only use their power for this if it has an interest in the outcome. Thus, while international laws and institutions may be established, and states may choose to follow them, they are a mere symptom of state behavior, not the cause, and international development assistance is driven by state self-interest (Kanbur et al., 1999). What we have witnessed in the international realm is that development and foreign assistance have replaced military interventions and colonialism, and become the favored state behavior by the global community (Meadowcroft, 2006; Mingst, 2008). This could result in a strong belief that Liberal concepts are dominating the international realm. However, while foreign aid may be built on Liberal ideas, for a Realist, foreign aid is an excellent way for states to build political credit. Arguably, foreign aid is one more proverbial tool for states to create the ideal conditions where they can best secure their national interests.

## **2.7 Neoliberalism**

Neoliberalism got its footing in the Twentieth Century. Developed from British and American economic culture, it revamped the Liberal school of thought (Tamatea, 2005). It focuses on the importance of international cooperation, democratic governance, and the free market, and argues that state interaction is not limited to official interaction through politics and security, but also commercial, organizational, and individual interaction through economics and culture (Weiss et al., 2014; Hicks & Kenworthy, 2003). The expansion of democratic governments over authoritarian regimes and rising importance of international institutions and law has, according to Liberal thought, encouraged states to behave more peacefully and less selfishly (Hicks & Kenworthy, 2003). The argument is that states forgo immediate gains as cooperation brings greater benefits, especially economic benefits, in the long run.



Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye have been key developers of Neoliberal thinking.

Similar to Structural Realism, Neoliberalism considers states to be the key actors in the international arena, and national interest to be the central determination for state behavior. However, their definition of national interest is slightly different. In *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*, Keohane and Nye (1989) find that domestic and foreign policy is intertwined, and instead of relative gain, they argue to think of interest in terms of absolute gain; that a state's interest is determined by acquiring more power, including military and economic, but also having a cultural effect and engaging in peaceful relations and trade in order to gain more power. While hard power is important, and the use of force is effective, soft power, especially economic power and cooperation, is of much greater significance.

Traditional Liberalism is recognized as a champion of individual freedom, equality of opportunity and political participation, and states are the representation of these individuals. Liberalism as an international relations theory is hypothesized by scholars Mill, Locke, Smith, and Kant (Doyle & Recchia, 2011), and considered to be a proponent of international cooperation to attenuate the security dilemma, as well as the use of international agencies in coordinating the cooperative policies furthering international public good including free trade and arms control. While Neoliberalism acknowledges that the world is a perilous place, the consequences of using military power often outweigh the benefits, and other sources of power, such as economic and diplomatic power, should be exercised. This is not to say that Structural Realism does not acknowledge the validity of these tools; the emphasis is just different (Hicks & Kenworthy, 2003; Steans & Pettiford, 2005).

Neoliberals use game theory to explain why states cooperate or not: they cooperate when there is an institution that can arrange mutual benefits and hold states accountable (Zagare & Branislav, 2010). However, there are a multitude of factors that connect societies and governments, such as multinational organizations and corporations, as well as informal ties between governments, including a historical connection or shared assumptions. Furthermore, Putnam (1988) describes the relationship between domestic and international politics using a 'two-level games' approach and finds that international pressure pushes domestic politics to change and actually work towards fostering international cooperation. In their research, Dudley and Montmarquette (1976) identified three donor motives. Firstly, donor states expect the recipient state will show their gratitude by giving their support in the international arena. The second motive identified is economic, that donor states use aid as a tool to encourage recipients to trade with the donors, advancing the economic interests of donors. Lastly, donors actually want the recipient state to benefit from the aid, and to develop a higher living standard for their population (Dudley & Montmarquette, 1976). In a more recent study, Alesina and Dollar (2000) found that donors use aid to serve their strategic interest, but also concluded that the per capita income in the aid recipient state, and previous relationships between donor and recipient, strongly influence the aid allocation process. Strategic interest is a very broad category, which can relate to security, economic, and technological interests. Additionally, research by Lancaster (2007) concluded that the 'traditional purpose' of foreign aid includes commercial, cultural, developmental, and diplomatic objectives, as well as humanitarian relief, while recently it has expanded to include promoting democracy, economic and social transitions, and addressing current global issues.

The Liberal school of thought believes that due to non-state actors the boundaries between states are becoming more fluid, and that the distribution of power and the role of knowledge influence and constrain the interplay of state interest. Neoliberalism argues that non-state actors are fundamental players in international relations. This includes NGOs and international institutions such as the UN, World Bank, and IMF, and their involvement is mitigating the anarchic international community.

Neoliberalism argues that positive changes can be made in the international arena by humanitarian agencies such as civil society, NGOs, and collective action. Furthermore, Neoliberalism finds that domestic factors influence foreign policy behavior, such as socio-political and economic conditions, as well as public opinion (Hicks & Kenworthy, 2003; Steans & Pettiford, 2005, pp. 29 – 45). Research by Kardam (2004) found that due to the perspective offered by Neoliberal and Social Constructivist theory, gender equality became a part of the international agenda, explaining that “Neoliberal theories of international regimes ask about the conditions under which states collaborate and form international regimes, how convergent expectations among independent actors in an international issue area, such as human rights, environment or trade are formed. They acknowledge the role of transnational networks, international institutions, epistemic communities of experts in shaping state choices” (Kardam, 2004, p. 104). Based on these assumptions, states are not simple creatures who only seek to survive and prosper in an anarchic world, rather they are constructed by individuals and non-state actors who project their interests into the government, and then into the international system. While survival is still a key objective, commercial and economic objectives, as well as ideological ideals, shape the focus of a state’s foreign policy.

There is research to back up Neoliberal sentiments. The Collier-Dollar model for example, argues the quality of policies in the recipient country can tell us the possible

efficiency of aid in said country (Collier & Dollar, 2002; McGillivray, 2003a). Dollar and Levin (2006) tested the theory of aid efficiency and its relationship with the quality of recipient state policies and institutions from 1984 to 2003. The study found that there had been a shift in the early 1990s, as the relationship was negative between 1984 to 1989, but by 2000 to the end of the study, they found a positive correlation. What this study showed is that governance has increasingly become a central factor in the aid allocation process. Berthelemy and Tichit's (2004) research on aid allocation by bilateral donors after the Cold War found that postcolonial ties had a declining influence, while trade interests were increasingly influencing the allocation process. Additionally, they found that economic performance and political governance, especially democratic institutions, attract donors. Younas (2008) found similar results researching OECD donor motives, namely that trade benefits have a strong influence on the aid allocation process, and that the focus was more on improving human rights and infant mortality than actually alleviating poverty.

In conclusion, Neoliberalism argues that states try to establish common ground by forming alliances and international institutions to guide the international arena. Foreign aid is a tool to enhance economic and political development, so that underdeveloped states can participate actively in the international arena and free market. Aid is also given to stimulate the building of trust and shared norms and values, which allows for the creation of cooperation and the free market to flourish.

## **2.8 Social Constructivism**

Roger Riddell discusses the evolution of foreign aid in the book *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?* (2007), noting that it might be slowly changing away from an act driven by power politics and to a more egalitarian nature focused on freedom and democracy.

British and American foreign aid has fluctuated throughout recent history, yet it has shown resilience and ability to reinvent itself through all the criticism and cynicism. With the end of the Cold War, foreign aid revived itself in order to adapt to the new and globalized world; its success or failure to do so is still up for debate. However, as foreign aid changes, so does the international relations discourse. Structural Realism and Neoliberalism revamped due to the changing global political environment, and new theories have emerged trying to identify factors that lead states to behave contrary to Realist and Liberal predictions (Adler, 1997; Erkens, 2012). This is where, according to Adler, Social Constructivism seized the opportunity to grab the middle ground. Social Constructivism takes a different path, being formed as a social theory rather than political, arguing “that the manner in which the material world shapes and is shaped by human action and interaction depends on dynamic normative and epistemic interpretations of the material world” (Adler, 1997, p. 322).

Social Constructivism looks at how ideas and social interactions happen among states. Notable Constructivist scholar Alexander Wendt explains that Social Constructivism does not view the international system to be a zero-sum game where states have to fight for power and survival, but can actually co-exist and cooperate (Wendt et al., 1996; Wendt & Fearon, 2002; Wendt, 2006). According to Wendt (1992) the international arena is a social structure, made up of our ideas and understandings, and while physical elements such as military and economic power are forever present, the communicative element is what gives it meaning and worth. Wendt explains:

Social structures have three elements: shared knowledge, material resources, and practices. First, social structures are defined, in part, by shared understandings, expectations, or knowledge. These constitute the actors in a situation and the

nature of their relationships, whether cooperative or conflictual. A security dilemma, for example, is a social structure composed of intersubjective understandings in which states are so distrustful that they make worst-case assumptions about each other's intentions, and as a result define their interests in self-help terms. A security community is a different social structure, one composed of shared knowledge in which states trust one another to resolve disputes without war. This dependence of social structure on ideas is the sense in which constructivism has an idealist (or 'idea-ist') view of structure (Wendt, 1992, p. 73)

In other words, it is knowledge, understanding, and expectation that define the states, and inevitably influences their behavior and relationship with other states. While anarchy is still present, there are other options than an arms race. In fact, Wendt claims a more benign form of anarchy exists as studying state behavior and identities helps to foster a friendlier and more cooperative interaction. In turn, this benevolent international environment shapes state identities to follow the international norms of accepted behavior (Zehfuss, 2002).

Social Constructivism claims that state behavior is constructed from a social context, meaning it derives from a complex mix of history, norms, and beliefs. Thus, concepts of state power and behavior, and by extension foreign aid, cannot be properly understood without understanding the interaction which it stems from (Guzzini & Leander, 2006). Social Constructivist sentiments can be found in Cingranelli's (1993) study on how 'moral positions' affect US relations, which found that the political leaders in the US were driven by the factors which make up the American culture: capitalism, democracy, individualism, and rule of law.

The donor interest model and the recipient need have been two of the main research theories in the study of aid allocation (Dollar & Levin, 2006; White & McGillivray, 1995). The donor interest model finds that foreign aid is a tool for donor countries in promoting their national interest, where political, economic, or pre-existing relationships contribute to countries receiving more resources. However, the recipient need model argues that aid allocation should be driven by the needs of the recipient country, thus countries receive resources based on the levels of poverty and development (McGillivray, 2003a; McGillivray, 2003b; McKinlay & Little, 1979).

Both of these theories were supported by Gounder's (1994) research of Australia and the study by Cooray et al. (2005) of Japan's aid programs. In both cases, the studies concluded that the respective countries took both the recipient needs and their national interest into account during the aid allocation process. Further research by Hook (1995), Berthelemy (2005 & 2006) and Dollar and Levin (2004) concluded that 'smaller' donor countries, such as Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, and Austria, tended to be more altruistic and base their aid on the country's poverty levels, while the 'larger' donors, such as the United States, France, and Japan, were more self-seeking and mixed in their allocation of aid.

Slaughter (2011) explains that power and material interest are not irrelevant, but Social Constructivism emphasizes how ideas and identities are shaped, and how they form and influence state behavior. Arguably, the society we live in today is filled with old norms and values being challenged, boundaries being dissolved, and new ideas and identities being accepted. It would be natural to argue that as these changes shape individuals and domestic politics, it shapes international politics and its actors, and vice versa. In essence, international norms and values of cooperation, altruism, and development have

been internalized by countries like the United Kingdom and the United States, thus impacting their foreign aid and international relations. An example of this is Germany, which since the Second World War has taken an active and positive role in the international community in order to repudiate their Nazi past (Adler, 1997; Guzzini & Leander, 2006). This does not mean that states will not act in order to protect their security and power, it just takes into account the role norms and beliefs play in human behavior, and how the history and culture of a society impacts the beliefs and interest, and by extension the behavior of a state (Burton, 2010). Instead of states being survivalists seeking power and prosperity, Social Constructivists view states as social actors who behave in accordance with domestic and international norms and interact with other states in a social and flexible way.

Research by Ahmed et al. (2011) supports Social Constructivist sentiments, arguing that donor state's national identity, cultural characteristics, and political beliefs influence their foreign aid. These variables would be more or less fixed within a state, having had decades and more to set roots, and if change happens it would be very slow. It would be natural that these domestic variables influence foreign aid, and this could explain differences among donors. Lancaster (2007) identified four categories of 'domestic political forces' that influence foreign aid: First, a society's ideas, meaning its worldviews and values that are founded on their culture and identity, mold aid based on the norms they prescribe to. Second, Lancaster found that the organization and role of political institutions shapes the purpose of foreign aid. The third category identified is interests, including commercial, religious, and public interests, and their influence on foreign aid. Lastly, Lancaster argues that the organization and management of aid in a government impacts the formulation of aid, especially if a specific department is dedicated to dealing with foreign aid (Lancaster, 2007, pp. 17 – 22).



From these assumptions we can deduct that Social Constructivism highlights the importance of identity and culture in world politics, and how personal ideologies and historical connections impacts a nation's national interests and behavior. It emphasizes the role of non-state actors, and that ideas and dialogue have the capacity to shape political actor's interests and behavior. Furthermore, it looks at the interplay between agencies and structures within the international arena, emphasizing the impact that interests, ideas, norms, culture, and institutions have on international politics, especially in foreign policy.

## 2.9 Putting it Together

National interest is easily defined in the abstract, but takes on unique aspects when applied to individual states. No state will have the same national interest objectives, nor will they have the same approach in how to safeguard those objectives. Furthermore, as national interest differs between states, it also changes with the political landscape, global events, and based on the position and resources of the state. As a result, it can be difficult to pin down *what the national interest is of state X*. Similarly, research by Bandyopadhyay and Vermann (2013) found that donor motives for foreign aid change as the global political climate changes. Watershed events such as 9/11, along with the securitization of aid and the MDGs outlined by the United Nations, mean foreign aid has had a busy start to the Twenty-First Century. There is a circle of continuing evolution: as the world progresses the economic and political climate changes, thus changing domestic and international politics, modifying and revising national interest, which alters the influencing variables of foreign aid allocation and the donor motives. Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism demonstrate the different theoretical methods to identify and define a state's national interest, as well as motivations for foreign aid. This creates a starting point in identifying British and

American national interest and donor motives. To understand the link between national interest and education aid, one needs to understand the context in which it operates. The literature and theories presented in this chapter help generate a greater understanding of the international sphere and place the research in the international relations discourse.

As discussed in the introduction, this theoretical framework is synthesized based on the theories of Structural Realism, Neoliberalism and Social Constructivism, combining their key insights into a hybrid theoretical framework. There are multiple international relations theories to choose from. While Karl Marx theorized about the dynamics of international relations and globalization already in the communist manifesto, presenting insights that has not been overlooked by international relations scholars, the Marxist theory, and theories it has inspired such as Dependency and World System theories, has struggled with grasping geopolitics and finding its own footing outside of Realist (Davenport, 2011, pp. 28 – 30; Pieterse, 1988). Davenport (2011) writes that “[...] while imperialism theory had a consciously international context, still the orthodox tradition of Marxism at no stage posed the existence of political multiplicity and, correlatively, the delimited form of the political as themselves worthy of, or demanding, theoretical reflection (p. 29), especially compared to Realism, “[...] which, for all its problems, is connected to a circumstance of profound significance” (p. 30) and “is based upon a strong claim about the nature of political existence” (p. 31). It is impossible to cover all theories in explaining my choices, but it remains factual that Structural Realism and Neoliberalism have been the two dominant international relations theories for the last thirty-or-so years, with well-established and referenced insights that is valuable for this research. Furthermore, the ‘newcomer’ theory Social Constructivism has increased its popularity with its allure of helping to understand state identity, interest, and behavior on a deeper level. Synthesizing these three dominant

international relations theories and their variety of key insights will be most helpful.

When utilizing the theories in this way, they complement each other in identifying the different significant variables and contribute to the research in achieving a well-rounded perspective on the assumptions of state behavior, national interest, and education aid.

In table two, the theories key tenets have been summarized as it pertains to this study, focusing on the concepts of national interest and security, altruism, and the rationale for state behavior. This table is used in the creation of the synthesized theoretical framework, but also serves as both a reminder to the fundamental differences between the theories and the particular insights they offer.

*Table 2 Key Tenets of the Theories*

Motives	Structural Realism	Neoliberalism	Social Constructivism
National Interest	To obtain capabilities and influence to ensure their security	Defined by absolute gains: focus on economic wealth and democratic ideals	Traditional interest but influenced by norms and values, as well as national history
Security	States are motivated by their national interest for more security and capabilities	States are motivated by cooperation and a free market to ensure their security and national interest	International insecurity forces a state to act in order to protect their national security and power
Altruism	States will help other states if it furthers their national interests	International aid supports the creation of alliances and builds	Norms promoting international cooperation have

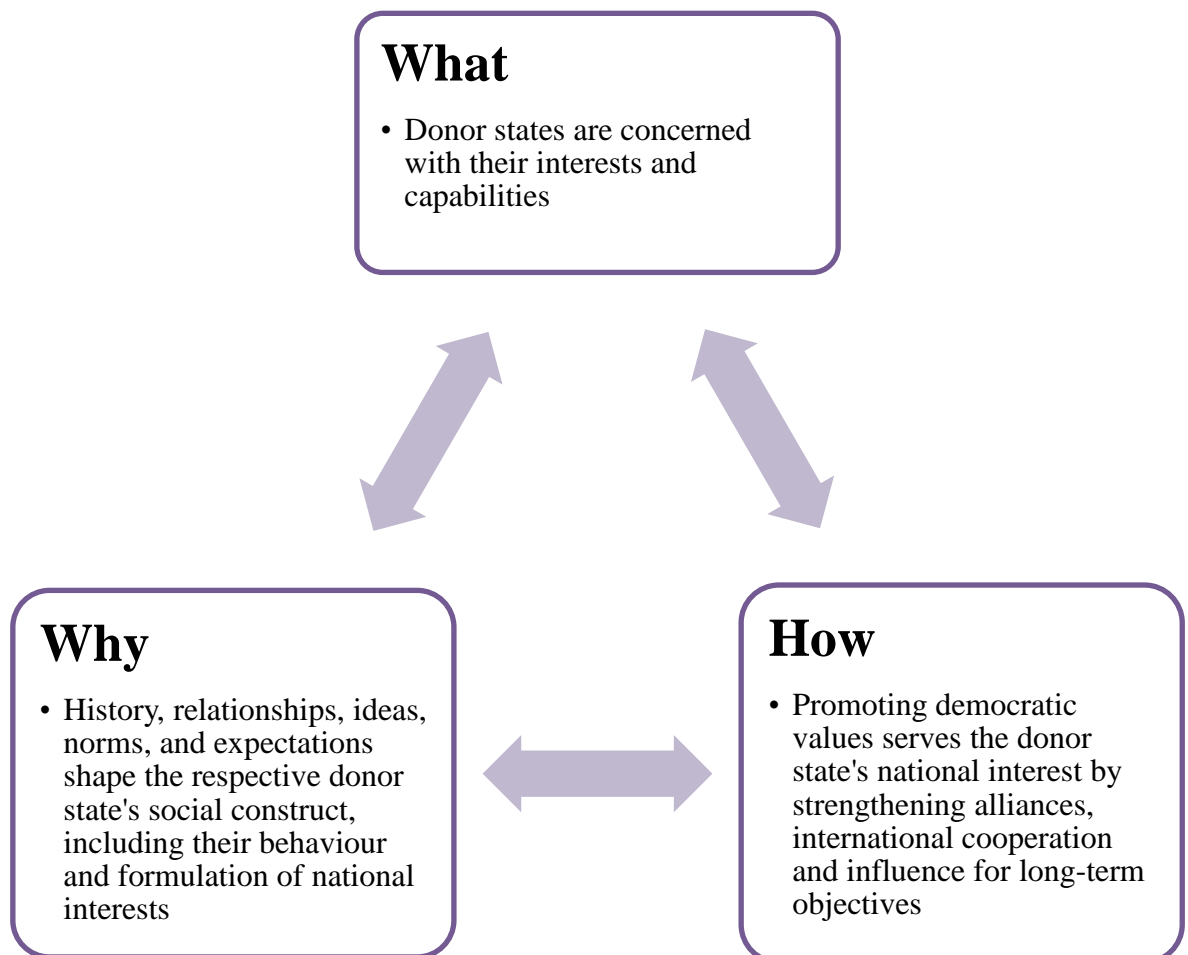
		cooperation, mutual trust, and shared norms and values	been internalized nationally
Rationale for Behavior	States are bound by the international structure to perform internationally according to their capabilities	The ideas of mutual benefit, absolute gain, and cooperation determine state behavior	International and national norms and ideas influence the behavior of state

It is important to note that as the literature demonstrates, there are fundamental disagreements between Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism. Furthermore, while they engage with the same key concepts, table two shows that they have different ways of defining and explaining them. Structural Realism does not prescribe to the heart throbbing picture of states selflessly aiding the disadvantaged in their quest to save the world, but rather a strategy to further their own national interests. Foreign aid is like an investment, where the Realist school of thought would look at it from a cost-benefit perspective, and what benefits overflow to the recipients from the investment serving the state's self-interest is welcomed, albeit not the goal. Neoliberals might tug more at the heart strings, arguing that foreign aid is the tool that will allow for the building of trust and establishment of shared (democratic) norms and value, which will allow for international cooperation and the free market to flourish, serving national security and economic interest. Social Constructivism does not state the motives as clearly as Structural Realism and Neoliberalism, rather it offers insight to what shapes state behavior and motives. As Social Constructivism finds, it is the social construct of a state, made up by its citizens, history, and values, that shapes and guides the interests,

behavior, and foreign policy of a state. Furthermore, international norms and values have been internalized by states, impacting their foreign aid. The variable presented by structural conservatism helps explain foreign aid that is aimed at tackling global and current issues that do not have a direct correlation with state interests and their moral argument. These are palpable disagreements. However, by synthesizing the key insights from the three theories into one composite and coherent theoretical framework it allows me to identify all these different aspects, which would not otherwise be available.

Few scholars are devoted to one theory, most advocating for different theories based on the context and field (Dunne, 2013), and while theories are fixated in their beliefs, this does not mean they cannot be modified. For example, Structural Realism originated from traditional Realism, and Neoliberalism is founded on the Liberal school of thought. It is clear that Structural Realism, Neoliberalism and Social Constructivism each offer key valid insights, but I find that one theoretical approach is not capable of singlehandedly capturing the intricacies of contemporary international politics. Each of these competing theoretical perspectives demonstrates different significant aspects of international politics, and to the variables which steer the formulation of foreign aid policy. By strategically giving aid, states can get access to resources and materials, a favorable vote in the United Nations, trade and investment opportunities, and build alliances, which in turn can benefit their security concerns. Combining the key insights from the three theories and creating one coherent theoretical framework will allow me to see multiple factors and clarify if and how national interest influences education aid. Identifying what states are concerned with, how they attempt to mitigate these concerns, and why they choose the strategy they do will help identify whether and how national interest influences their education aid policy formulation. All three theories explain the

what, the how, and the why in their own terms, but in order to cast a wider scope and produce new insights, I have combined the theories into one blended theoretical framework (Cairney, 2013), illustrated in figure one below, allowing each theory to contribute to answering the what, the why, and the how.



*Figure 1 Synthesized Theoretical Framework*

The theoretical framework illustrated in figure one is formed based on the key insights and concepts from Structural Realism, Neoliberalism and Social Constructivism, and enables me to identify the different factors which influence the motivation for education aid. All three identify national interest as *what* states are concerned with. While they have different ideas of what the national interest is, they essentially apply the concept as the foundation. However, their insight into *how* their national interest is safeguarded is

more problematic. Structural Realism argues that the cause for state behavior is national interest and power relations, where foreign aid is viewed as an instrument for states to buy influence, which in turn helps them to promote and secure their long-term interests and goals. Neoliberalism highlights the importance of establishing trust and shared values in order to develop international cooperation and stimulate a free market to protect their national interests. Lastly, Social Constructivism advocates the understanding of the social context, ideas, and norms of the country in which the policy is formed, along with the historical and cultural connections among states, as the key to discovering and explaining the motives for foreign aid. The *how* is written to reflect these insights. Similarly, the explanation for *why* states give foreign aid reflects the three theories, highlighting that history and ideas (Social Constructivism), norms and relationships (Neoliberalism), and expectations (Structural Realism) influence why states give foreign aid. It is important to note here that it is not a straightforward cherry picking of the theories, as Structural Realism also discusses history and norms, Social Constructivism mention expectations and relationships, and Neoliberalism includes ideas in their insights. All three theories are essentially represented as equally as possible in each box. Furthermore, the *what*, *how* and *why* all influence each other, and helps explain the other. Thus, they cannot be viewed as independent steps or a linear process, but rather a continuing circle influencing each other.

Theories of international relations are fiercely debated, so viewing them as universal truths about international politics would be illogical. Instead, one should view the theories as a set of assumptions that give insights and compliments to specific areas of international relations. None give a definite right or wrong answer to the questions that fill the international relations discourse, but they do supply us with tools to study and analyze the variables of international politics. Where Structural Realists emphasize the

balance of power and security, Neoliberals highlight cooperation and free markets, and Social Constructivists look to a historical and social context where intellectual entrepreneurs, identity, and new ideas shape the internationally accepted standards of state behavior. By adapting a coherent framework that synthesizes all three theories and their key insights, it also allows for the notion that state actions might be based on more than one premise. This will help guide the research, analyze the data and categorize the findings. Additionally, having a theoretical framework grounded on popular well-established international relations theories place this research in a larger context, and helps it partake in the contemporary and complex discussions of international relations theory and foreign policy.



### **Chapter 3 The Nuts & Bolts of Education Aid**

Foreign aid in both practice and as an academic topic has developed since 1962, introducing new ideas and concepts regarding the practices and motives of foreign aid. Foreign aid research has been largely on the aid allocation process and aid effectiveness. Research has shown that there are numerous motives for foreign aid, and the motives and allocation process have been discussed, contested, revised, questioned and discussed again, a circle most likely to be repeated. However, there seems to be some recurring rhetoric and hypotheses. Broadly stated, previous research on donor motives and aid allocation has shown that political and economic factors are the main determinants. Donor states might use foreign aid as a tool to promote their political, economic, commercial, and strategic interests, and it is often these interests that shape the content and flow of foreign aid. Motives are continually evolving, and with major changes in the global political climate, so does national interest and foreign aid. Before World War II, aid mostly consisted of providing financial resources, and during the Cold War period aid was used as a tool in forging alliances. The 2000s have witnessed a securitization of aid while at the same time the MDGs have increased the focus on development and education.

Over the last decade, security and development policies have been intertwined, focusing on fragile states that pose a security threat. Oxfam (2011) published a briefing paper that argued national security interest takes precedence over urgent needs when donors allocate aid, allocating it to fragile states of geostrategic interest who threaten their own security, forgetting impoverished countries who do not pose the same risk. The 2011 EFA report echoed similar concerns, stating that Afghanistan and Iraq received 38% of the aid given to 27 low income conflict-affected countries in 2007 – 2008, aid to Afghanistan tripled from 2002 to 2008, and Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan received

substantially more education aid than other conflict-affected countries (UNESCO, 2011, pp. 173 – 177). The disparities have furthered the concerns that national interest and foreign policy are diverting aid to front line countries, taking precedence over other low income and conflict-affected states. The merging of these two agendas, development and security, is particularly interesting when looking at the two approaches to education. The rationale for investing in education is not always obvious. There is the traditional approach, in which education is linked to building human capital and economic growth. However, the second approach is right-based education. Taking an expansive view of human rights, a rights-based approach to foreign aid argues that humans have the right to an education and to economic development. The inclusion of the fragile states' discourse and security objectives with the education, human rights, and development agenda will be addressed in this chapter.

The closing decades of the Twentieth Century saw an emphasis on education as a tool in facilitating underdeveloped countries to stimulate their national development thanks to the MDGs and EFA. Education was identified to have an impact on economic growth, alleviating poverty, and improving social equity. Unquestionably there are other factors that also contribute to economic development, poverty reduction, and social equity, such as agriculture and health, and the AIDS epidemic has caused its fair share of strain on national development (Madi & Hussain, 2007; Solheim, 2013). As has the multiple disadvantages women are subjected to. Providing women and girls with access to education can have profound social, political, and economic benefits for society (Diop, 2015). A multisectoral approach is a necessary strategy for achieving progress, but the understanding that education, and especially primary education, is important for the overall development strategy, is undeniable. Education can mitigate development through economic growth, improving health outcomes, alleviating social and cultural

tensions, and promoting good governance by building human capital. Gary Becker (2010) explains that “every culture has the capacity to produce a successfully developing nation” as long as they utilize their human capital correctly. To illustrate his argument, he uses the example of Korea:

If you look at Korea, for example, all the coal is in North, not South, Korea. Prior to the Korean War, the north was the richer part of Korea. Today North Korea is an economic disaster while South Korea is a very prosperous, democratic nation. South Korea prospered, I believe, mainly because it was able to utilize and promote the talents of its population effectively. All the Asian Tigers are highly educated and literate. On-the-job and other training, as well as good work habits and values, support these hardworking people (Becker, 2010, paragraph 7).

It is important to note that here are of course other factors as well that have contributed to the state of North and South Korea. Research by Michaelowa and Weber (2007) on the effectiveness of aid to the education sector, found that in states with poor governance, the effects of education can be negative, and even where there is good governance and stable infrastructure, the effectiveness of education aid was limited. As discussed in chapter two, there are two camps in foreign aid literature, sceptics and optimists. Staunch critic Easterly (2006) states that aid has created more ‘ill than good’ and Doucouliagos and Paldam (2005) argue research has failed to prove aid works. Arguably, different types of aid will have different results, and research by Dreher, Nunnenkamp and Thiele (2008) specifically looked at the effectiveness of education aid. While they disagree with Easterly’s argument that ‘aid has done little good’, they conclude that education aid has a ‘modest’ effectiveness. Similarly, research by Anwar

and Aman (2010) on the effectiveness of education aid in Pakistan for the period of 1971 to 2007, found that inadequate management and utilization by both donor and recipient, poor governance, as well as not enough aid were given, for the education aid to have an efficient impact. While the scope of this research is on education aid policy, it is important to note that education aid policies does not necessarily translate into the education aid programs, nor does it necessarily reflect the results of the programs. The research, and by extension the education aid literature consulted, focuses on the *potential* of education aid, and not the *effectiveness* and *actual results* of education aid. Thus, it is important to know that what these high-level policy documents believe is possible and hope to achieve with education aid, is not inevitably what they do achieve. The donors under examination, the United Kingdom and the United States, place education in the realm of both development and security discourse. This chapter builds on the literature presented in the previous chapter and aims to identify the specific attractiveness of education aid and linking it to the aforementioned theories, in order to gain insight into donor motives. Furthermore, this chapter will illustrate how education aid is linked to the securitization of aid, giving insight into the education-development-security-nexus. This chapter has two main sections, first focusing on the importance of education and then addressing the education aid puzzle. After giving a background to education aid, this chapter will present literature on the effectiveness and attractiveness of education aid. The discourse surrounding the appeal of education aid revolves around economic development, human development, and peace education, and the theories of human capital theory and democratic peace theory. This will give insight into the motives behind education aid, and how this correlates with national interest. Finally, in the education aid puzzle, the literature presented will be connected with the theories

presented in chapter two, explaining the tensions and specificities of education aid, and why it is an intriguing research puzzle.

### **3.1 Education Aid: A Background**

Contemporary education development programs can be traced back to development assistance to the newly independent countries in the 1950s and 1960s. Developed countries were considered partly responsible for the underdevelopment in previously colonized countries and provided financial aid and technical skills to mitigate the situation. Development was considered to be an adaptation of the economic and political system of the Western developed states, where education is considered the catalyst to the knowledge and skills necessary for economic and social development (Berman, 1992). Originally, education programs aimed to provide tertiary education and skills training by bringing educators from underdeveloped countries to developing countries. Due to concerns about brain drain and that current education programs contributed to the dependency recipient countries had on donor countries, there was a shift in the education aid discourse in the 1960s. Education programs were altered to invest in smaller projects focused on training teachers, giving technical support to local education agencies, and building schools (Bennell & Furlong, 1997; Lockheed & Verspoor, 1991).

The changes to education programs demonstrated some advantages. Since the donor country staffed and monitored the program, often specializing in a certain level or area of education, they stayed in the developing country, training personnel and offering technical services, which aided in the building of infrastructure. As a result, the donor country influenced the path of development in the recipient country. Samoff (1999) noted some challenges with the new programs, primarily that donor states focused on

short-term rather than long-term goals and that the selection of projects were highly politicized and colored by ideology. As a result, Samoff argued the education aid programs were often split and mismatched, never really functioning as the simple transaction of technical and financial resources it was intended to be. While the benefits of education for development were widely acknowledged, during the 1980s education spending subsequently shrank after the economic collapse. The financial crisis fueled the debate about the merits and most effective education aid programs, and whether to focus on primary, tertiary, or technical education (Bennell & Furlong, 1997). At the same time, the World Bank emerged as a significant donor of technical and financial resources for education, and Lockheed and Verspoor (1991) published research claiming that the most cost and development effective form of education aid was to support primary education.

In 1990, the World Education Forum adopted EFA. Spearheaded by UNESCO, it became an international movement aimed at implementing universal primary education. However, while EFA brought donors together and created a more unified education aid agenda focused on primary education, it did not increase aid budgets but rather donors reoriented their aid to primary education (Chabbott, 1998). Furthermore, donors adopted a systemwide approach to education, instead of smaller short-term projects, the aid was invested in the recipient country's budget, aimed at facilitating a long-term education development plan. There were concerns about giving the recipient government more control over how money was spent, but the systemwide aid was heavily conditioned and it was expected that the recipient country had to align their approach with the donor country. Additionally, the systemwide approach allowed donor states to be more selective in who they targeted, to develop specific educational programs for individual

countries, and to link education aid with reforms in other areas such as economic policy and governance (Harrold, 1995).

During the World Education Forum in 2000, the commitment to EFA was reaffirmed and aimed at supporting the MDGs, especially focusing on education, literacy, and gender inequality (Goldstein, 2004). The Dakar Framework for Action (2000) committed signatories to the following six goals:

(i) expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children; (ii) ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality; (iii) ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes; (iv) achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults; (v) eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality; (vi) improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills (UNESCO, 2000, p. 8).

The framework echoes sentiments found in research and government policies on education, that "education is a fundamental human right. It is the key to sustainable development and peace and stability within and among countries, and thus an

indispensable means for effective participation in the societies and economies of the Twenty-First Century, which are affected by rapid globalization (UNESCO, 2000, p. 8).” However, the framework casts a wider net than the MDGs, looking beyond primary education and also including life and social skills, such as how “we behave – towards other people, towards ourselves, towards the challenges and problems of life. They include skills in communicating, in making decisions and solving problems, in negotiating and asserting ourselves, in thinking critically and understanding our feelings” (Rose & Dyer, 2008, pp. 27 – 28). Research by Rose and Dyer (2008) found that aid agencies demonstrated both a rights-based and an economic argument in their education discourse, including education’s role in poverty reduction. Both USAID (2005a) and DFID (2001) expressed similar sentiments in their education strategies, finding that children are out of school due to poverty, which in turn makes it harder to climb out of poverty because they have not been educated. Additionally, both agencies recognize the empowerment education can provide, and recognize the role education has in stimulating good governance, health, and economic growth. As Rose and Dyer (2008) explains, education is the ‘panacea for many ills’ equipped to tackle different aspects of society.

As a result of the adoption of the Dakar framework, there has been international cooperation between organizations and governments, working together on creating access to education, and technological advancements to assist in ensuring the quality of education. Multilateral institutions such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the United Nations Development Program became early contributors to education development programs, and the World Bank continues to be one of the largest contributors to education. Nongovernmental organizations have also provided educational services, and cooperate with both multilateral and bilateral



institutions in education projects (Archer, 1994). However, bilateral institutions, such as USAID and DFID, have contributed the largest share of funding for development, and by extension education aid. In 2010, approximately three-fourths of education aid was from bilateral aid organizations (OECD, 2018). And thanks to the goals and arguments outline in the MDGs and EFA framework, the role of education in development has been strengthened, and is considered an important factor for governmental development policies. It is important to note, that while governments provide training and resources, most education aid today is still financial, in that it is the transfer of funds to the recipient countries education department or a specific education project.

### **3.2 The Importance of Education**

There is no simple answer as to why a country is underdeveloped or racked with conflict. There are numerous factors at play, and each country and conflict are unique. They commonly struggle with poverty, bad governance, corruption, crime, lack of freedom and equality, and health issues such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Ethnic, cultural, social, and other minority groups are often disadvantaged, and social tension is often ripe, which can and frequently does escalate to violence. Development is often linked to economic wealth, and while material wealth is not the only factor contributing to human well-being, it is the start to securing stability and housing, having a valuable role in society, and being independent.

Africa is a continent blessed with natural resources, with great economic and environmental diversity. However, many African countries struggle with underdevelopment, military dictatorships, and violent conflict. In the past decades, several development strategies employed have failed to yield the desired results, and researchers have identified the need for multipurpose projects across sectors. Including

the education sector, instead of focusing on standalone projects with a singular objective, governmental and non-governmental organizations are taking innovative and systemwide approaches. Together with international and local organizations, USAID executed a civic engagement program, teaching people about their rights and options. Communication skills and knowledge accelerated a community led movement that has resulted in 117 communities declaring they would abandon practices such as female genital cutting and child marriage (Tostan, 2018). A report from DFID (2010b) found that their education programs in Ghana and Nigeria had boosted female enrolment in primary schools, education projects had a positive influence on the health and empowerment for women in East Africa, and in Kenya, DFID helped TV soaps address domestic violence and abortion in their storylines. Furthermore, DFID research found that in Africa, “children are 40% more likely to live beyond the age of five if their mothers have spent at least five years in education” (DFID, 2010b). Knowledge allows underdeveloped states and their citizens to take charge of their own development, and it allows for a natural evolution of culture and attitudes on their own terms.

Research by Colonel John Venhaus (2010) shows that common characteristics of al-Qaeda members were feeling lost, frustrated, and undervalued, but also demonstrating weak personal problem-solving skills. In his report, Venhaus states that “if re-education through religious teaching can cause a fighter to renounce al-Qaeda, it stands to reason that religious education programs conducted with younger participants could inoculate them against the appeal of al-Qaeda” (Venhaus, 2010, p. 12). Similarly, in Macedonia, textbooks were contributing to conflict by perpetuating ethnocentric tendencies and had to have an overhaul of the curriculum, but the research pointed out the “potential of history textbooks to develop students’ ability to live independently within a multi-ethnic society, as well as to equip them with the basic critical thinking skills needed to

recognize contemporary threats” (Lichnofsky et al., 2017, p. 245). Women’s activists argue that “the economic, social, and political marginalization of women—for example through their exclusion from education and political decision making—perpetuated chronic poverty” (Carothers & Brechenmacher, 2014, p. 14) and development. Education makes citizens more peaceful, inclusive, and resilient, with creativity, problem solving, empathy, and tolerance taught in school classrooms and on the playground. With education, people can form their own opinions and decisions, and not find themselves easily manipulated by misperceptions and false facts.

The recurring discourse on the rationales for donors giving education aid has been economic and human development, as well as conflict resolution. Economic and human development is rooted in human capital theory, a commonly used framework for developmental and educational research, as well as by policymakers. It frames the relationship between education, development, economic growth, and human well-being, where education is the investment and the returns are economic and human development.

Additionally, education is often a precondition for conflict resolution. The interdependency between the different factors that contribute to stability is hard to achieve during conflict. Similarly, it is easier to prevent conflict if there is prosperity and development in a country. The British government refers to this as a ‘golden thread’ and former Prime Minister David Cameron has repeatedly spoken about property rights, the rule of law, strong institutions, and the absence of conflict and corruption as an interlinked set of crucial conditions that “enable open economies and open societies to thrive,” and argued that “eradicating poverty requires the growth that is fueled by open economies, and open economies are themselves best ensured by open societies”

(Carothers & Brechenmacher, 2014, p. 19). Countries need educated citizens and leaders that can address the complexity of conflict and development. It is a long-term strategy to remove perpetuating practices and perceptions that exacerbate the underdevelopment and conflict, as well as enhancing the knowledge and skills needed to stimulate development and conflict resolution.

The sentiments expressed in democratic peace theory influence the development discourse and education policy, not just with peace education and conflict resolution objectives, but also with overall economic and human development. The argument is that not only do democratic states not engage in conflict with each other, but also that democratic states foster national stability, economic growth, human well-being, and overall development. The democratic peace and human capital theories are deeply connected with the development discourse, and the objective of economic and human development, as well as conflict resolutions, are intertwined, complimenting each other in achieving them as independent goals of development but also together.

Education aid is attractive amongst donors due to these varied effects education has on society; it functions as a steering wheel of development and enables individuals to realize their own potential. It is the capability perspective: as explained by Manion and Menashy (2012) and Robeyns (2006), education is important in wider development objectives, while also being an end in itself. Previous research has linked education to both economic and human development, as well as a building block to peacebuilding. Nobel laureate Amartya Sen (1999) argued that education is an investment in achieving the overall development goals.

### 3.2.1 Human Capital Theory

Developed from the thinking of economists Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, human capital theory was established in the 1960s by economist Theodore Schultz (Sweetland, 1996). It was quickly adapted by western governments and Neoliberal international institutions such as the World Bank, and has dominated the education discourse and education aid policies since the 1960s. Research has found that the most efficient means of yielding returns from human capital investments is investing in all phases of education, but mostly by enabling accessible primary education. While education and training are not the only human capital investments, Schultz (1960 & 1997) also identified health, security, food, and shelter; education is the most important indicator, mostly due to the quantifiability of education and the benefits it has on other human capital factors such as economic growth and promotion of health (Sweetland, 1996).

As Becker (1992 & 1994) and Fitzsimons (2017) explain, human capital theory is a framework used to examine the link between education, economic growth, and human development. It is based on the argument that investment in education and health will produce economic and social development, both on a personal level and on the national level. The expectation is that education and training results in a bigger work pool with skills and knowledge, utilizes resources properly, and increases productivity, resulting in economic growth, and increased GDP and wages. Schultz (1961 & 1997) further describes human capital as the composite of knowledge, skills, experience, and health of individuals, and a high level of human capital yields both economic and social development that benefits individuals and the society.

Human capital theory is valuable because it provides researchers and policymakers with a framework to understand the economic and social benefits education provides.

Empirical research utilizing human capital theory has found that education is not only

linked to economic development, but also contributes to higher rates of civic participation, lower crime rates, and has a positive influence on health (Gillies, 2017; Schultz, 1960). These findings provide policymakers and fieldworkers with variables to evaluate the efficiency of their programs and allow for the development of more effective policies and programs. Early on, the focus was on the amount of funds invested in education, with the expectation that it would naturally yield economic and social returns, but in the last decade research has shown that the quality and type (primary, secondary or tertiary) of education influences the formation of human capital. Early childhood education was proven crucial (Lockheed & Verspoor, 1991).

The role of human capital is discussed in relation to economic development, as human capital will help stimulate capabilities, technology, innovations, and productivity that is helpful in generational economic growth. Additionally, having educated citizens, with useful knowledge and skills, as well as social and personal attributes, makes for a valued worker. Human resources are transformed into human capital through education, health, and values (Eide & Showalter, 2010). It is difficult to completely measure human capital, as it entails social and cultural capital in addition to more measurable forms of economics and knowledge. Economic and knowledge capital is developed through education and training, which has measurable inputs and outputs. Social and cultural capital is difficult to measure as it is fluid variables, such as personal attributes, intellect, relationships, status, and influence. However, each of these types of capital are important to create the total human capital. The United Nations published the Human Development Report evaluating the formation of human capital in different countries. The importance of human capital is due to the direct link it has to human development and national development, as explained by the 2015 Human Development Report:

Cognitive and noncognitive skills (such as conscientiousness, self-regulation, motivation and far-sightedness) interact dynamically to shape the evolution of subsequent capabilities. Interventions in early childhood have the greatest impact towards promoting these essential skills and reflect the investments in human capital made by parents and children (UNDP, 2015, p. 93).

While education is implemented as an end in itself, it is conceived with the notion that it is instrumentally important to the wider development objectives linked to the sentiments expressed in human capital theory. Both Japan and South Korea experienced a significant economic growth after investing heavily into human capital. Similarly, the government in Montenegro has invested heavily in the education sector, with a focus on higher education, in order to develop human capital

The [Montenegro] government emphasizes higher education in developing human capital. The overall budget for the sector has increased, and education strategies based on the premise of equal rights and the rights of students are being implemented. The fundamental goal of these measures is to ensure that the education system contributes to the creation of knowledge for personal and social development — that is, developing the skills necessary for economic progress and active participation in the democratic political community and for success in the world of fast, continuous and global changes (UNDP, 2015, p.169).

While human capital theory sometimes treats individuals like they are economic units acting in and for the larger national economy, it also highlights the role of trust (Coleman, 1990), social cohesion, and the collective (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Moreover, human capital theory has taught the importance of education to

developmental policies, and that a society will experience more successful and long-term development when its people are the visionaries and implementers.

### **3.2.2 Economic Development**

The traditional belief was that physical resources determined economic success, but Becker (1964) found that physical resources have a ‘relatively small part’ in economic growth, and that knowledge and innovation play a vital role in facilitating economic growth. As Hamalainen and Uusitalo (2008) explain, earnings and productivity rise with education, and this stimulates economic growth. From an economic perspective, education can be explained as a production process, the input being trained teachers, students having access to and being enrolled in school, teaching materials, and workshops, yielding the initial output of learning; but the larger output is human capital. This means that education efficiency is not just measured by internal efficiency – educational input impacting educational output – but also an external efficiency as educational input impacting sectors other than education, such as economics, society, and politics (Eide & Showalter, 2010; Heyneman, 1997). According to human capital theory, education produces human capital by raising the capabilities and productivity of individuals in the economic development process. Hanushek explains economic growth as a long-term project:

Economic growth determines how much improvement will occur in a society’s overall standard of living. The effect of differences in growth rates on economic well-being is easy to see. If gross domestic product (GDP) per capita were to grow at 1 percent each year for 50 years, it would increase from \$34,950 in 2000 to \$57,480 in the year 2050—more than a 50 percent increase over the period. However, if it were to grow at 2 percent per year, it would reach \$94,000 in



2050! Small differences in growth rates have huge implications for the income and wealth of society. In turn, a society's ability to develop human capital is crucial to its ability to grow (Hanushek, 2002, p. 12).

Schultz (1960 & 1961) designed the term human capital to reflect the value of human capabilities, recognizing the economic value education, experience, and skills have for employers and for economic growth. Investing in education produces human capital that results in improvements to the quality and quantity of economic production. Hanushek further illustrates the link between education and economic growth using American development in the Twentieth Century:

The expansion of the education system in the United States outpaced the rest of the world. The United States pushed to open secondary schools to all citizens. With this also came a move to expand higher education with the development of land grant universities, the G.I. bill, and direct grants and loans to students. Compared with other nations of the world, the U.S. labor force has been better educated, even after accounting for the lesser achievement of its graduates (Hanushek, 2002, p. 16).

Unsurprisingly, as education has proven fruitful for development at home, it has been included in the developed states' foreign aid policies.

Lack of access to education is considered to be a contributing factor to chronic poverty. Where poor people have little skills and assets, this deficiency puts them at even more of a disadvantage and makes it hard for them to work their way out of poverty (Rose & Dyer, 2008). The alignment of education with economic objectives has been the focal point in the debate over the purpose of education: is education primarily a means to economic growth or is it the end goal in itself? From an economics viewpoint, education

aid stimulates economic growth as it generates human capital. Barro's (2000) research on determinants of GDP growth in more than a hundred countries found that education, along with government policies and pre-existing human capital, were the main determinants for per capita GDP growth. Economists have established education as an investment that makes worthwhile returns for the recipient country and its citizens, but also the donor country (Colclough, 2012). Providing universal primary education is central to guaranteeing the right to education, but is also believed to reap the highest rates of return measured in economic terms.

Research by Lucas (1988), Aghion and Howitt (1998), and Sala-i-Martin et al. (2004) found that education is important for economic development as it increases human capital, enhances creativity and innovation, and provides the knowledge to implement new technologies and process, all of which contribute to economic growth.

Additionally, research by Temple (2001), and Sianesi and Van Reenen (2003) argued that primary education is the most robust factor with which to start economic growth, while Vandebussche et al. (2006) found skills training and higher education as an important driver in innovation. While not as tangible as economic capital, human capital is founded on education and health, and as a result it grows cumulatively with generations; and it certainly impacts economic growth. Sharma and Sahni (2015) explain that human capital has improved in India with each generation since the subcontinent's independence. India has witnessed improvements in the service sector, especially related to financial and software services, which has cumulated in a rapid economic growth. Additionally, since 1990, India has gone from a value of 0.428 to a 0.609 in 2014 on the human development index, with an annual growth of 1.48% (UNDP, 2015, p. 214). Simultaneously, the annual GDP growth in India has gone from

5.5% in 1990 to 7.4% in 2014, that's after coming down from reaching 10.26 in 2010 (World Bank, 2017).

A business is only as good as its employees, and in global economies the knowledgeable and skilled tend to migrate to more desirable areas. This is referred to as the brain drain, where underdeveloped countries lose their best assets because they go to the developed countries for better opportunities. Furthermore, research by McKinsey & Company found that businesses outperform their respective industry's national average by 35% if they are ethnically diverse and by 15% if they are gender diverse (Hunt et al., 2015). Thus, the culture and human development of a country will have an impact on the economic development as well. Dore (1976) found that in a struggling economy or during a financial crisis, education aid could result in unemployment of the educated. However, the consensus is that education provides individuals with knowledge and skills that are valuable for human capital and economic growth. Furthermore, education can give individuals the expertise, problem solving, and communication skills, along with the ability to work in and adapt to diverse settings, that provide them with the necessary capabilities to contribute to their nation in becoming a competitive member of the global economy (Schultz, 1960 & 1997; Vandebussche et al., 2006). Human capital stimulates economic growth as it provides a diverse pool of knowledge and skills. Governments acknowledge the boost human capital gives the economy, and vice versa; according to the United Nations Development Program, "work, not just jobs, contributes to human progress and enhances human development" (UNDP, 2015, p. 3). These sentiments are found in development discourse and education aid policies, and illustrate the connectedness between economic and human development.

### 3.2.3 Human Development

Economics Mahbub ul Haq coined the term human development, and created the Human Development Index which measures human development across states. Human development is having freedom, opportunity, and choices to decide ‘who to be, what to do, and how to live’ – and the index is measured based on health and life expectancy, education, and standard of living (UNDP, 2018). The United Nations does not directly define human development, but links it to what ‘directly enhances human capabilities’ such as a long and healthy life, knowledge, and decent standard of living, and to the things that ‘create conditions for human development’ including participation in political and community life, environmental sustainability, human security and rights, and promoting equality and social justice (UNDP, 2015, p. 1). The United Nations explain human development as a process in the 2015 Human Development Report:

Human development is a process of enlarging people’s choices — as they acquire more capabilities and enjoy more opportunities to use those capabilities. But human development is also the objective, so it is both a process and an outcome. Human development implies that people must influence the process that shapes their lives. In all this, economic growth is an important means to human development, but not the goal. Human development is development of the people through building human capabilities, for the people by improving their lives and by the people through active participation in the processes that shape their lives. It is broader than other approaches, such as the human resource approach, the basic needs approach and the human welfare approach. (UNDP, 2015, p. 2).

The process is synergistic: education, health, and skills provide opportunities and work, resulting in empowerment, income, security and participation, contributing to human development.

Research by Gupta et al. (2002) found that education had a significant positive impact on human development and social indicators, such as health, well-being, civic engagement, and tolerance. Research by Baldacci et al. (2005), found there is a strong connection between education and health, arguing that positive health conditions contribute to improved educational results. As noted by Miguel and Kremer (2004), poor health prevents children from attending school, and high infant mortality rates will result in low enrolment rates. Furthermore, studies have shown that teaching about HIV/AIDS in school has an impact on the knowledge and attitude affecting sexual behavior, and has led to significant increases in the use of condoms and the reduction of sexual health problems, such as sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies (Sarma & Oliveras, 2013).

Additional research by Gani and Clemes (2003) studied the effect that different foreign aid sectors had on human well-being. Using data from 65 developing states and the Human Development Index, the study found that education aid correlated positively with human well-being in the underdeveloped countries. King and McGrath (2004) researched knowledge-based aid by Britain, Japan, Sweden, and the World Bank, concluding that it fostered progress. Additionally, in a report written by Van Driel, Darmody, and Kerzil (2016) they found that education could foster tolerance, diversity, and cooperation through group projects and communication exercises. The report discovered that in European countries, the cooperative and interactive strategy had been “highly successful in promoting pro-social behavior and inter-ethnic friendships, and

combating stereotypes and prejudices” (Van Driel et al., 2016, p. 68). If citizens are literate and educated they are able to be empowered participants in society, enabling a self-sustaining development.

Bates (1989) suggested in his research that the inability of underdeveloped countries to develop is due to lack of social cohesion. Development is made possible through human cooperation. For individuals and a state to develop, there needs to be social cohesion, meaning that there needs to be shared norms of behavior, traditions, public conduct, and common law that binds people together. It is like a social contract of behavior and expectations (Heyneman, 2000). Within a society there are four basic organizational types which contribute to social cohesion: political, social, economic, and educational organization. Political organizations include the government, political parties, and NGOs, which encourage engagement in public policy and promote accountability and transparency. Economic organizations are corporate governance and entrepreneurial endeavors, promoting adherence to legal procedures and generating income. Social organizations are based around shared morals and values, such as a church or voluntary group. Finally, educational organizations are the schools and universities, where much of the groundwork for social cohesion is sown (Olson, 1965).

Education is where the ‘rules of the game’ are first introduced. In addition to knowledge, school is where we learn the how and why of society, such as social skills and the expected behavior of a good citizen, as well as the roles, obligations, and consequences of individuals in society, such as those of a parent, police officer, or a political leader. It should also be where critical thinking, analytical skills, cooperation, empathy, and seeing other points of view are learned. This is taught both in the classroom and on the playground (Heyneman & Todoric-Bebic, 2000). UNDP,

UNESCO, UNICEF, and European Council all have highlighted the affect education can have on social cohesion. When not used appropriately, this can go as far as contributing to national tension. In Sri Lanka, schools were segregated, teaching materials were heavily prejudiced and culturally inflammatory, which fueled the sentiments in the ethnic-based civil war between the Tamils and Sinhalese. Instead of using education to integrate and lay the foundation for unity and cooperation, it depicted other ethnic groups negatively and provided an ‘intellectual’ foundation for social and violent conflict (Nissan, 1996). Similar things were done in Nazi Germany and the former Yugoslavia. Even military organizations have expressed concerns over education causing interethnic tension and posing a risk to peace. In Europe, the OSCE has looked at and made recommendations regarding the education in Albania, Cyprus, Greece, Hungry, Kyrgyzstan, and Macedonia (Altenhoener & Palermo, 2011; Mitter, 1996). These concerns are not new, and several international conventions and regulations have been put forth in order to protect the right of education, such as those listed in table three.

*Table 3 International Conventions on Education*

1919	The Polish Minorities Treaty
1948	UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights
1950	European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms
1959	UN Declaration on the Rights of the Child
1960	UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education
1965	International Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
1966	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
1966	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

1967	UN Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
1974	Recommendation on Education for International Understanding and Cooperation and Peace and Education relation to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms
1978	UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice
1981	UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
1989	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
1990	Copenhagen Declaration of the Conference of the Human Dimension
1990	World Declaration on Education for All: Meeting Basic Learning Needs
1992	Council of Europe Charter on Regional or Minority Languages
1992	UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities
1993	UN Universal Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
1995	Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
1997	The Hamburg Declaration on Adult Learning
2000	UN Millennium Declaration / UN Millennium Development Goals
2000	The Dakar Framework for Action: Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments

The international conventions, declaration, frameworks, and treaties outline not only the concerns and challenges education faces, but also the importance and effect it has. They assert the right to a fair education, free from discrimination and cultural biases, will allow individuals “to engage actively in, and to transform, the world in which they live” recognizing the “vital role literacy plays in lifelong learning, sustainable livelihoods, good health, active citizenship and the improved quality of life for individuals, communities and societies” (UNESCO, 2000, p. 16).



### 3.2.4 Democratic Peace Theory

Liberalist scholar Emmanuel Kant's essay *Perpetual Peace* (1795), gave a systematic and thorough account of world peace, which has influenced the development of Liberalism in international relations greatly. While ideas and material interests are often seen as a justification for state behavior, ethics is a factor in Liberal foreign policy. Kant's moral theory holds that states have the inherent ability to intervene militarily, and when faced with a state that is tyrannical and systematically violates the human rights of its citizens would be moral to do so. Doyle (1983 & 1997) holds that Kant is a 'founding figure' of the democratic peace theory as he foreshadowed the sentiments expressed in the theory. Democratic peace theorizes that democratic states do not, or are at least hesitant to, engage in armed conflict with other democracies (Gismondi, 2010).

There are many explanations for this phenomenon, one of which is the belief that democratic leaders are held accountable by the public and hold more wealth than other states, thus they are more inclined to use diplomatic channels to preserve their resources and infrastructure. But under this theory, one would expect democracies to be more peaceful in general and refrain from conflict with democracies and dictatorships alike. Another possibility is that democratic states are less inclined to view states with similar policies and governing values as hostile and a threat. The key component is to lessen the fear and uncertainty that often precipitates war. A dictatorship can plan in secret and strike without a public debate, but democracies cannot. When two democracies have a disagreement, even a serious one, they can each trust that the other will not attack without warning, providing them time and security to work out a negotiated settlement.

Sachs (2006) found that a surge of foreign aid will help governments achieve their MDGs, but it has been argued by Burnside and Dollar (2000 & 2004), Chauvet and Guillaumont (2001 & 2003), Dalgaard et al. (2004), and Pattillo et al. (2007) that aid

effectiveness overall is also dependent on the recipient state's politics and governance, existing economic practices, culture, and infrastructure. Democratic governments, based on the assumption that democratic governments are held accountable by its voters and thus need to provide basic public services to remain in office, are inherently better at providing social services than their non-democratic counterparts (Olson, 1993). As Dewey (1916) says, democracy is not a harmonious idealistic society but rather a balance between individuals and shared interests, allowing for cooperation.

Democracies are defined as a state that has citizens who have the right to vote in periodic free and fair elections, with opposition parties free to compete in those elections (Small & Singer, 1976), that the government is composed of elected representatives, are transparent and accountable, and that the transfer of power between parties is peaceful (Ray, 1998). This allows for development and wealth within society. Furthermore, it is argued that in Liberal democracies, citizens have economic and juridical rights, freedom of speech, religion, and organization, and enjoy equal rights (Rummel, 1997), and the culture of a democracy impacts the behavior of the state. Additionally, research has shown that democratic states have less censorship, torture, violence, and corruption (Davenport & Armstrong, 2004), have less terrorism (Abadie, 2004), and civil conflict, democide, and politicide are rare (Rummel, 1997). It is no wonder that policy makers might find this an attractive goal to pursue when promoting development.

Some research has concluded that aid can directly or indirectly promote democratic beliefs by fostering social, economic, and political development (Alesina and Dollar, 2000; Finkel, Perez-Linan & Seligson, 2007). Research by Finkel et al. (2007) found that the governance aid provided by USAID had correlated with significant

improvement on the democracy score in the recipient state. The United States has been vigorous in its promotion of democracy, along with some European countries. Donor states have provided funding to non-governmental organizations and civil society groups in order to empower actors to enhance democratic practices. Civil society is an especially crucial element in establishing democracy, as it provides the voice for different elements in society. Both USAID and DFID have provided funding to women's and local interest organizations, as well as education aid to promote democratic values, in an effort to foster a civil society. Dewey explains that education has the capacity to reshape the cultural fabric allowing democratic values to flourish, because democracy "is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience" (Dewey, 1916, p. 93), and to properly establish a democracy, society must accept the underlying principle of equality for all. Admittedly, Western Liberalism and Western foreign aid is highly problematic, which has been discussed and documented in a plethora of articles and academic literature. Thus, it is important to note that the discussion in this thesis of previous British and American foreign aid is not of an ethical or moral nature, but rather serves to give an overview and historical context of their aid efforts. The overview of their previous and current efforts should not be taken as a reflection of my own views and understanding of Western Liberalism, nor as condoning their activities, but rather as a clinical overview designed to provide necessary context to the research topic at hand. Utilizing the education system to implement democratic values and governance is nothing new. After the Second World War, Americans completely reformed the education in Germany by the denazification of teaching materials, removing nationalism from the discourse, and including sentiments encouraging democracy. In the American sector of occupied Germany, teachers affiliated with the Nazi party were removed or

retrained, and the teaching materials had to be approved by the Americans, who sometimes even wrote the material themselves (Puaca, 2009). Using education to denazify and democratize Germany was planned and prepared by the Americans before the war even ended, but they were not as prepared in Japan. The United States did not have teaching materials ready, so instead pages glorifying war and the emperor were blacked out. Japanese teachers were trained in America, and a new educational system was created in Japan, based on the American system (Jansen, 2002, p. 680). The focus on education in Germany and Japan contributed to the successful democratization of their countries.

Political apathy, Dewey (1927) explains, is due to the lack of knowledge and inability to find your political place in society. Education creates “the habits and the outlook that are able and eager to secure the ends of peace, democracy, and economic stability” (Dewey, 1946, p. 30); it enables a democratic community which allows for a free circulation of knowledge and for people to be active participants in society and public affairs (Dewey, 1916, pp. 354 – 355). Former US President Thomas Jefferson said that for American democracy to work it needed literate citizens who understood the political institutions and could hold the politicians accountable. Later, America went on to use education to build social cohesion in their diverse society, merging different social, religious, ethnic, and racial groups together with a common language and shared culture (Mann, 1970). Western countries have adopted similar sentiments; thus, it is not surprising we find evidence of their governmental values in their foreign policy.

### **3.2.5 Conflict & Peace**

Since 9/11, security has become particularly pertinent to donors, and the connection between security threats and fragile and conflict-affected states has had major

implications on foreign aid priorities. Development aid is being used in foreign policy goals, especially security objectives, a merge that has had implications for education strategies. It is often referred to as peace education. Bajaj (2008) describes peace education as a term used for projects and research focused on using education as a tool in fostering peace. Haavelsrud (1996) identified four approaches to peace education: idealistic, ideological, intellectual, and politicization.

The idealistic approach is when the focus is on promoting the perceived universal norms, and not taking into account the societal and political context of the specific state. The ideological approach is founded on neo-Marxism, arguing that the school and curriculum is viewed as a tool by the higher class to maintain social control. The third approach is intellectual, where academics provide all the solutions and knowledge, which is often accepted by the different societal and political parties as it allows for all arguments to be represented. Lastly, the politicization approach combines education and social efforts outside of school as positive and crucial factors in promoting peace in a society (Haavelsrud, 1996).

Research by Canmack, McLeod, Rocha Menocal and Christiansen (2006) looked at the multidimensional relationship between education, fragile states, conflict, and peacebuilding, and found that there are three major components explaining education's place in the fragile states' agenda: education is vital in "1) promoting human security, basic needs and peace in recipient countries (humanitarian aid and peacebuilding), 2) improving development and governance in those countries, and 3) ensuring global (especially donor countries') security" (Canmack et al., 2006, p. x). When aimed at economic growth, cultural development, health, and good governance, education is relevant for the fragile states' agenda as it serves as a deterrent for conflict and violence.

Furthermore, education can help address root causes for conflict, contribute to conflict resolution, bridge gaps between the different groups in society, and help achieve positive peace. As Galtung (1985) explains, positive peace is when not only the violence has ended, but when the root causes have been addressed and society has reached a state of harmony and integration. Negative peace is when there is an absence of violence, but the causation of the conflict has not been addressed. Early aid efforts are often characterized as only being concerned with making the violence end, and not addressing the root causes. It has been suggested that the UK and US are more concerned with policing the fragile and unstable countries rather than addressing the root cause (Rizvi, 2006, p. 163). However, the sentiments expressed in the MDGs and EFA, along with the securitization of foreign aid, might suggest a change. While ‘negative peace’ or ‘containment of underdevelopment’ might be enough to mitigate international security concerns temporarily, it would not be the same long-term solution that peace education offers.

Fragile or unstable states refer to governments with weak authority, legitimacy, and capacity, are conflict prone, and are poorly governed<sup>8</sup> (Carment, Prest & Samy, 2008; Mosselson, Wheaton & Frisoli, 2009; OECD-DAC, 2006). While fragile states are characterized as struggling with poverty, weak governance, and unequal and poor service, violence is considered “a symptom rather than a cause of fragility” (Carment, Prest & Samy, 2008, p. 2). This concern for fragile states was prompted by the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The concern is no longer armies massing at the border, but

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<sup>8</sup> Other terms used than fragile are weak, at risk, unstable, failing, collapsed, vulnerable, and recovering. Furthermore, not all states with conflict are considered fragile, and not all fragile states have conflict (Grono, 2007). To read more and see an overview of fragile state see UNESCO (2011) EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011, the hidden crisis: armed conflict and education.

international terrorist and criminal networks traveling under the radar a few at a time. In a globalized world experiencing new threats, new approaches to foreign policy are being developed. Western states see poverty, corruption, and weak governance as a vulnerability that allows terrorist and criminal networks to operate within their borders, causing ‘spillover’ effects such as terrorism, and the spread of weapons, disease, drugs, and violent conflict, which threaten the national interest of stable states (Patrick & Brown, 2007, p. 2; Tujan et al., 2004, p. 54). These sentiments have been included in the security strategies of the United Kingdom, United States, and European Union (Cabinet Office, 2008, 2010 & 2015; Council of the European Union 2003; Klingbiel, 2006; White House, 2002, 2006 & 2010). This link between fragile states and security has resulted in a securitization of foreign aid under the belief that aid to fragile states will promote development and mitigate the ‘failing’ aspects of the recipient states. The overlap between security and aid is evidenced in research by Demirel-Pegg and Moskowitz (2009), and Fleck and Kilby (2010), which found that as a result of the ‘War on Terror’ there has been a shift in allocation criteria and an overall increase in aid budgets. Research by Bandyopadhyay, Sandler, and Younas’ (2011) claimed that foreign aid can help mitigate terrorism, as aid can help improve counterterrorism efforts, neutralize terrorist capabilities, and remove the recruitment pool by facilitating social and economic development in the recipient country. Additionally, research by Young and Findley (2011) found that aid focused on strengthening civil society and conflict prevention efforts, and geared at the education and health sectors, was especially effective in deterring terrorism.

Bush and Saltarelli’s (2000) research on education in relation to conflict and ethnicity found that poor education systems, such as a lack of access, discriminatory practices, or where only the elite are educated, amplified social divisions in society and caused

political violence. Combined with economic tension, poor governance, and ethnic intolerance, the societal immobility caused by poor education prospects could result in subsequent violence. For example, in Northern Kenya the uneven distribution and segregation of education, along with education being used as a weapon for cultural repression, caused damage to the region's infrastructure and economy, as well as causing violence and deepening the divide between the elite and the marginalized majority (Kumssa et al., 2009). However, good education practices available to everyone indiscriminately would have the opposite outcome. After a decade of armed conflict in Nepal, a peace agreement was signed in 2006. Since then, with the help of education aid, Nepal's national curriculum has incorporated skills, knowledge, problem solving and critical thinking, and values of tolerance in order to provide the citizens with the tools needed to contribute to the positive peace of the country and the development of the state (Thapa et al., 2010). Education can deal with the social, cultural, political, and economic underpinnings of the conflict, promoting social unity, justice, and growth through vocational training, skills, health, conflict resolution training, and empowerment (Novelli & Smith, 2011; Smith, 2009; Sommers, 2006).

### **3.3 The Education Aid Puzzle**

The expectations for aid have always been high, but since the adoption of the MDGs (2000), and more recently the Sustainable Development Goals (2015), the emphasis and critical assessment of foreign aid has amplified, especially education aid. While the construct and rationale for foreign aid has always been under intense debate, the allocation of aid has specifically been under critical review for the last decade. However, despite the comprehensive literature existing on foreign aid, the literature has not been extended to an intensive and critical examination of the different aid sectors, such as education aid. Common discourse identified in the literature on education aid



and its importance is the affect it has on human capital as it relates to economic growth and human development. Furthermore, both development and conflict resolution were linked to democratic values and governance, with the overall argument promoting the theory that education is crucial in fostering peace, development, and democratic values. Additionally, the literature regularly demonstrated that the wide and long-term impact of education is what makes it so attractive. A summary of the outcome education has on economic and human development, as well as the overall impact of education, is provided in table four.

*Table 4 Education: Impact & Benefit*

<b>Development</b>	<b>Impact of Education Aid Programs</b>	<b>Benefits</b>
<b>Education &amp; Economic Development</b>	<p>Creates human capital, necessary skills and expertise to utilize resources, develops technology, contributes to innovation, communications, creativity, and adaptability</p> <p>Enhances standard of living, productivity, capital, reform, and economic growth.</p> <p>Contributes to poverty reduction and states' ability to compete and be part of the global market.</p> <p>Begins a long-term strategy for capacity building and empowerment, resulting in sustainable economic development.</p>	<p>Enhances democratic governance and values, resulting in good governance, stable infrastructure, spread of fairness and freedoms (press, speech, religion, organization).</p>

<b>Education &amp; Human Development</b>	<p>Contributes to political and social change.</p> <p>Provides people with knowledge about their health, rights (human, economic, judicial), and options, enabling civic engagement, cultural changes, which promotes their overall wellbeing.</p> <p>Encourages empathy, tolerance, equality and resilience, teaches decision making, problem solving, critical thinking, life and social skills, as well as what it means to be a good citizen, promotes effective social participation and social cohesion.</p> <p>Contributes to positive peace and social cohesion, allowing for sustainable human development.</p>	<p>Creates shared national and international norms and values.</p> <p>Allows for systemwide reform and development, enhancing the stability and resources of the country.</p> <p>Countries become stable diplomatic and economic partners in the international arena, allowing for cooperation.</p>
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Education is central for a modern society, having positive social, economic, and political inferences, and has a growing ‘popularity’ with aid donors. In the late Twentieth Century, governments around the world widely accepted the right to education as a fundamental human right (Chabbott, 2003). As a result, developed countries have increasingly put education on their foreign policy agenda, and it is often listed as a main objective by governments and international organizations. Despite differences in political and economic beliefs, governments have together realized that education serves as an acceleration to human and economic development (Chabbott, 2003; Sen, 1999). Table four illustrates the potential positive impact of education, as well as the benefit it has for both the recipient government and the donor government.

But is this a legitimate attempt to improve the world, or is it a strategic measure that serves national interest? The literature shows that education is not only an objective in and of itself, but also serves as a foundation for other objectives, such as improving overall human and economic development within a country. It is generally assumed that

education will equip people with the capacity to make informed choices and contribute positively to society, thus enabling the realization of other rights, and economic and social development. Additionally, education aid leads to equality, giving people the tools to challenge divisive societal norms and eventually contribute to social cohesion. Education is a core element in achieving basic human needs and accelerating the life-long process of a more prosperous state by establishing the necessary skills, knowledge, and equity for development and growth.

## **Chapter 4 The Lion & The Eagle**

The 9/11 attacks are a key moment in world history; an event that created a significant reaction from the international community and was felt by people around the world.

Internationally, terrorism became a key threat to international security outside the bounds of traditional large-scale military conflict, and aid was identified as an important part of counter-terrorism efforts. Former US President George W. Bush, former Prime Minister Tony Blair and scholar Joseph Nye all encouraged these sentiments, and President George W. Bush specifically named aid, including education aid, as a tool to eliminate terrorism (White House, 2002). There are a few reasons for researching the link between national interest and education aid in British and American foreign policy. They are two of the largest OECD donors, are greatly engaged and contributors to the international arena as it pertains to peace and security, and they are the two main nodes to the anglosphere who's culture and ideology has had a significant impact worldwide.

Since 2000, the US and UK have gradually increased its foreign aid budget. Data from OECD (2017) showed that the largest OECD total aid contributors in 2015 were the United Kingdom and the United States, both focusing a majority of their efforts on countries in Africa and Asia.

Table 5 Quick Overview: British & American Aid 2010 – 2015<sup>9</sup>

	UK		US	
<b>Aid Spending Average</b>	\$13 billion	2010	\$29.5 billion	2010
	\$13.5 billion	2011	\$30 billion	2011
	\$13.5 billion	2012	\$30 billion	2012
	\$17.5 billion	2013	\$31 billion	2013
	\$19 billion	2014	\$33 billion	2014
	\$18.5 billion	2015	\$30 billion	2015
<b>Percentage of Aid to Region</b>	South of Sahara	30%	South of Sahara	35%
	South and Central Asia	15%	Middle East & North Africa	13%
	Middle East and North Africa	13%	South & Central Asia	10%
	Latin America & The Caribbean	3%	Latin America & The Caribbean	6%
	Europe	2%	Other Asian Countries & Oceania	4%
	Other Asian Countries & Oceania	2%	Europe	2%
	Unspecified	35%	Unspecified	30%
<b>Top 5 Aid Recipients</b>	Pakistan Syria Ethiopia Nigeria Afghanistan		Afghanistan Ethiopia Jordan South Sudan Kenya / Syria	

<sup>9</sup> NOTE: The percentage is average for a five-year period, numbers have been rounded. All aid statistics are from the 2010 – 2017 period, collected from OECDs international development statistic tool, available at <http://stats.oecd.org/qwids/>

Additionally, data from OECD (2017) showed that more than 20% of UK aid goes to the education and health sector, and the second largest is social infrastructure at 18%. Multisector and humanitarian aid averaged 15%, production average 4% and economic structure had an average of 8% (OECD, 2017). Meanwhile, on average, 30% of US aid goes to the education and health sector, humanitarian aid came in second, averaging 22%, and then 15% to social infrastructure. Aid to economic infrastructure, multisector, and production averaged 4% each, with program assistance averaging 2% (OECD, 2017). Remaining percentage for UK and US aid was unspecified by the OECD. While the US continues to be the largest contributor to date, the United Kingdom is now third after being surpassed by Germany in 2016. However, the aid spending and the region and sector they chose to focus on makes for an interesting case study, especially paired with the international presence and cultural impact the Brits and Americans have.

Structural Realism explains influence as the ability to coerce and leverage (Lombardi & Woods, 2008). The economic and military power of the UK and US, along with their political impact and strategic alliances, puts them as two of the most influential countries in the world. They have made an important impact on the global stage, and both hold key memberships in international organizations where important decisions are made, such as the United Nations, UNESCO, IMF, World Bank, WHO, WTO, and OECD. Additionally, they are founding members of NATO as well as two of the five permanent members with veto-power on the United Nations Security Council. The US power to pressure and leverage has been established in research conducted by Lebow (2008), Mavrotas (2010), and Oatley and Yackee (2004), and further research by Kuzemiekko and Werker (2006) found evidence of the practice among other nations, including the UK. Furthermore, as Neoliberalism argues, influence is essentially providing the knowledge which allows for cooperation (Lombardi & Woods, 2008), and

with most of literature and technology being available in English, the Anglo-influence is unmatched. Similarly, Social Constructivist would look at the context and say that the members of the international arena are learning from each other or experiencing social pressure to conform (Hitchens, 2004; Lombardi & Woods, 2008). The discourse and values presented by the majority of international organizations and development practices are based on Western ideas including human rights, freedom, and democracy (Geisinger, 1999; Uvin, 2010).

Britain's international influence has weathered many storms, with the root planted during the days of the British Empire. British influence today is also the result of the Harry Potter effect or developing the United Kingdom as a popular destination to study and attracting students from around the world. Furthermore, the UK has established and adapted traditions with their colonial links, which for better and worse are still relevant (Kaufman & Slettedahl Macpherson, 2005; McAleer & MacKenzie, 2017). The US is in a similar boat, being a melting pot and bridge between cultures, but also exporting their own amalgamated culture worldwide through their media, literature, celebrities, technology, politics, and traditions. As argued by Nye (2005 & 2011), soft power is a power advantage in the Twenty-First Century; it provides the capability to influence by being attractive. Both British and American culture have large-scale international influence through their literature, music, films, and television, but also through their language. English is the language of air travel and the internet; the majority of technology, economic news, media, and literature is available in English. It matters that English is the predominant language that can give social and economic advantage (Abernethy, 2000; Grant, 2004; Nye, 2005; Wedeen, 2002). Culture is evolving with globalization and the revolution in communications and technology, allowing for this

English-speaking identity to take hold, and American culture has very much spread to be a world culture (Nye, 2005; Wedeen, 2002).

The importance of soft power is not to be underestimated, as cultural and diplomatic success has facilitated British and American impacts worldwide. Combined with their military and economic power, this soft power has enabled them to engage the international arena to the extent that they have. The anglosphere, despite its critics and occasional missteps, has managed to achieve a high degree of social cohesion, celebrating diversity and free speech. The cultural affinity between the UK and US is based on aligned political, social, and economic norms and values, a common language and some shared history, and a shared fondness of democracy (Dumbrell, 2006; Kaufman & Slettedahl Macpherson, 2005). Other than their preferred sports, it might be difficult to distinguish between Britain and America, but there are important differences between the two nations. While both are embedded in democratic ideals with stable democratic and transparent governance, their governments are structured very differently, and they have different aid strategies.

This chapter will cover the foundation and formation of UK and US foreign aid policy by providing the historical and ideological background of the countries and giving context to their national interest and foreign policy formulation. Their respective governmental structure and foreign policy institutions will be discussed, as well as the practices, perceptions, and values that guide them, before delving into each country's education discourse, as well as how the securitization of aid is reflected in their discourse and policies. This will provide the background for the case studies and the subsequent analysis, as well as place the research in a larger context of aid research, and the conflicting rationale of aid being both altruistic and in the national interest. This



dissertation aims to clarify national interest influences in British and American education aid, with the hope of contributing to the literature as well as improving the policy formulation process to create effective and ethical education aid policies.

#### **4.1 The History**

During the Pax Britannica era, the Eighteenth to the early Twentieth Century, the British empire held a dominant and unrivalled role in the international arena, dominating the seas and acquiring colonies across the globe. But following the loss of the empire, the World Wars (1912 – 1945), and Suez Crisis (1956), the United Kingdom gradually lost its superpower status (Burke, 2018). Being financially in ruins after the World Wars and with the rise of the United States and Soviet Union, Britain struggled to maintain its previous glory and further disintegrated with the disarmament of the British navy and the granting of independence to their colonies (Burke, 2009 & 2018). However, being a founding member of NATO, a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, along with membership in other major international organizations, and having key strategic alliances (Lunn et al., 2008), Britain has carved out a new role for itself and has remained an important global player. Furthermore, with the establishment of the Commonwealth of Nations, an organization where Britain and 54 of its former colonies are represented as equals, Britain is still closely linked to its former colonies (Hall, 2018), a link not to be devalued. The British government has since the 1980s taken a broad international role, participating in military interventions and peacekeeping missions, supported the establishment or contributed to international organizations, and increased its aid spending and humanitarian assistance programs (Lane, 2010; Lunn et al., 1997). Britain has also taken an active part in the war against terror, led by their close military ally the United States, previously targeting Al Qaeda, and now targeting ISIS and its fractions as well (Dumbrell, 2006; Finlan, 2014). British

people lost their lives in September 11 terror attacks, and the July 7th London Bombings in 2005, two tragedies that solidified the personal UK commitment to terror prevention.

With the outbreak of the American Revolution, the United States parted from its mother country England in 1776. After a rocky start and the American Civil War, the United States developed a strong economy, and following the First World War it grew to become a global superpower. At first the Americans practiced a non-interventionism foreign policy, until after the First World War, when the changing international landscape and national growth led it to become a world power (Herring, 2008; Jentleson & Paterson, 1997). Following the Second World War, the US experienced an economic boost and used their fortune to aid the rebuilding of Europe, which was in shatters, reeling from the most devastating war in human history. The Marshall Plan (1948 – 1952) poured funds into Europe to rebuild infrastructure and modernize the continent, and America soon spread their efforts beyond Europe. US foreign policy during the Cold War was based on the containment of communism, using military and diplomatic power, as well as aid, to further the spread of democratic values and governments, notably in Korea and Vietnam (Butterfield, 2004; Meernik, 1996). After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, America became the sole superpower, and continued its efforts to spread democracy in order to enhance security and prosperity in America and around the globe, focusing their efforts in the Middle East and Africa (Guess, 2013). The rise of economic and military powers such as China, Russia, India, and the European Union has impacted the economic power and influence of the US, but America has remained the key global power in the Twenty-First Century.

The ‘special relationship’ between the United States of America, a federal presidential constitutional republic, and the United Kingdom, a unitary parliamentary constitutional monarchy, is founded on their shared history and similar societal norms and values (Bartlett, 1992). After a tumultuous start to their relationship, the US and UK have enjoyed a close relationship since the end of the World Wars, which was cemented during the Cold War and by the creation of NATO (Ikenberry, 2005). The two nations share common memberships in multiple international organizations, and their relationship has been further strengthened through the trust that comes from being wartime allies, conducting joint military and peacekeeping missions, being economic and social partners, and cooperating in their quest to improve and safeguard international peace and development (Dumbrell, 2006 & 2009).

## **4.2 The Ideologies**

It is not a major leap to argue that states wish to promote their ideas, beliefs, and culture. An infrequent approach in foreign aid literature, but worth mentioning, is studying the aid allocation process in relation to the political spectrum of the government. Ahmed et al. (2011) researched how political coalitions and economic conditions influence aid and found that left-wing governments spent more on foreign aid than right-wing or centrist governments. However, Round and Odedokun (2004) found that right-wing governments spent more on foreign aid, and Goldstein and Moss (2005) found that in the United States, Republican administrations had a larger aid budget than Democratic. While it is reasonable to argue that the political ideology of the state or current government would influence the national interest and aid allocation, the state’s identity and interests are arguably stronger than a change of state leader and administration can overcome, unless a significant time was spent in government to have a measurable impact. So, while the political spectrum of the government might change,

the core ideology of the country is more important to its foreign aid policies and can endure swings between governing parties. Goldstein and Keohane (1993) examined the influence worldviews and beliefs have on policies, concluding that these opinions are so imbedded into society that they actually serve as a guide for policy formulation.

Researching US aid allocation to 151 countries in a 27-year period, Demirel-Pegg and Moskowitz (2009) found that promotion of democracy and human rights practices, along with free market industry and security interests, were among the main determining factors in the aid allocation process. However, ideological ideals are not limited to just democratic beliefs, but also include economic beliefs, social, political, and philosophical ideals, cultural standards, and shared moral values (Pettiford & Steans, 2005).

While the Magna Carta makes no mention of democracy and human rights, it has certainly inspired the ideas, and British ideology is founded on it. Britain has been persistent in its free trade policy, and has later adopted internationalism, promotes political and economic cooperation, and stands committed to “liberty, the rule of law, human rights and an open society [...] key norms of freedom, solidarity and democracy” (Wagnsson, 2012, p. 33) in both its national and foreign policy ideology. Lunn et al. (2008) describe British foreign policy as being guided by interventionism, meaning it is willing to take strong measures to influence events not under its direct control, such as military intervention or economic involvement, and in the British governments own words it has multiple options at its disposal:

For any given foreign policy issue, the UK potentially has a range of options for delivering impact in our national interest. As a relatively large, wealthy and militarily powerful country, with a global foreign policy and a long history of

influence in world affairs, we have a complex network of alliances and partnerships through which we can work, to an extent matched in the EU perhaps only by France. These include – besides the EU – the UN and groupings within it, such as the five permanent members of the Security Council (the “P5”); NATO; the Commonwealth; the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development; the G8 and G20 groups of leading industrialised nations; and so on (Cabinet Office, 2013, p. 13).

Parekh’s (2002) historical account of British identity found that it is grounded in parliamentary sovereignty, individualism, and ethnic unity, while research by Heath and Tilley (2005) found that the British identity placed importance on civic aspects, including respecting political institutions and equality. The British government describe its country’s defining values to be based on “human rights, the rule of law, legitimate and accountable government, justice, freedom, tolerance, and opportunity for all” (Cabinet Office, 2008, p. 6), as well as promoting civil liberties, open and accountable government, freedom of speech, property rights, and the empowerment of women (Cabinet Office, 2010, p. 10). These democratic values are the guiding principles in British national and foreign policy.

It would not be unreasonable to say that American politics is highly polarized at this time between the left and right, which is strange considering the ideological unity of the country. The US is unified in its belief in democracy, equal opportunity, and self-determination, and the freedom of speech, religion, and press (Ellis, 2012). The US government has declared itself a promoter of the free market and trade, developing open societies and democratic governments, and championing human dignity (White House, 2002, p. 1). Democracy, liberty, and justice are the core values of US national and

foreign policy, and is what guides their decisions, actions, and words in the international arena. To accomplish this, the American government will:

[...] use our foreign aid to promote freedom and support those who struggle non-violently for it, ensuring that nations moving toward democracy are rewarded for the steps they take; make freedom and the development of democratic institutions key themes in our bilateral relations, seeking solidarity and cooperation from other democracies while we press governments that deny human rights to move toward a better future; [...] We will champion the cause of human dignity and oppose those who resist it (White House, 2002, p.4).

Rooted in the Declaration of Independence, human rights and democratic values (Ellis, 2012) are deeply indoctrinated in American society to the point where it is the identity of the country. Gries (2014), Hermann and Kegley (1998), Hunt (2009) and Walter (2009) all discussed American ideas and identity and how it influenced their foreign policy, along with the ideas of interventionism. During the Cold War, the US fought an ideological war of containing the spread of communism while promoting democratic governance. You can find evidence of the US 'exporting democracy' as far back as the American intervention in Latin America in 1912 (Lowenthal, 1991), but it was following the fall of the USSR that assistance to promote democratic governance and ideals became part of the aid agenda (Hermann & Kegley, 1998), and it continues to be an integral part of US foreign policy and aid today. Discussed in a rather critical book *America's Deadliest Export: Democracy* by William Blum (2013), as well as in articles by Stephen Walt (2016), Ikenberry (1999), and Coyne and Wittes (2008), American 'exportation of democracy' has been problematic since its intervention in Latin America, during the Cold War and continuous to be. Similarly, the United Kingdom

past interventions, especially reflecting on the British Empire, is highly problematic. In the Guardian article *Wake up, Britain. Should the empire be a source of pride?* by Olusoga (2016), the BBC (2011) article *is Britain to blame for many of the world's problems?* as well as the article *The Great British Empire Debate* by Malik (2018), give excellent overviews of Britain's problematic history. While this is beyond the scope of this research, and I am merely giving an overview of previous American and British efforts, it is important to acknowledge that there is an ethical and moral discussion to American and British foreign efforts.

Both the British and American governments describe their countries' values as democracy, liberty, justice, equality, and respect for human rights (Cabinet Office, 2010; White House, 2010), and highlight the importance of international cooperation to promote a free market and prosperous economy, as well as to ensure security and the fulfilment of these values. These values influence their foreign policy and their aid practices, as they've adopted the belief that a democratic model of development is the effective path to wealth, power, and justice. USAID provides democracy assistance to the recipient country's political institutions, which includes its legislatures, political parties, and elections, and they provide assistance to the judicial sector and civil-society which monitors the government (Ruttan, 1996; Hills, 2006). DFID also provides assistance to infrastructure and civil society, promoting democratic practices and values in an effort to ensure sustainable development (DFID, 2007).

### **4.3 The Interests**

Clinton (1994) explains that national interest is ambiguous as it 'is whatever those in power say it is,' but what is for certain is that it is centered around two variables: 1) the material needs of a state, including economic wealth, military power, technology, and

resources, and 2) the environment the state operates in, including its partners and allies, and if the international environment is hostile to the fundamental principles of the state (Clinton, 1994, pp. 129 – 133). Evidence of Clinton's premise can be found in the way the UK and US articulate their national interest. The United Kingdom's national interest is defined as ensuring prosperity and security for its citizens, and protecting their sovereign and territorial integrity (Cabinet Office, 2008, 2010 & 2015), which can be achieved through a more prosperous and democratic world, as well as a free market, as it will generate more opportunities for the British economy and safeguard the values, prosperity, and security of the British people (Cabinet Office, 2010 & 2015; DFID, 2015). Similarly, the United States defines its national interest as liberty, prosperity, and security for its people, as well as respect for universal values and an international order that promotes peace and security through cooperation (White House, 2010, p.17). The US further explains that American national interest can be achieved through a free market and trade, freedom and democracy, as well as investing in a balance of power and cooperating with international institutions (White House, 2002, 2005 & 2010).

Reviewing the British and American record makes it clear that they believe their national interest is inherently intertwined with the interest of the international arena.

According to Structural Realists, it is in states' national interest to obtain as many capabilities and as much influence as they can to ensure their security due to the anarchic nature of the international arena (Waltz, 1979; Mearsheimer, 2013).

Neoliberals also discuss national interest as gaining capabilities, but focus more on gaining economic wealth, spreading democratic ideals, and promoting international cooperation as being in the national interest of states (Keohane & Nye, 1989). Social Constructivists take a sociological approach, acknowledging traditional national interest as mentioned by Structural Realists and Neoliberals, but that a state's interest is not



fixed but rather influenced by its national norms and values, as well as history, and the state behavior is internalized international norms (Wendt, 1992; Wendt et al., 1996).

What the theories have in common is also what is witnessed in the national interest formulation: the inherent connection between national and international interest.

Coicaud and Wheeler (2008) explain that this is due to democratic and solidarity ideals and values shaping the discourse and practices in the international arena, making it harder to define and balance national interest as a self-centered concept, as international and national interest becomes increasingly intertwined and reliant on each other. As Coicaud and Wheeler (2008) write:

This makes it difficult for actors to pursue their national interest without considering international solidarity and vice versa. While states continue to focus on their national interest, legitimacy requirements for their foreign policy and international legitimacy in general call for them to take other states' interests and points of views into account. They also call for the states to act to some extent as the custodians of the interests of other states, or as the custodians of the interests of these states' populations (defence of human rights and humanitarian interventions). Hence, how the entanglement of national interest and international solidarity logics should best be balanced in the normative and political duality of international life and in the behaviour of actors is now a highly debated matter of international politics and of the quest for justice and security at the international level (Coicaud and Wheeler, 2008, p. 289).

Both Britain and America have acknowledged this in their national interest formulation as well as their national security strategies, making references to the need for cooperation and multilateral institutions, strengthening the cohesion of international

values, and promoting free market and trade in order to secure their own national interest, as well as mentioning fragile states and international instability as threats to their national interest (Cabinet Office, 2010 & 2015; DFID, 2015; White House, 2002 & 2010). Coicaud and Wheeler explain this as the recognition for “the mutual interdependence between the ideas of solidarity and security helps to ‘secure security’, both materially and psychologically” (Coicaud & Wheeler, 2008, p. 13).

#### **4.4 The Institutions**

The Prime Minister and Parliament shape British foreign policy, along with the input from businesses and organizations, while the Foreign and Commonwealth Office are in charge of British foreign relations, and the Department for International Development oversees British foreign aid. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office seeks to “safeguard Britain’s national security by countering terrorism and weapons proliferation and working to reduce conflict” and “build Britain’s prosperity by increasing exports and investment, opening markets, ensuring access to resources and promoting sustainable global growth” (Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 2015, p. 1). British foreign policy efforts include the traditional military interventions and peacekeeping, as well as humanitarian assistance, debt relief, and supporting the establishment of international agencies. However, in the recent decade it has prioritized free trade, building up the education and health sectors in developing nations, as well as research helpful to the development agenda.

The British government’s first attempt at establishing a department of aid was the Ministry of Overseas Development (1964 – 1970), followed by Overseas Development Administration (1970 – 1997). The Ministry of Overseas Development functioned as both an administrator for different foreign aid departments and took over the

responsibilities of the Department of Technical Cooperation (Lane, 2010; Williams, 2005). The Ministry was later restructured and renamed the Overseas Development Administration and merged into the Foreign Office, yet remained relatively autonomous. Before the establishment of the specific departments, various roles in the development and provision of foreign aid were held by the Department of Technical Cooperation, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and the Colonial Offices. Changes in the British economy during the 70s and 80s, and depending on what political party was in government, continued to influence the structure of the agency, who it answered to and the form of aid it delivered. It was not until 1997 that The Department for International Development (DFID) was established, and was tasked with administering British aid separate from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (Ireton, 2013; Lane, 2010). The International Development Act (2002) is the main governing legalization of DFID, outlining the goal of the department to promote sustainable development and eliminate world poverty. The Act focuses on the education, health and social services, economy, government and civil society, environment, water and sanitation, and humanitarian assistance sectors (DFID, 2000, 2002, 2006; UK Government, 2002). Research is also an important part of DFID's work, being the largest bilateral donor of research focused on development and poverty reduction (Ireton, 2013; Lane, 2010; Marriage, 2006).

DFID is comprised of six divisions and seven departments tasked with poverty reduction and enhancing development. Most of DFID's efforts are in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. DFID was established in 1997, replacing the Ministry of Overseas Development which was established in 1964, as a result of globalization and the world economy. The aid policies of the 1970s and 1980s had yielded inadequate results, and the White Paper on International Development (1997), a comprehensive statement on

British aid, outlined the new way forward. It marked a significant shift, presenting new policies and placing British aid efforts in a globalized context. The initial objectives were to improve education, health, and opportunities, as part of a long-term goal to reduce poverty and increase development (Ireton, 2013; Lunn et al., 2008).

Furthermore, DFID (2001 & 2010) adopted the MDGs and EFA objectives, focusing on primary education, literacy, gender disparity, and life skills. Their efforts have focused on creating equity, access, and quality education by partnering with local communities to reconstruct school systems. DFID also invests in research to understand the link between education, poverty reduction, and development.

The United States Department of State outlines American foreign policy under the direction of the President, and subject to the advice and consent of Congress, as well as receiving input from non-governmental organizations and businesses. The aim of American foreign policy is to advance the interest, safety, and economic prosperity of the American people, and the State Department does this through diplomacy and assistance (Hastedt, 2004; Wittkopf et al., 2007). The Foreign Assistance Act (1961) explains that “fundamental political, economic, and technological changes have resulted in the interdependence of nations. The Congress declares that the individual liberties, economic prosperity, and security of the people of the United States are best sustained and enhanced in a community of nations which respect individual civil and economic rights and freedoms and which work together to use wisely the world’s limited resources in an open and equitable international economic system” (Congressional Foreign Assistance Act referenced in USAID, 2003, p. 19). Thus, US foreign policy is focused on promoting security, a free market, and democratic values, as well as tackling issues such as corruption, crime, violent extremism, climate change, proliferation, equality, and poverty (Department of State & USAID, 2011).

American foreign aid started with technical assistance and relief packages, most notably the Commission for Relief of Belgium (1915) and the European Recovery Program (1947) dubbed the Marshall Plan. Now, relief efforts, as well as loans and grants, are managed by USAID but also include NGOs and the US military. Following the Second World War (1939 – 1945) US foreign aid expanded and was institutionalized in the form of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs (1942 – 1955). The focus was on poverty and deprivation relief to newly independent and war-recovering countries, particularly in Latin America. President Truman promoted a global vision in Point Four (1950), a technical assistance program designed to further international economic development. When foreign aid was put back under control by the Department of State, it was renamed the International Cooperation Administration (1955 – 1961), which was in charge of development and non-military security programs (Tarnoff, 2015; USAID, 1995). In September 1961, the Congressional Foreign Assistance Act was passed, and John F. Kennedy subsequently established USAID, taking over for the International Cooperation Administration in administering foreign aid (US Department of State, 1961). The Foreign Assistance Act combined and restructured the existing US aid agencies, while also cohesively outlining the modes and goals for American non-military foreign aid.

The main USAID office is located in Washington DC, and is organized through its regional and subject bureaus, as well as missions located in the individual countries in which they have projects. The missions manage the development projects, as well as conduct analysis and evaluation of development, cooperate with governments and civil society in recipient nations, and award grants. USAID operates under the guidance of the President, Secretary of State, and the National Security Council (USAID, 2003).

The primary aim of USAID is to promote sustainable socioeconomic development by

eliminating hunger, poverty, illness, and ignorance. The mandate was further updated in 2013 to “promote and demonstrate democratic values abroad, and advance a free, peaceful, and prosperous world” (USAID, 2018) through poverty reduction efforts, establishing democratic governance, and providing humanitarian assistance. Their poverty relief efforts include education, health, and food aid. Additionally, while the US government has dedicated agencies for specific issues, USAID’s mandate also includes cooperating on global issues such as diseases, environmental, and trade with the international community (Tarnoff, 2015).

#### **4.5 The Practices**

According to Easterly and Williamson’s (2011) research on the best and worst aid practices, the UK is the best bilateral donor, while the US was ranked average due to poor aid allocation and delivery. Easterly and Williamson (2011) defined good practices as agency transparency and minimal overhead costs, efficient delivery to important sectors, and that the aid is allocated to countries who have already adopted democratic institutions, and are less corrupt – but are still underdeveloped and poor, and less corrupt countries. While both USAID and DFID have been relatively stable in their agencies and methods since their establishment, they have experienced key events that have influenced their direction and policy formulation, such as 9/11. The 2001 terrorist attack spurred a reorganization in their governmental agencies by creating mechanisms to coordinate between different departments to reflect the merging of development and security objectives (Brown and Gravingholt, 2016). Additionally, while DFID and USAID share a lot of similarities in approaches to development, DFID differs from USAID as it generally organizes its aid through foreign governments and international organizations, meaning they aim at cooperating with already established programs, while USAID generally establish their own projects (Marriage, 2006).

DFID is headed by the Secretary of State for International Development and aimed at promoting long-term development and poverty reduction through education, health, economic, environmental, government, and civil society projects. DFID administers aid both bilaterally, through their own projects, humanitarian assistance, and by giving debt relief, and multilaterally through agencies such as the United Nations and European Union (DFID, 2018; Lunn et al., 2008). DFID tends to focus on cooperating or funding already established programs by other governments and international organizations. Additionally, DFID funds development research, arguing that development and innovation within science and technology is needed to achieve the MDGs, and is currently the largest bilateral donor for development research, both funding and cooperating with multilateral agencies (Ireton, 2013; Lunn et al., 2008). DFID launched its own research strategy in 2008, focused on research surrounding health, agriculture, environment, governance, and the way forward, and since 2012, research funded by DFID has been available online. DFID was heavily invested in supporting the eight MDGs, and the International Development Act (2002) highlights poverty reduction as the main goal of DFID (DFID, 2010; Ireton, 2013).

USAID manages the several programs related to disaster relief, poverty relief, and socioeconomic development, as well as providing technical cooperation on different global issues (USAID, 2004b). Technical assistance includes advice, training, education, construction, and resources, as well as scholarships to American universities to help enhance human capital in underdeveloped countries. Additionally, USAID provides financial assistance to both local and international organization. Through financial and technical assistance, also referred to as capacity building packages, USAID aims to help low-income countries achieve self-sustaining socioeconomic development and develop and strengthen governmental infrastructure. Furthermore,

USAID finances scholarships and assistance towards developing the recipient states' education sector to build human capital, expertise, and leadership (USAID, 1995; USAID, 2003). Additionally, USAID supports American geopolitical interests by administering financial grants to US allies and assisting in the US military's efforts to build friendly relationships with local populations, which was done in both Afghanistan and Pakistan during US military operations against al-Qaeda (Duffield, 2001; Tarnoff, 2015; Wycoff, 2004).

Both American and British aid agencies provide assistance to help underdeveloped countries develop, and according to their policies, projects, and reports, cooperating with local organizations and individuals is considered to be key for long-lasting development in the country and success. Not only do they hire local professionals, but through different procedures and agreements, the aid agencies find governmental and local partners to include various government agencies, local firms, or NGOs (DFID, 2005a; USAID, 2017). Both USAID and DFID consider the different partners to have unique abilities and insights, and working with them is a way to strengthen their efforts and the recipient countries' development. This partnership also extends to international organizations, which have their own development projects and capabilities, and is either a partnership to manage a specific project or to give or receive extra technical and financial assistance. The importance of these partnerships is that they are also a part of USAID and DFID continuing reevaluation and improvement of their policies and projects, either confirming or negating the identified needs, conceptions, and results (DFID, 2005a; Lane, 2010; Ruttan, 1996).

#### **4.6 The Securitization of Aid**



Following 9/11 and the securitization of aid, both the British and American governments have openly taken a comprehensive approach to their foreign policy, which is combining the efforts of defense, diplomacy, and development, called a 3D approach. Arguably this is not new, as the US used a similar approach in the Vietnam War, ensuring development goals reflected the military objectives, and is now a well-known counter insurgency tactic (Brown & Gravingholt, 2016). McConnon (2014) finds that the UK has utilized the comprehensive approach as well, creating policy coherence by integrating security and development objectives in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq. The attacks shaped the foreign and aid policy of the UK and US in more ways than just the declaration of War on Terror and 3D approach. Reacting to the attacks, the Bush administration altered USAID's purpose and sphere of activity to take a "quasi-security agency" role and "to work more closely with the State Department" (Hills, 2006, p. 629), shaping their policies and objectives to assist US national security objectives. The UK had already created the Conflict and Humanitarian Affairs Department in 1997, and in 2001 it established the Conflict Prevention Pools, and the Post-Conflict Reconstruction Unit and Stabilisation Unit in 2004. All designed for inter-departmental cooperation. Similarly, the US Department of Defense established an office for aid funding, and the US shifted the USAID to operate under the State Department in 2006, losing much of its autonomy while also merging development and security efforts.

Then US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (2006) called this alteration 'transformational diplomacy' and said that "in this world it is impossible to draw neat, clear lines between our security interests, our development efforts and our democratic ideals" (Rice, 2006). Similarly, the UK published the White Paper on Aid (Overseas Development Institute, 1998) to address the changes of the international environment

and how a new vision for aid was needed, and in 2005, DFID published a strategy specifically for tackling security and development efforts. This new strategy addressed the international threats of conflict, fragile states, and terrorism, and how the effort to combat them impacts and shapes development efforts (DFID, 2005, pp. 5 – 8), further cementing the securitization of development aid.

Following the September 11 attacks in 2001, there was a marked shift in US foreign policy, as well as in other countries. Before 9/11, America and her allies typically responded to international terrorist attacks with limited cruise missile strikes. Following the 2001 attacks, the US declared a War on Terror, leading the NATO allies in an invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 (Casey, 2009; Riddell, 2007). After September 11, America and Britain viewed fragile states as breeding grounds for terrorism, and therefore a direct threat to their countries. In a war that cannot be won by defeating an army or occupying territory, a whole-of-government approach became a necessary component of victory. ‘Fragile states’ and ‘whole-of-government approach’ are terms widely associated with the securitization of foreign aid, and 9/11 has been an integral part of the shift from altruistic and poverty reduction objectives to national interest based foreign aid practices (Brown & Gravingholt, 2016).

Britain and America were among the first to reference fragile states in their security and development policies. DFID (2005) explained fragile states as a result of underdevelopment, poor governance, and poverty, resulting in instability and conflict. USAID (2002 & 2011) has also linked fragile states to underdevelopment, as has the American national security strategies (White House, 2002 & 2010), which highlight the importance of democracy, development, and economic growth to tackle the threats associated with fragile states. There is no question that poverty and weak governance

bring a multitude of issues spilling over to other aspects of a society. There is an obvious link between a fragile state and an environment where terrorism can cultivate, as people need a job, money, food, and a purpose, and joining a terrorist group can give them this, or at least some of it (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2011; Young & Findley, 2011). Thus, one can say that aid agencies efforts are already serving security interests, as it is all inherently linked. However, critics worried that the change of USAID's mandate would imply that security and development is synonymous, and that instead of focusing on democracy and good governance, the efforts would be based on geostrategic interests and the focus would be on security, police, and counter-terrorism efforts (Hills, 2006). DFID faced similar criticism as advocates feared merging DFID's development and security policies would result in development needs taking a backseat to that of security and national interest (McCannon, 2014).

Security and aid have been on the same agenda before 9/11. Duffield (2001) claims that development and security merged into the same agenda already in the 1990s. There is some evidence to this, as after the end of the Cold War, British aid emphasized reform in security sectors, and in 1998, DFID's policies included "tackling underlying causes of crisis and building peace and stability," which debates at the time called an aggravating form of aid (Marriage, 2006, p. 478). Furthermore, DFID policy statements in 1999 discussed conflict reduction and prevention, the link between poverty and conflict, and the *Poverty & Security Sector* (March 1999) directly addressed the security sector in development efforts (Marriage, 2006, pp. 478 – 479). American development efforts during the Cold War were linked to their larger strategy of containing the communist threat by spreading democracy through assistance. Additionally, the US has a history of being strategic with its aid allocation, such as giving aid to both Russia and Venezuela, countries which are considered enemies, or at least competitors, to the

American government; and while one of the US' largest aid benefactors is Israel, the United States also gives aid to the Palestinians (USAID, 2016). The reasoning for this is perhaps not clear but it is simple; the US garners influence and an advantage in the region or situation by providing aid.

In the wake of 9/11, USAID's mandate was broadened to include strengthening law enforcement infrastructure in Africa, including giving police counter-terrorism training. Interestingly, a former sub-office of USAID, the Office for Public Safety (OPS) was closed in 1974 specifically for being ideological and supporting covert intelligence networks. It was also found to be responsible for providing equipment that was used for torture in Central America, and the scandal resulted in Congress banning police assistance as part of foreign aid. This was revoked by the Reagan administration, which aided Central American states in training police to combat communist insurgencies, but this was placed under the authority of the Justice Department rather than USAID and rebranded as the International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP). The United States created OPS and ICITAP to respond to threats against US security, and recent statements from USAID demonstrate similar sentiments (Hills, 2006, pp. 631 – 633). Thus, the securitization of British and American aid has arguably been a gradual process, while the September 11 attacks solidified the process.

While security often commingles with poverty reduction, economic growth, and human development, socio-economic needs still underpin much of the aid spending. Brown and Gravingholt (2016) found that not all aid recipients were a security threat to UK and US. Aid still goes to underdeveloped countries focusing on socio-economic needs such as in India, although even here, a strong and democratic India can be a bulwark against expanding Chinese influence. The highest level of securitization was found in American

foreign aid, as the sentiments from the Cold War and effects following 9/11 have had a deep impact and is reflected in their aid policy to this day, with national interest overtly discussed in their aid discourse. In Britain, while security and national interest are part of their development agenda, the UK has resisted the securitization of aid more, remaining focused on poverty reduction and altruism in their policies (Brown and Gravingholt, 2016). However, it can sometimes be difficult to truly dissect as there is often overlap between national interest and development needs, as the India example demonstrates. Even when the announced purpose of foreign aid is altruistic, there are often ancillary benefits to the donor country's national interest.

Brown and Gravingholt (2016) found that both the UK and the US dramatically increased their foreign aid between 1993 and 2013. While they could only speculate as to why, the MDGs and 9/11 were two obvious reasons they cited. Since 2001, aid has increasingly gone to fragile states, especially Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan.

Afghanistan, a relatively insignificant aid recipient, became one of the top UK and US aid recipients in the new millennium. Rice (2008) cited the September 11 attacks as an element that has continued to steer US foreign policy, but the American government has remained clear about where their long-term interest lies. The US national security strategy states forthrightly that American interest is based on the principles of human rights and the superiority of democratic governance. Rice describes American national interest as cultivating strong relations with global players, using democratic values and free markets to promote development, building strong cooperation with democratic allies, and internationally promoting shared values and shared responsibility. Former British Prime Minister Tony Blair expressed similar sentiments, and despite criticism for his involvement in Iraq and the War on Terror, always stood firm that Britain foreign policy was loyal to democratic values and human rights (Casey, 2009).

#### 4.7 The Education Aid

The amount of aid flowing to the education sector declined in the mid-1980s, and following the strategic aid reductions after the end of the Cold War, education aid was at a record low by the end of the 1990s (Bennell & Furlong, 1997; OECD, 2017).

However, with the new millennium, aid has reached historical numbers (OECD, 2010 & 2017), and the events of 9/11 fundamentally altered the geopolitical activities of Western States, resulting in a heightened focus put on aid and development (Riddell, 2007), and by extension education aid. Developed nations placed a renewed emphasis on education aid following the UN MDGs (2000) and the Dakar Conference on EFA (2002). Furthermore, education was branded as a critical part of promoting economic and social development. Simultaneously, terrorism is believed to be a result of poverty and ignorance (Riddell, 2007), and the prevailing theory is that by alleviating poverty and improving access to basic services such as education, foreign aid contributes to social and economic development, which in turn helps eliminate terrorism. This new security environment also influenced the USAID and DFIDs education portfolios, as their education programs and budgets have expanded and increased since 2001.

Education is often categorized together with other sectors such as sanitation, food security, population policies, and health as ‘social infrastructure and services’ or ‘education and health’ in foreign aid budgets, a category which is consistently the largest aid sector amongst OECD donor countries, including American and British aid, with education aid specifically being one of the more popular aid sectors amongst OECD donor countries (OECD, 2017). Based on data from OECD (2017), an average of 4% of the American foreign aid budget goes to education aid, and has had a steady growth since 2010 from 3.5% to 5% in 2017. The yearly percentage of American education aid is demonstrated in *Figure 2* below, while *Figure 3* demonstrates the same

data and years but in dollar amounts. The British foreign aid budget has on average allocated about 9% of their aid to education aid, however, their education aid budget has had more of a tumultuous period. Averaging \$500 million education aid budget a year from 2010 to 2015, it had a substantial spike in 2016 reaching nearly one billion dollars, before dropping again in 2017 to just below \$400 million. Below, *Figure 4* demonstrates the yearly percentage of the British foreign aid spent on education aid from 2010 to 2017, while *Figure 5* demonstrates the same data and years but in dollar amounts. In absolute terms, the American government donates the highest education aid amount, however, in percentage, the British government allocates more of their foreign aid budget to education aid compared to the US.

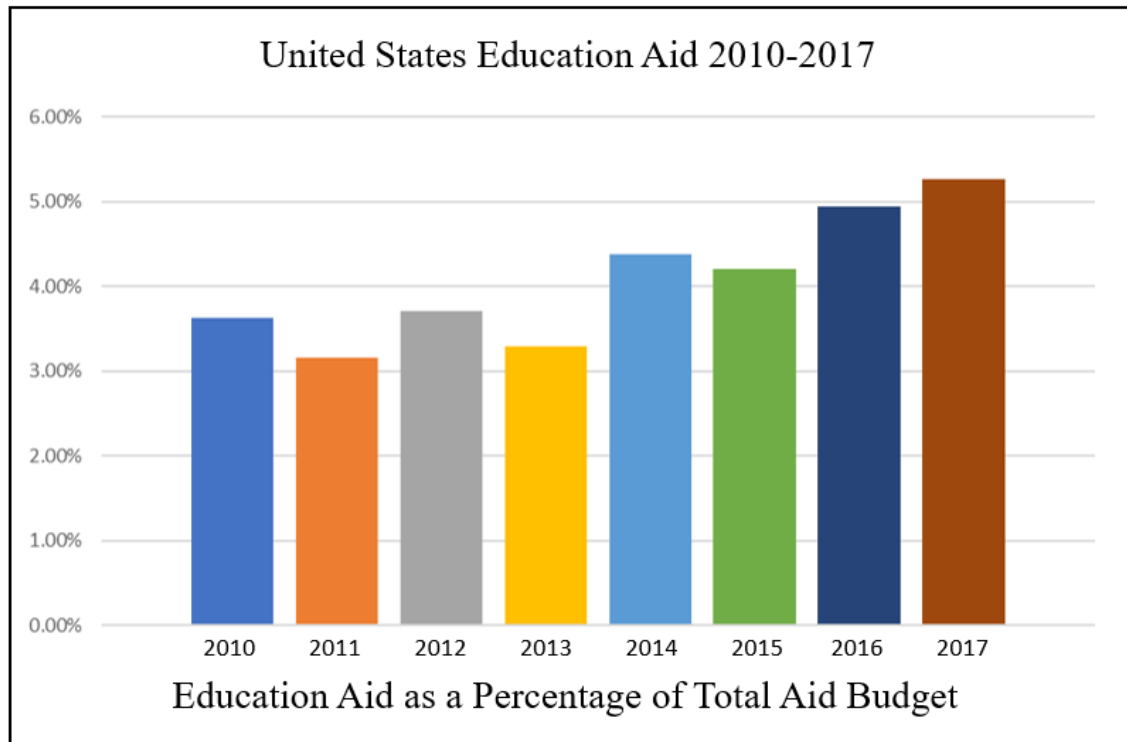


Figure 2 The United States: Education Aid Percentage of Total Foreign Aid Budget 2010-2017

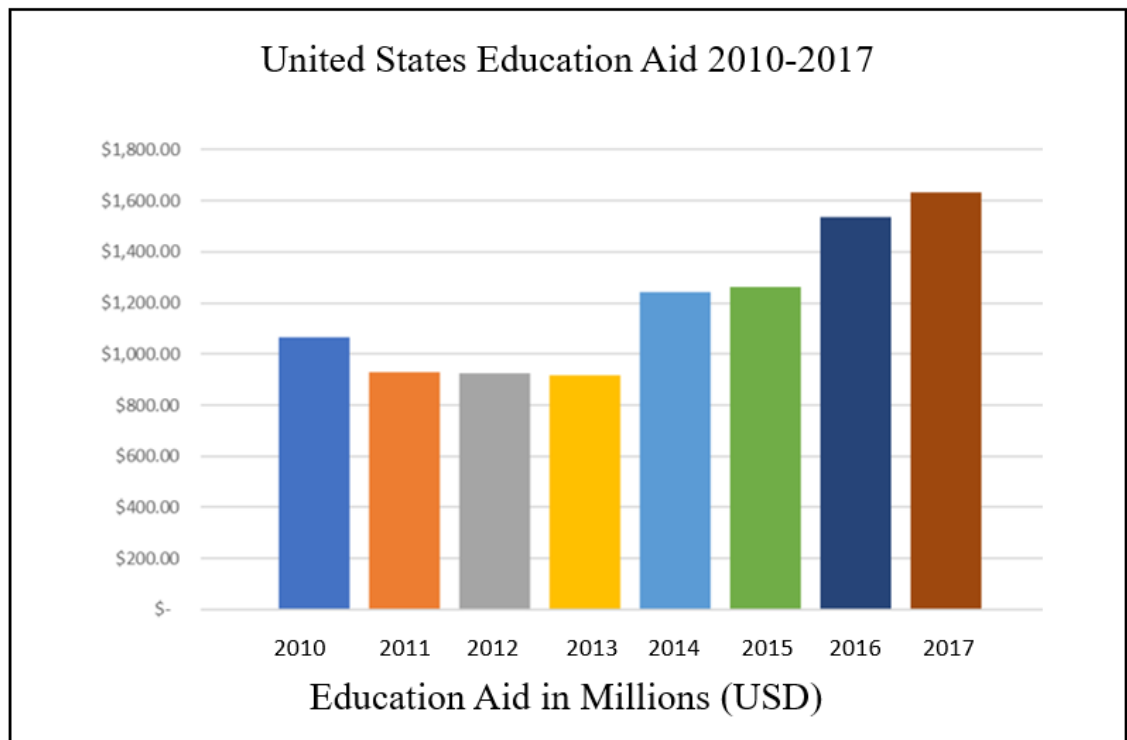


Figure 3 The United States: Education Aid 2010-2017



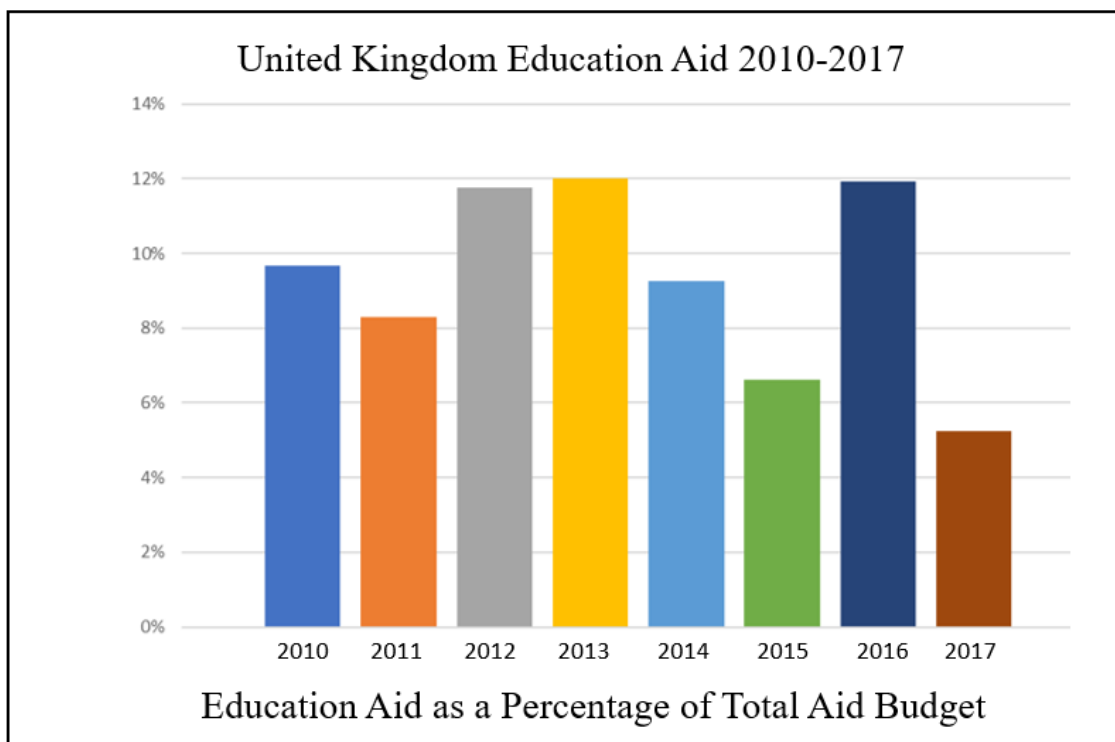


Figure 4 The United Kingdom: Education Aid Percentage of Total Foreign Aid Budget 2010-2017

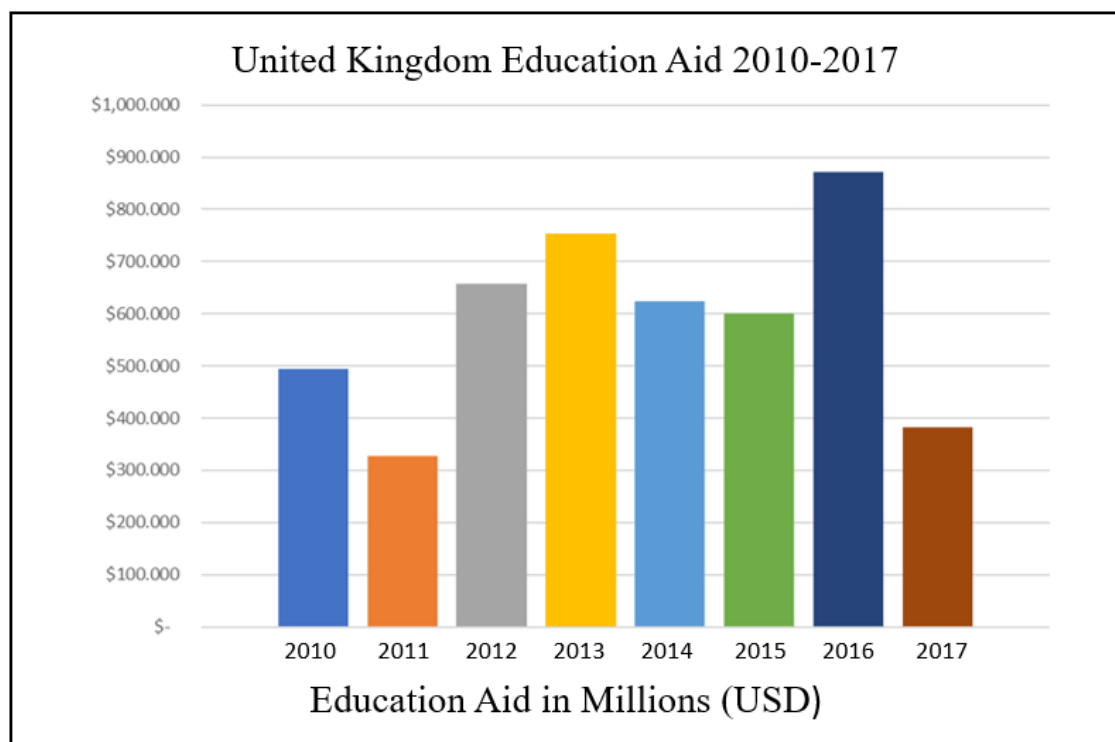


Figure 5 The United Kingdom: Education Aid 2010-2017

During the new millennium, both DFIDs and USAIDs education aid discourses have been relatively stable, revolving around education as a variable that positively contributes to conflict resolution and peace, economic growth and development, social development such as social cohesion, health, equality, and human well-being, encouraging partnership and cooperation, promoting democratic values and governance, and creating a sustainable and lasting impact on development (DFID, 2010; USAID, 2011). While the key variables are the same, there are some differences in the approaches or focuses, which is evident in their education strategies. DFIDs education strategy begins with the declaration that:

Education makes a powerful difference to people's lives. It holds the key to unlocking the human potential needed to secure a more peaceful, prosperous and greener future for us all. Ensuring that all children receive quality basic education is not only a moral duty. It is an essential investment in our common future (DFID, 2010, p. foreword).

While USAIDs education strategy starts by announcing that:

This strategy ushers in a new era of evidence-based strategic guidance that will lead to more focused and collaborative education investments aimed at improving learning outcomes and institutional sustainability in our partner countries. It is an example of USAID's commitment to use development resources selectively, efficiently, and with greater accountability and impact. There are few investments more worthwhile than helping ensure children are healthy, secure and prepared to prosper in a globalized world—whether those children reside in America, Afghanistan, Tanzania or Guatemala (USAID, 2011, p. message from the administrator).

These opening statements sets the tone for the education strategy and demonstrate the overarching discourse of their respective education aid policies. DFID's education aid discourse emphasizes the impact it not only has on economic development, but also social development such as governance, equality, standard of living, health, and overall human well-being. Additionally, it is very connected to the discourse expressed in EFA and MDGs, viewing education as a human right (DFID, 2010). USAID also reference EFA and MDGs in its education strategy, but its discourse takes a different approach in connecting education to security and development efforts. USAID views education as a tool to build human capital, which can facilitate economic growth and enables citizens to promote democratic governance and stability. The economic growth and democratic governance will alleviate poverty and conflict, promote national development, and contribute to international security directly or indirectly by at the very least not fostering security threats. In the long term, these improvements may turn developing states into cooperative members who further support the goal of alleviating security threats (USAID, 2011).

DFID education projects are focused on primary and lower secondary education, but do invest in tertiary education as well as early childhood education. Their efforts are centered around accessibility, quality, affordability, and equity of education services, working with both governments and the private sector to ensure that quality education is accessible to everyone (DFID, 2001, 2007b & 2010). Furthermore, DFID supports programs by the World Bank and Global Partnership for Education that work on improving the quality of the education system and teachers in poor countries. DFID is committed to the all of the goals outlined in the MDGs, and has included specific efforts to provide accessible and quality education for women and girls, as well as skills training for employment. In an effort to broaden their impact, DFID cooperates with the

government, private sector, non-governmental organizations, civil society, and the local community to provide a broad skills and education system that works (DFID, 2007b; Ireton, 2013).

DFID has been committed to the MDGs, and since 2000 their education strategy has been focused on providing quality primary education, ensuring girls access to education, providing training for teachers, and supporting tertiary education in African and Asian countries by helping to improve the quality of local schools (DFID, 2001 & 2010).

Additionally, DFID has supported research into how to improve the accessibility and quality of education, as well as how to keep children in school. In December 2013, DFID requested the report *Pedagogy, Curriculum, Teaching Practices and Teacher Education in Developing Countries*, which reviewed their education policies and strategies, as well as best education practices. The report was commissioned to help DFID guide future programs and policies, and highlighted the need for education policies to overcome negative attitudes by fellow students and teachers towards female students or students with disabilities, as well as negative attitudes towards a certain racial, ethnic, or religious background (Westbrook et al., 2013). Per the report's recommendations, DFID has updated its policies while developing their later education strategies (DFID, 2018)

USAID education projects are focused on basic and tertiary education, assisting in the development of a national school system and ensuring the quality and accessibility of education. Additionally, USAID provides further skills training and technological development to utilize in education and training, with efforts ranging from conducting surveys and gathering data for international statistics, organizing activities and providing teaching resources, promoting reforms and innovative programs, developing

learning technology, and even assisting in the construction of schools (USAID, 2005a & 2011a). Scholarships and cooperation between US and local universities is also an important part of USAID education assistance. Lastly, USAID has special assistance offices to provide specialized technical support in conflict zones or with counter-terrorism and counter-narcotics efforts (Hills, 2006; Ruttan, 1996; USAID, 2011b). These offices and projects are designed to correspond with USAID's long-term overarching poverty relief and socioeconomic development objectives, as well as US geopolitical interests.

USAID was the first US foreign assistance organization established to focus on long-term economic and social development. Following the Vietnam War, USAID faced criticism for being too linked to the military objectives, but also not producing enough results. It was restructured in 1973 to include the development of education and human resources, and during the 1980s, USAID was focused on basic education, technical training, and assisting in the establishment of effective education systems in underdeveloped countries. In 2001, USAID was refocused to global health, economic growth, agriculture, conflict prevention, and developmental relief by former US President George W. Bush, but education remained an important part of USAID efforts (Tarnoff, 2015; Tarnoff & Lawson, 2018; USAID, 2005a). The overarching education discourse has always been to 'build human capacity through education and training', and USAID considers their education programs to be a way of contributing to long-term development, and building human capital and expertise (USAID, 2005a & 2011a). 'Sharing' educational knowledge and practices has a history that predates the new millennium, including being a part of imperial and colonial powers' strategies (Depaepe, 2012). It was after World War II when the United States global influence

increased significantly that the American educational model was shared and adapted around the world, partly as a segment of their foreign aid policies but also by developing governments' own volition (Austin, 2000). United States came prepared with schoolbooks to Germany after the war to contribute to the denazification of German society, and while less prepared, similar strategies were implemented in Japan (Biddiscombe, 2006; Romeu, 2013). The United Kingdom also continues to have a significant influence on the educational practices and research around the world and especially in their former colonies, including Hong Kong and Kenya (McAleer & MacKenzie, 2017).

While both countries highlight economic growth and governance, they have slightly different discourses. The UK essentially views education as a human right, and a determinant for economic growth which improves the standard of living and human wellbeing. Additionally, the British government argues that education helps enhance good governance and freedom by promoting the values of liberty and equality, but the primary aim continues to be humanitarian assistance for underdeveloped nations. The US, however, links education to both security and development efforts, as it generates human capital which stimulates economic growth and alleviates poverty, while also promoting democratic governance and stability, which directly or indirectly alleviates security threats. So, while there are similarities and both governments acknowledge altruistic and national interest motivations in their education aid, there are slightly different focuses on where each places their priorities.

#### **4.8 The Case**

Rice (2008) explained that quality education is in the national interest of America, as it speaks to creating equal opportunity for everyone. This sentiment is expressed in the

DFID (2010) and USAID (2010) education strategies as well. With both being Western democratic states, the two nation-states seemingly can be likened to two peas in a pod, and are often perceived to have similar political, cultural, and economic ideals and goals (Kaufman and Slettedahl Macpherson, 2005; Wedeen, 2002). Both nations have at first glance taken a similar approach to the promotion of international development, being guided by the MDGs and security interests (Ireton, 2013; Tarnoff, 2015). Education and international cooperation are acknowledged by both parties as key to progress, and while this might be a pillar of their public strategy, below the surface some differences can be found.

As Britain and America have increased their spending on development assistance and education aid in the last decade, foreign aid has also been increasingly securitized, a development noticed by academics (Brown, 2015; Brown & Gravingholt, 2016; Riddell, 2007) and field workers (UNESCO, 2011). The connection between education aid and national interest is the foundation of this research, investigating the relationship between education aid, an altruistic and social sector in theory, and national interest, something which is largely considered self-serving and security driven. Chapter two and three outlined the foreign aid literature and theories, providing context and rationale for this research. While this chapter has offered the case studies, presenting the values and practices of British and American aid and interest, the next chapter will continue the red thread by analyzing their education aid and security strategies. Having the literature and theoretical background to provide context, is crucial in the analysis of the policies, and will help answer these research questions. Additionally, the research examines the securitization of British and American foreign aid literature, as the securitization of aid is part of national interest influencing aid.

## **Chapter 5 The National Interest – Education Aid Nexus**

As previously stated, the aim of this study is to fill a literature gap in the securitization of foreign aid, seeking to answer the research question on *if and how national interest and the securitization of foreign aid has influenced the British and American education aid policy discourse*. This chapter will present and analyze the data collected from the primary and secondary data, including British and American governmental documents related to national security and education aid between 2010 and 2015, and the 30 semi-structured interviews with government employees at DFID and USAID. The rationale and methodology for the study was outlined in Chapter One: Introduction, but section one in this chapter will further present and elaborate on the motives identified, data collected, and the analysis process.

The groundwork for this research was discussed in chapter two, three, and four where literature related to foreign aid, education aid, securitization of foreign aid, international relations theories, and the case studies were examined. However, the synthesized theoretical framework was also presented in chapter two, which has continued to influence the research process, including data collection and analysis, and plays an important role in this chapter which will be further discussed. This chapter consists of four main sections. First, a preliminary analysis of the US and UK national security documents in accordance with the synthesized theoretical framework will be outlined, which provides a basis for the data collection and analysis presented in the following three sections. Section one and two are separate presentations of the data collection and analyze whether and how British and American national interests influence education aid, while the fourth section merges the three first sections together for a deeper insight. The data collected, analyzed, and presented in this chapter will be further examined and discussed in chapters six and seven.



## 5.1 National Interest: The Motives

Britain and America are outspoken about their development and security efforts, using the rhetoric of ‘human rights’ and ‘our responsibility to help’ – which alludes to altruism, but since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the security and development discourses have merged, exhibiting similar buzzwords and sentiments and cooperation between the security and development sectors. I utilized a triangulation strategy in my data gathering, starting with a survey of literature related to foreign aid, securitization of aid, education aid, and international relations theories. Based on the key tenants of the Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism theories, I created a synthesized theoretical framework, which I applied when conducting a preliminary content analysis of the American and British national security strategies published for the 2010 to 2015 period<sup>10</sup>.

The British National Security Strategy, entitled *A Strong Britain in an Age of Uncertainty* (2010), is divided into an introduction and four additional sections. Part one, *The Strategic Context*, gives an overview of current British engagements and efforts, as well as the challenges and concerns to British interest (Cabinet Office, 2010, pp. 13 – 18). Part two, *Britain’s Distinctive Role*, outlines British capabilities and guiding values, and their position and role in the international arena (Cabinet Office, 2010, pp. 21 – 23). Building on part one and two, part three, *Risks to Our Security*, outlines the risks and priorities for British national security and interests (Cabinet Office, 2010, pp. 25 – 31), while part four, *Our Response*, provides the efforts the

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<sup>10</sup> It is important to note that I did consult the other national security strategies the US and UK has published since 2000 during this analysis stage as well, but the emphasis was on the strategies for 2010 to 2015.

British government is and will implement to tackle these risks (Cabinet Office, 2010, pp. 33 – 35). Similarly, the American National Security Strategy, published in May 2010, gives a comprehensive insight into American security efforts, as well as their national interest and values. After providing an overview of the National Security Strategy (White House, 2010, pp. 1 – 6), the section entitled *Strategic Approach*, gives a context to the current international climate, describing both the world as it currently is, but also how they envision the world could be (White House, 2010, pp. 7 – 16). The third and most comprehensive part, *Advancing Our Interests*, covers the security threats and challenges, as well as the capabilities and efforts of America to mitigate these threats and challenges (White House, 2010, pp. 17 – 50). The strategy ends with a conclusion, summarizing the strategy and reiterating the American's capabilities and responsibility to face the challenges of the world (White House, 2010, pp. 51 – 52).

The British National Security Strategy makes several references to British national interest, or 'our interests' and 'our security interests'. The strategy defines British national interest to be security, prosperity, and freedom for the British people, stating that in order to protect their national interest they must "bring together all the instruments of national power to build a secure and resilient UK and to help shape a stable world" (Cabinet Office, 2010, p. 10). Similarly, there are numerous references to national interest in the American National Security Strategy, defined as ensuring the security and prosperity of the US, as well as promoting universal values and an international order that promotes peace, security, and cooperation (White House, 2010, p. 17). The strategy explains that in order to ensure American national interest the US government must promote democratic values and development, invest in cooperation, security and intelligence sharing, technology and innovation, and promote economic growth (White House, 2010, pp. 9 – 16). Furthermore, they explain that no "interest can

be pursued in isolation” as they are “inextricably linked” to each other (White House, 2010, p. 17), thus the whole-of-government approach is crucial in protecting American national interest and security (White House, 2010, pp. 14 – 16). As was outlined in the *what* section in the theoretical framework, both the US and UK demonstrate a concern with safeguarding their interests and building capabilities. When outlining the *how* and *why* in the theoretical framework and trying to identify it in the two national security strategies, it gets more complex.

The security threats posed by terrorism and fragile and conflict-affected countries is a recurrent theme in both strategies. The British security strategy states that “security and prosperity form a virtuous circle” and in order to keep the British citizens safe and free, stable economy and trade, industry, enterprise, and education is needed (Cabinet Office, 2010, p. 22). Likewise, the US strategy highlights that “strengthen the regional partners we need to help us stop conflicts and counter global criminal networks; build stable, inclusive global economy with new sources of prosperity; advance democracy and human rights; and ultimately position ourselves to better address key global challenges by growing the ranks of prosperous, capable and democratic states that can be our partners in the decades ahead” (White House, 2010, p. 15). The watershed affects the 9/11 attacks has had on the American and British domestic and foreign policy, as well as on the international environment, is a recurring theme, where buzzwords ‘fragile states’ and ‘whole government approach’ is referenced.

Both security strategies discuss how the world is interconnected through a diverse population, global market and trade, communications and technology, and shared interests (Cabinet Office, 2010, p. 21 – 22; White House, 2010, p. 11, p. 15 & pp. 28 – 35), and in order to ensure their national security and interests, new opportunities need

to be created and promoted. The argument both governments put forth, is that facilitating international integration allows for opportunities to resolve differences, cooperate, tackle security challenges, achieve sustainable development world, allowing their countries to prosper (Cabinet Office, 2010, pp. 15 – 18; White House, 2010, pp. 1 – 6 & pp. 43 – 46). The strategies highlight a need for development in the health sector, technology, energy, infrastructure and governance to tackle future threats and challenges. The American strategy specifically states that it will support human rights, the rights of women and girls as victims and participants (White House, 2010, p. 38), as well as food security and health (White House, 2010, pp. 39 – 40), writing that the “United States supports those who seek to exercise universal rights around the world. We promote our values above all by living them at home. We continue to engage nations, institutions, and peoples in pursuit of these values abroad. And we recognize the link between development and political progress” (White House, 2010, p. 36). Similarly, the British strategy highlights democratic institutions and traditions, as well as promoting freedom, justice, tolerance, civil liberties, rule of law, human rights, and obligations of the states (Cabinet Office, 2010, p. 17 – 23), stating that “those are the attributes for which Britain is admired in the world and we must continue to advance them, because Britain will be safer if our values are upheld and respected in the world” (Cabinet Office, 2010, p. 4).

It is clear that ideas, norms and relationships influence the approaches the US and UK take in their national interest policy, as their national ideas and values are reiterated in both their interest objectives and strategies for safeguarding those interests. They’ve also taken a long-term approach, aiming to foster internationally shared democratic values which will foster international cooperation. As in the synthesized theoretical framework presented in chapter two, their formulation of their national interest

objectives and how to safeguard them is not a linear process, but rather a continuing circle where the *what*, *how* and *why* all influence each other. The US and UK both demonstrate the traditional interests to obtain capabilities and safeguard survival, but their approach is complex and riddled with norms, values, and expectations. They have moved beyond ensuring economic prosperity and military capabilities, to also promoting shared democratic values and norms, social and economic development, establishing cooperation and trust, and ensuring peace and stability beyond their own borders to ultimately ensure their national interests.

In the formulation of their national security strategies, the UK and US have common themes between them and with the wider discourse. This has allowed for a categorizing of different motives which represents British and American national interest objective. Based on these recurring patterns and themes in the national security strategies, I identified and established categories describing five main national interest motives, along with a set of key terms, concepts, phrases and treatment of themes and ideas for each motive. These motives will then be used to assist with the further analysis of the data collected from the primary and secondary sources, specifically from the interviews I conducted and the governmental documents I analysed. While the motives were primarily established based on the analysis of the security strategies, they were also informed by the theoretical framework and literature review, especially when defining the coding rules and establishing the identifiers for each motive<sup>11</sup>. The five motives and their identifiers are presented in table six *The Motives* below.

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<sup>11</sup> The analysis process, including categorizing the motives and establishing the identifiers, was conducted by myself, with some assistance from the qualitative computer software NVIVO.

Table 6 The Motives

<b>Motives</b>	<b>Identifiers<sup>12</sup></b>
Economic Development	<p>Economic – Poverty – Growth – Resources – Skills – Capabilities – Capital – Commodity – Equity – Trade – Free Market – Labor – Productivity – Flexibility – Private – Livelihoods – Returns – Results – Instrument – Modern – Development – Globalized Economy – Global Market</p> <p>National Interest Sentiment: Economic development in recipient country benefits the economic development in donor country</p>
Social Development	<p>Social – Equality – Gender – Children – Household – Religion – Ethnic – Race – Minorities – Basic Skills – Life Skills – Health – Food – Well-Being – Standard of Living – Social Capital – Human Development – Ability – Human Rights – Self Reliance – Knowledge – Future – Society – Respect – Values – Norms – Standards – Culture – Development – Ideals – Social Cohesion – Forgiveness – Justice Peace – Peaceful – Resolution – Reconciliation – Disarmament – Retaliation – Peace-Making</p> <p>National Interest Sentiment: Social development is beneficial for the development, stability and governance in recipient country, benefitting the development and security of donor country</p>
Democracy & Governance	<p>Politics – Equal – Governance – Freedom – Transparency – Liberty – Participation – Progress – Rights – Protest – Greed – Stable – Stability – Fragile – Citizen – Election – Law – Member – Representative – Democratic – Democracy – Vote – Consequence – Discrimination – Equality – Fair – Public – Civil Society</p> <p>National Interest Sentiment: Promoting democratic ideals and governance establishes good and stable governance in recipient country, benefitting the security and interests of donor country</p>

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<sup>12</sup> Variations of words, such as change to grammatical function, plurality, and syntax (for example terrorism and terrorist, weapon and weapons, equality and inequality), while not listed in the table, are taken into account during the analysis.

Security	<p>Global – Globalization – Security – Threat – Terrorism – Crime – Development – Environment – Climate Change – International – Nuclear Weapons – Weapons of Mass Destruction – Proliferation – Chemical Weapons – Whole-of-Government Approach – 3D Approach – Security – Threat – Crisis – Fragile – Violence – War – Conflict – Unrest – Terrorism</p> <p>National Interest Sentiment: Instability, conflict and unrest in recipient countries are a security threat to donor country.</p>
Altruism	<p>Partnership – Cooperation – Ownership – Alignment – Harmonization – Results Interconnected – Participation – Sustainability – Accountability – End in itself – Outcomes – Efficiency – Means – Durable – Resilient – Established – Long-Lasting – Persistent – Continuing – Generations – Balance – Cooperate – Partnership – Civil Society – Local Community – Government – Private Sector – Organizations – Research – Norms – MDG – SDG – EFA</p> <p>Altruistic Sentiment: Being responsive to recipient needs, considerate of the needs and situation in the recipient country, and conscious of the outcome and results of donor country’s development efforts</p>

Establishing the five motives for national interest were difficult, as you could argue that there is overlap between the identifiers, and one policy statement could arguably be indicative of more than one of the motives. For example, ‘wellbeing’ is an identifier of ‘social development’ but it could also be indicative of ‘economic development’.

However, the coding rules were established by how the terms and concepts were treated in the national security strategy, and in accordance with the sentiments established in the theoretical framework and literature review. Thus, the motives and identifiers have been identified and categorized based on the sentiments from the literature review, theories and national security strategies, and are analyzed in the context in which they have been presented. Furthermore, the four first motives – economic development, social development, democracy and governance, and security – do not distinguish

between objectives in recipient or donor country because the definition of national interest utilized in this research is that it benefits the donor country's national interest, and does not take into account the needs of recipient country (Morgenthau, 1962: Nye, 2005, 2011: Waltz, 1979). Foreign aid is essentially to benefit the recipient country's needs, but the larger purpose of foreign aid according to the theoretical framework and sentiments in the literature review is that this benefits the donor country. Thus, the objective of promoting economic or social development, democratic governance, and mitigating security threats in the recipient country, are fundamentally to secure the donor country's national interest. Thus, distinguishing between donor country aiming to promote development, stability, and democracy domestically or abroad in this research is not relevant (Easterly, 2003 & 2006: Nye, 2005 & 2011: Riddell, 2007: Waltz, 1979: Wendt, 1992 & 2006).<sup>13</sup>

The fifth motive altruism is specifically designed to categorize any philanthropic and selfless sentiments the 'selfish nature' of the four other national interest motives cannot. The identifiers were created using the good foreign aid principals. The Paris Declaration (2005) outlined the following five principals for good foreign aid practices: 1) Ownership: Developing countries set their own strategies for poverty reduction, improve their institutions and tackle corruption; 2) Alignment: Donor countries align behind these objectives and use local system; 3) Harmonization: Donor countries coordinate, simplify procedures and share information to avoid duplication; 4) Results: Developing countries and donors shift focus to development results and results get

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<sup>13</sup> This section, as well as the establishments of the motives and their identifiers builds on the literature, definitions, theories, perspectives and research on foreign aid, national interest and altruism outlined and discussed in the literature review, Chapter Two: Foreign Aid The Good, The Bad & The Theories.



measured; and lastly 5) Mutual accountability: Donors and partners are accountable for development results (OECD, 2019). The Accra Agenda for Action (2008) builds on the Paris Declaration and updated four principals for improvement to ensure good foreign aid practices: 1) Ownership: Countries have more say over their development processes through wider participation in development policy formulation, stronger leadership on aid co-ordination and more use of country systems for aid delivery; 2) Inclusive partnerships: All partners - including donors in the OECD Development Assistance Committee and developing countries, as well as other donors, foundations and civil society - participate fully; 3) Delivering results: Aid is focused on real and measurable impact on development; 4) Capacity development - to build the ability of countries to manage their own future (OECD, 2019). The Paris Declaration (2005) and Accra Agenda for Action (2008) together outline nine principals that are used as the basis for good foreign aid practices in this research, and help to identify altruism in the analysis of the interviews, strategies and policy documents.

Based on my research question and theoretical framework, *examining if and how national interest and the securitization of foreign aid has influenced the British and American education aid policy discourse*, I chose to do a preliminary analysis of the British and American national security strategies to identify their main national interest. This resulted in the five national interest motives. These motives and their identifiers are the set of categories and coding rules I utilized when analysing the interviews I conducted, the British and American education aid strategies, and their government texts related to education aid. The aim was to identify the recurring national interest motives in the national security strategies, and then look for overlap and coherence with the motives in education aid strategies and other education aid policy documents.

Essaisson et al. (2007) explain that the coherence between discourse and action will

determine the relevance of a motive. The motives are based on the sentiments from the literature review, theoretical framework, and analysis of the national security strategies, and will be applied to the content analysis of the British and American government documents and interviews.

I analyzed several governmental policy documents and reports related to the scope of this research published by the British and American government between 2010 and 2015, but the main documents analyzed is the British and American education aid strategies. The British Department for International Development published their education strategy *Learning for All*, in 2010, outlining their vision, priorities, and strategy for their education aid (DFID, 2010). The first chapter, *Our Vision and Our Strategic Priorities*, covers why education is important, putting it in the context of the challenges that exists in achieving development and progress, as well as in the international arena, and how education can facilitate addressing or alleviating these challenges (DFID, 2010, pp. 11 – 15). Additionally, they outline the vision and priorities of DFID, linking it to the MDGs (2000) and EFA targets (2000), focusing on primary education, promoting gender equality, and on creating quality education that is accessible, and develops needed skills (DFID, 2010, pp. 11 – 19). The second chapter, *Priorities for Action*, focuses on the ‘access,’ ‘quality,’ and ‘skills and knowledge’ aspects of education aid, giving an overview of objectives, strategies, and projects (DFID, 2010, pp. 21 – 41), while the third chapter, *Making Investment Count*, looks at technical details, as well as outcomes and country programs (DFID, 2010, pp. 43 – 51). Published in February 2011, the USAID Education Strategy entitled *Opportunity Through Learning* provides an outline of the strategy and methodology for American education aid, as well as the importance education has for development. It has four main sections; the first section, *Education and the Development Challenge*, gives context to

the importance and positive outcome education has for development, while also acknowledging some challenges related to development and education (USAID, 2011, pp. 2 – 3). The second section provides context to previous efforts as well as future efforts for American development policy, including education (USAID, 2011, pp. 4 – 5). The third and largest section is titled *The Strategy*, and provides a comprehensive overview of the guiding principles, goals, and methods for their education strategy, as well as the desired outcomes and evaluation methods to measure the outcomes (USAID, 2011, pp. 6 – 18). The final section, *The Roadmap for Implementation*, provides some insight into the tactics and technicalities of the strategy, referencing policy documents to develop in order to implement the strategy further (USAID, 2011, pp. 19 – 20).

The American and British education aid strategies provide a crucial insight into the education aid objectives and strategies the respective governments have, as does the several policy documents and reports. However, in addition to analyzing the documents, I interviewed 14 DFID employees and 16 USAID employees, the transcripts of which have also been included in the analysis and findings<sup>14</sup> to gain more in-depth knowledge and understanding of the topic, as well as uncover information that is not included in government documents, such as the human perception and opinion about the process and environment. Conducting a content analysis of education aid strategies and policy documents, along with the data gathered from the interviews with USAID and DFID employees, to determine the coherence and overlap between education objectives and the five national interest motives will help identify whether and how national interest influences the British and American education aid policy (Essaisson, et al., 2007, pp.

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<sup>14</sup> These interviews will be referenced in this chapter by the agency and interview number, for example as *USAID Interview 3, 2016*.

327 – 334). It is also important to note that during the analysis process, simply referencing a key term is not enough to be included as a motive, but the emphasis and time spent on explaining and illustrating determines if it is considered to be a motive. Additionally, the words used to describe the importance of the motive, such as crucial, important, key, determining factor, etc., will be taken into account to help determine if the motive is of strong, medium or low importance to the country. I will present the analysis for each motive, before presenting the wider analysis of whether and how American and British national interest has influenced their education aid.

## **5.2 Motive One: Economic Development**

In interviews with DFID employees, discussions of the ‘potential’ of education were often drawn back to economic development and building human. Similarly, most of the discussions and objectives outlined in the education strategy revolve around economic and social development, explaining that education is needed in “building the economic and social resilience needed to face future challenges” (DFID, 2010, p. 21). From an economic perspective, DFID argues that basic education is the “prerequisite for developing the human capital base necessary for economic growth and development” (DFID, 2010, p. 36), while further education and skills-based training is needed “to build poor people’s skills and capacities so that they can make better use of economic opportunities” (DFID, 2010, p. 37). The human capital sentiments were a recurring theme in the interviews: A growing economy needs a literate and skilled workforce, and education is how you build the necessary human capital. Additionally, information, communication, and technological advancements are necessary for economic development to succeed, which can only be achieved by a literate and educated population (DFID Interview 1, 2016). Likewise, the education strategy explains the importance of education for economic growth as a facilitator for economic

independence and income equality, and vital when it comes to creating opportunities for the poor. Furthermore, the argument presented was that economic development enables development in other aspects including human rights and democratic governance (DFID Interview 8, 2016; DFID Interview 14, 2016), and education deters social and economic disadvantages in adulthood (DFID Interview 4, 2016).

While the discussion during the interviews and in the education aid strategy placed economic development in the context of the recipient country, there are continuously references to the needs in a globalized economy, using buzzwords such as ‘free market’, ‘global market’ and ‘globalized economy.’ DFID Interview 10 (2016) explained that “the interconnectedness of the world makes it difficult if not impossible to separate their economy, our economy, and the international economy.” This is also evident in other policy documents and reports. The British government has been committed to the MDGs, which is ‘about helping others, but framed in a globalized context because it is impossible not to, and that’s something we’ve adopted in our policy language’ (DFID Interview 2, 2016). This is evident in the DFID education strategy, as education and economic development objectives are linked to the sentiments expressed in MDGs. It is logical that the national security strategies link economic development back to self-interest, as the ‘interconnectedness’ does indeed make it difficult to distinguish between ‘their’ and ‘our’ and the ‘international’ economy, “because essentially it eventually impacts each other” (DFID Interview 10, 2016). However, the emphasis on economic development and the returns to the donor country is palpable in the interviews and the British policy documents. When I further asked DFID Interview 10 about this, they explained “economic development is emphasized [because it] allows for the capital and capacity to realize other development, governance and security needs, and since we are living in a globalized community, their needs are our needs.” The British government

explicitly states that providing poor people with innovative skills and capacities so “they can make better use of economic opportunities” (DFID, 2010, p. 37) will aid in creating a skills market that attracts investments and competitiveness, allowing for economic growth and helping to alleviate chronic poverty, which is beneficial for the ‘globalized community’ and ‘our common future’ (DFID, 2000; DFID, 2005b; DFID, 2009).

What is interesting here is that economic development being beneficial for both donor and recipient country is accepted in the British development discourse as it is in the security discourse, the only difference seems to be that the British aid employees I interviewed and the British government documents I analyzed frame it as secondary outcome, rather than as the objective the security strategy clearly treats it as. It was a different experience with the American interviews and documents. USAID Interview 8 (2016) frankly said that “you cannot develop our economy without developing theirs, you cannot develop their economy without it impacting ours” following up with “that is how globalization and a free market operates, that is the world we live in.” Not only is economic development accepted to be beneficial for both donor and recipient country, but also expected.

USAID integrates their development priorities with education, arguing that education is a development investment that influences economic growth, democratic governance, health and food security, social change, and conflict resolution (USAID, 2011, p. 17). While they link education to many other development objectives, there are two central themes in USAID’s education strategy: economic growth and democratic governance. Often discussing them together, USAID states that it places “special emphasis on promoting broad-based economic growth and democratic governance, using ‘game

changing' innovations, and, tailoring development strategies to the unique and demanding context of countries experiencing complex emergencies” and that “in light of the evidence presented for how education contributes to economic growth and governance, the commitment in this strategy to promote research, technology and innovation to help accelerate educational achievement” is consistent with other governmental directives (USAID, 2011, p. 4). USAID Interview 3 (2016) explains that “American values abroad and at home is rooted in free market and democracy, they are a unit which impacts each other [and] you need both” ending the thought with “what we promote and strive for at home, we promote and strive for abroad.”

Essentially, what was a recurring argument in the documents and interviews is that education contributes to economic growth by building human capital, increasing labor productivity, promoting the development of technology and innovation, and raises individual income as well as the country's economy by raising its domestic revenues (USAID, 2011, pp. 2 – 3; USAID Interview 7, 2016; USAID Interview 15, 2016). Basic and tertiary education complement each other, and both are needed to create a workforce. In fact, USAID argues that “islands of excellence and building the skills of a highly-trained elite, when basic education for most of the population is still poor, is unlikely to help the economy grow” (USAID, 2011, p. 2). It is noteworthy that the policy documents and USAID employees observed that different countries have different needs. In countries that are more developed, the focus will be on tertiary education to generate the needed capabilities to boost economic growth. For countries that are less developed or are conflict-affected, the focus will be on securing access to basic education (USAID, 2011, pp. 6 – 8). The reasoning for this is that investing in basic education provides the workforce with literary and basic skills, while tertiary

education provides further innovative and specialized skills (USAID Interview 10 & 12, 2016).

The discussion about education and economic development was also practical. The education aid strategy states that education efforts will include reform to policies and procedures, promoting scholarships, internships, and exchange programs, English language and skills training, as well as introducing technologies and investing in research (USAID, 2011, pp. 12 – 140). USAID Interview 11 (2016) explained that “most of what we do as government employees is have meetings, meetings with everyone, different agencies [and] organizations, to ensure that our efforts are top-down and bottom-up, and [to ensure that we] take into consideration both the context of the [recipient] country, but also what we want to achieve.” I asked directly if what “we want to achieve” was in relations to American interest, and the individual answered “interests, but also values [and] development objectives.” This also reiterates a recurring theme in American strategies, policy documents and interviews, which is linking education, economic growth, and per capita income as catalysts and fundamental for the development and survival of democratic governments (USAID, 2011, pp. 2 – 3; USAID Interview 3, 2016; USAID Interview 11, 2016; ), stating that “education helps ensure that growth is broad-based and reaches the poorest. Through its impact on economic growth, education helps catalyze transitions to democracy and helps preserve robust democratic governance” (USAID, 2011, p. 1). Essentially, two of the core national interest objectives discussed in the American national security strategies, are also two of the core education aid objectives.



### **5.3 Motive Two: Social Development**

DFID explains that “education is a basic human right; a pathway to maximize individual potential, extend freedoms, build capabilities and open up opportunities. Quality education will equip and empower future generations with the ever-changing skills and competencies needed to achieve sustainable development” (DFID, 2010, p. 11).

Education is crucial in developing social and life skills, such as resilience, and can have a positive influence on health, fertility, and nutritional aspects, promoting gender equality and equality for other excluded groups. The education strategy has an especially strong focus on gender and health, arguing that “gender inequality and violence in school reflect wider discrimination in society” and “improving gender equality means working with boys and men, as well as girls and women” (DFID, 2010, p. 24). Additionally, DFID explains that “girls who complete secondary education are less likely to become infected with HIV than those who don’t, while boys are more likely to practice safer sex. Schools can help children and young people make informed and healthy choices. They can challenge harmful norms and stereotypes around gender, sexuality, gender-based violence and stigma. DFID will continue to work with partner governments and civil society organizations to promote education as a means for preventing and mitigating the impact of the AIDS pandemic and improving the relevance and quality of sexual and life skills education” (DFID, 2010, p. 24). Furthermore, DFID is concerned with other disenfranchised groups, including individuals with disabilities, referencing international agreements that “set out the rights and duties regarding the education of children with disabilities” (DFID, 2010, p. 24). Again, they link their efforts to the wider international goals, especially the ones outlined in the MDGs and EFA.

USAID states that the “Education Strategy is grounded in the overarching objective of advancing sustained and inclusive economic and social development in partner countries” (USAID, 2011, p. 6). USAID seeks to promote positive social change and stability by providing training that helps develop social and life skills that have a positive impact on health and family planning, individual and household wellbeing, as well as nutrition and food security (USAID, 2011, pp. 1 – 3 & p. 19). However, USAID links education and social development back to their two main themes, economic growth and democratic governance. The report explains that social development positively influences economic growth and a stable democracy by providing necessary social skills and stability to ensure a successful democratic government and economy. Additionally, USAID discusses the importance of equality, especially focused on gender equality, stating that USAID “will take measures to increase gender parity and improve gender equity at all levels of education” (USAID, 2011, p. 17). They also discuss equality in relation to class, religion, ethnicity, race, and minority groups, as well as individuals with disabilities, removing negative attitudes detrimental to equal treatment within education and society (USAID, 2011, p. 17). The strategy aims to tackle inequality by mainstreaming equality in society, especially in the curriculum and learning materials, as well as by provide psychosocial support to both teachers and students (USAID, 2011, pp. 14 – 17).

As discussed in the literature review, the highlighted aspects of education are the potential positive impact it has on the economic and social wellbeing of the educated and their community. Education can be used to combat social and cultural inequalities in relation to gender, race, religion, ethnicity, and disabilities, as well as personal development and human wellbeing. The British and American educations strategies and

the individuals interviewed, like the literature review, cast a wide net of the potential education has on social development.

During the interviews with DFID employees, the sentiment was that social development ‘includes’ everything, but is achieved by promoting economic opportunities and ensuring good democratic governance: in a roundabout way, social development is the basis for economic prosperity and stable governance, but can also not be achieved without having economic prosperity and stable governance. DFID Interview 6 (2016) best worded themselves on this and summed up the essence of what the others had to say by explaining that social development is “the crux and the consequence of a healthy society, [and] ensuring economic prosperity and good governance” following up with that is a measurement “to the success of our efforts, ensuring we [are] working towards the millennium development goals, [because] it’s all a circle of development.” In the interviews with USAID employees’ similar sentiments of ‘circle of development’ was expressed, that social development is both a core component but also an outcome of a healthy society. However, it was often drawn back to economic development and democratic governance, just as it is in the education and security strategies, and when I probed more about the reasoning for this USAID Interview 14 (2016) explained “our government agencies are coordinated according to American values and ideals [which are] economic prosperity and democratic values” following up with that “its what we promote at home and abroad.” During another interview, they stated that “you can not have a healthy society where people are equal, healthy, thriving and contributing if you do not have a good and stable economy and government. [However], you can not have a good and stable economy and government [in a society] where people are not healthy, equal and able to contribute” (USAID Interview 4, 2016).

## 5.4 Motive Three: Democracy & Governance

DFID's education strategy makes few references to democracy and governance in relation to education, but does however state that "education can play an important part in the emergency response to conflict and fragility, in the long term process of reconstruction and building stability and in promoting civil engagement and democracy. Empirical evidence links levels and distribution of education achievement to indicators of democracy, stability and security" (DFID, 2010, p. 11). When discussing tertiary education, DFID finds a need for "adequate investment in the higher-level knowledge and skills necessary to drive development. Better healthcare and education require skilled professionals to design and deliver services. Good governance is dependent on the nurture of capable individuals who can effectively lead the public sector" (DFID, 2010, p. 39). Evidence of this is found from their own previous education aid efforts, such as the Commonwealth scholarships and fellowships which have provided overseas students with awards from British Universities, to then return home and contribute to improve "governance, through careers in government and the public sector, including strengthening public financial management. Many alumni work directly in development, helping tackle issues related to poverty, social inequality and poor health" (DFID, 2010, p. 41). The discussion of democratic governance and infrastructure is limited to these mentions, and instead focused on assisting in creating a sustainable and accountable governmental education system to aid in economic and social development. Similarly, in the interviews with DFID employees, it was expressed that British values are those of 'democratic ideals, human rights, and equality,' and fundamentally the British government promotes these values (DFID Interview 1, 4 – 9, 11 & 13, 2016), but in their educational efforts "the objective is social and economic development, which will essentially have a positive impact on governance and promote democratic

ideals” (DFID Interview 7, 2016). The American education strategy and in the interviews with USAID employees the emphasis on democratic values and governance were more forthright. It was commonly acknowledged that the American values and ideals are rooted in those of democratic values, and that informs their foreign aid policies, and by extension their education aid policies (USAID Interview 4, 6 – 8, 14 & 16, 2016).

Democratic values and governance are one of the two central themes in the American education aid strategy, the second being the aforementioned economic development. Highlighting that education assists in developing “an informed and active citizenry” (USAID, 2011, p. 2), which is crucial for a healthy democracy and stable governance. Furthermore, the strategy goes on to explain that “economic growth and development are the most important factors influencing regime transition and democratic survival. Researchers agree that improvements in average per capita income increase the probabilities of democracy and democratic survival. Furthermore, access to quality education is often a key factor in transforming individuals from “subjects” to citizens – allowing them to participate meaningfully in the political life of their countries” (USAID, 2011, p. 3). The objective of American education aid appears to be to promote economic development and democratic governance. The strategy states that “education programs will be more closely linked to economic growth and transparent, democratic governance reforms because of the powerful correlation and synergies between them” (USAID, 2011, p. 8). USAID Interview 14 (2016) reiterates these sentiments, explaining that there is a “strong link between education, economic growth and democratic governance. Encouraging good and democratic governance relies on a stable economy and an education population.”

## 5.5 Motive Four: Security

The DFID education strategy makes several references to education in fragile states or countries experiencing conflict, however, most are in reference to access during conflict, and establishing proper infrastructure to access quality education. The discussion on fragile or conflict torn countries is continually linked back to providing access to schools, as well as providing a quality education and equality among the pupils, especially for girls, minorities, and students with disabilities. Additionally, the education strategy discusses education in terms of rebuilding a country after conflict, by having the human capital and skills to develop an economy and maintain their own development, by declaring: “Education can play an important part in the emergency response to conflict or fragility, in the long-term process of reconstruction and building stability and in promoting civil engagement and education. Empirical evidence links levels and distribution of education achievement to indicators of democracy, stability and security” (DFID, 2010, p. 11). The overall discussion of education, conflict and peace is linked to children not attending school due to conflict, and how it prevents reaching the goals outlines in the MDGs and EFA.

However, education is also discussed as an option instead of war, arguing that by providing proper schooling for children in fragile and conflict afflicted states, they would have other prosperous options to create a livelihood and meaning, rather than partaking in the conflict. While there are few references to education as a method of peacebuilding, the strategy acknowledges that “education can help lessen tension, promote peace and rebuild lives” (DFID, 2010, p. 13), clearly alluding to education contributing to creating a more peaceful society in the Somali region in Ethiopia in one particular example (DFID, 2010, p. 23). During interviews, this connection was also made, but further elaborated on, similar to what was discussed in the literature review.

For example, DFID Interviews 3 and 14 (2016) explained separately that individuals who turn to terrorism or crime is often due to lack of opportunities, and in fragile or war-torn countries, there are limited resources and options, where crime and terrorism is often the way to provide or belong. While the discussion during interviews did include security interest, from both the British but also a global perspective, and there was a use of the fragile state's rhetoric, the discussion were mostly from a practical perspective about ensuring access and quality education in fragile or war-torn countries (DFID Interview 2 – 5 & 13, 2016).

While there are some references to using education to create partnerships and cooperation in a globalized economy facing international challenges and threats, most references in the education strategy are about cooperating with international partners to achieve international education goals, as outlined by the MDGs and EFA (DFID, 2010, pp. 45 – 47). In fact, the education strategy demonstrates a high focus on MDGs and EFA (DFID, 2010, pp. 23 – 24 & pp. 39 – 40), often bringing the discussion and objectives back to the MDGs and EFA. However, the strategy states that “investing in education will be central in addressing Twenty-First Century challenges, including global competitiveness, climate change, conflict and insecurity” (DFID, 2010, p. 12), and there is a focus on fragile and conflicted affected states, as DFID states that they will “increase the volume and proportion of our bilateral education aid to fragile and conflict-affected states (to around 50%)” (DFID, 2010, p. 8). Additionally, DFID acknowledges that there is “a strong relationship between levels of school achievement in science and awareness of global environmental problems. Both are associated with a greater sense of responsibility of supporting sustainable environmental management” (DFID, 2010, p. 11). These sentiments are consistent with the securitization of foreign aid discourse, but they still maintain that development perspective. Similarly, in the

interviews, the securitization rhetoric seems to have been mainstreamed into the development discourse. DFID Interview 4, 8 and 11 (2016) discussed the whole-of-government approach, that while admittedly they have expanded on the development efforts to think more broadly about the objectives, efforts and returns, such as centering on countries labeled fragile states and considering possible threats, they are still developmental in their efforts and objectives at DFID. This is further evident in the DFID publications *why we need to work more effectively in fragile states* (2005a), *a strategy for security and development* (2005b) and *tackling global challenges in the national interest* (2015).

Overall, the language used during the discussion of education aid and development in the British education strategy, other government documents and in the interviews with DFID employees, fits the securitization of foreign aid Brown and Gravingholt (2016) – specifically including the terms fragile states, terrorism, security challenges and whole-of-government approach – however, the discussion seldom strayed from developmental objectives. The analysis of the USAID interviews, and the American education strategy and government documents found the same securitized language. Interestingly, 9/11 and the whole-of-government approach were brought up voluntarily without me mentioning it by all the 16 USAID and 14 DFID interview participants. Indeed, it was in different contexts, as some participants brought it up naturally while reflecting on the changes to foreign aid policy and practices, as well as the potential of education aid. However, the merging of development and security – ‘securitization of foreign aid’ – was acknowledged as well.

While USAID gives a comprehensive discussion of the inherent difficulties in offering quality education in fragile or conflict-affected states, the main focus is on access and



peace education. USAID explains that “access to education for children and youth is the logical focal point of a program” (USAID, 2011, p. 7). One of their main education goals is to “increase equitable access to education in crisis and conflict environments” (USAID, 2011, p. 1), stating that almost 40 million primary school aged children “live in countries affected by armed conflict” and “millions more are living in situations where they have been displaced or otherwise affected by natural disaster” (USAID, 2011, p. 13), as well as criminal activities. Ensuring access for these children is crucial, not only because education is a human right, but also because it can assist in resolving the cause and mitigating the outcomes of fragility and conflict (USAID, 2011, pp. 13 – 14). This leads to their second focus, peace education. The strategy outlines specific aims for ensuring that education efforts do not reignite tensions or conflict. These aims include mainstreaming reconciliation, reintegration, equality and peace through community engagement, learning activities, and education resources and the curriculum. Furthermore, USAID aims to support reforms in the education sector such as organizational structure, policies, language, hiring and training of teachers, and resources, to ensure conflict is not reignited (USAID, 2011, pp. 14 – 15).

USAID Interview 1 (2016) referenced the popular phrase that there is ‘no security without development, no development without security’ – and the attractiveness of education is that “it has a wide range, because it educates the population to tackle their own issues and spearhead their own development [...] of course it is acknowledged that conflict and fragile countries have spillover effects, [and can] impact our security – or interests if you wish – but essentially we are attempting to make a positive long-term change for individuals and for countries.” During another interview, this was elaborated on that “since 9/11 there has been a significant change to the way the government formulate and implement foreign policy, even if the objective at USAID is

development, we are part of a larger objective, and the different [government] agencies have an integrated response” (USAID Interview 2, 2016). This statement is in reference to the changing institutional position of USAID, which in 2006 shifted to operate under the State Department, causing loss of autonomy and a noticeable merging of development and security efforts in American foreign aid (Hills, 2006). Only three of the interviewed USAID employees had been with USAID from before the merging, but they noted that there was a noticeable change in policy formulation and practice (USAID Interviews 2, 3 & 9). In addition to the three, interview participants did note that there is both formal and informal ‘cooperation’ between government agencies to ensure the ‘whole-of-government approach’ and that there is a coherent American foreign policy as it relates to development aid, security and national interests (USAID Interview 2 – 5, 9 – 11 & 16, 2016).

The acknowledgements in the interviews about the whole-of-government approach being incorporated within the American government is further backed up by publications such as the USAID publications *USAID’s role in the war on terrorism* (2001), *foreign aid in the national interest* (2002), *development response to violent extremism and insurgency* (2011b) and the joint strategic plans between USAID and the State Department (2007 & 2014). Furthermore, while it is not frequent, there are specific mentions of national interest and security as it relates to America, and often there are strong correlations between education objectives and the US foreign policy discourse. Much of the rhetoric in the strategy is linked to a wider context, referencing a ‘globalized world’ and how the world is increasingly connected through globalization (USAID, 2011, pp. 4 – 7). The strategy explains that development is important for countries to become “competitive economic actors in a globalized world” (USAID, 2011, p. 4) and for democracy to flourish, stating that education is a supportive tool in

achieving sustainable development. Additionally, much of the discourse is linked to overarching American foreign policy goals including promoting democratic values and governance, handling security issues related to fragile and conflict-affected states and promoting a thriving international economy. The strategy explains that “American values to promote human dignity and support democratic governance and economic growth will undergird all that USAID pursues through this new strategy” (USAID, 2011, p. 5). During interviews, I asked about these statements in the strategy, and when I asked about the perspective on how US interests are reflected in education aid, it was explained that “while things have changed since 9/11 in how we operate here at USAID, well it changed things for everyone, we are still committed to helping individuals and countries, it is just more in cohesion with other government agencies” (USAID Interview 9, 2016), referencing USAID being moved to operate under the US State Department and the whole-of-government approach that has been adopted since the 9/11 attacks.

## **5.6 Motive Five: Altruism**

The motive altruism is drawn using the good foreign aid principals outlined in the Paris Declaration (2005) and Accra Agenda for Action (2008). When analyzing the national security strategies, the education aid strategies, other government documents and the interviews I conducted it became clear that some of the words are used in a context where it does not fit the motive altruism. For example, context of ensuring ‘partnership’ with aid recipient in that the aid efforts are accountable and yield sustainable development results, are different from ensuring ‘partnership’ in tackling global security challenges. Similar issues arose with other words, and I have taken this under consideration during the analysis process. I also want to reiterate, that this is an analysis of the policies, and not of the implementation of aid efforts and results.

During the analysis of the British policy documents and the education aid strategy, altruistic sentiments are clearly present. DFID clearly and repeatedly states that it is concerned with making a sustainable and lasting impact with their efforts, stating it is “vital to support service delivery through partnerships with communities and non-state providers in ways that support, rather than threaten, the gradual re-emergence of state capacity” (DFID, 2010, p. 13), arguing it is an essential component of accountable foreign aid programs. A recurring theme in the education strategy is the wide benefits education has, particularly the positive outcomes for economic and social development, such as human capital, skills, labor, income, growth, health, peace, culture, and politics. Furthermore, DFID explains that it “will take time for the benefits to show. The wider impact of improving the quality of basic education will not be felt until new school graduates become part of a country’s economic and civic society” (DFID, 2010, p. 28). This too is repeated several times throughout the discussion in the strategy, as is the reference to the MDG and EFA, and other international objectives and commitments. DFID explains that education is a tool, and “the real test for parents and children is whether children have acquired and can apply their skills and knowledge in ways that benefit their further learning, health, wealth and wider economic and social development” (DFID, 2010, p. 28). Thus, the objective is not for DFID to steer and promote their development, but rather to provide the country’s citizens with the tools necessary to do so themselves.

Analysis of USAID governments found similar altruistic language, and they state in the education aid strategy that “key emphasis on the sustainability of results and mutual accountability between donors and country partners” (USAID, 2011, p. 5), in their education aid strategy and other policy documents. Including highlighting the need for evidence gathering and measuring efforts in order to ensure that the impact of their

education programs is effective and sustainable (USAID, 2011, pp. 15 – 16). They are also dedicated to an ‘evidence-based research’ method, which is utilized to ensure USAID wisely and efficiently spends its funding on successful education programs, including research on “teacher effectiveness, school feeding, innovative financing, transparency and accountability, technology and student testing” (USAID, 2011, p. 19). Throughout the strategy, USAID expresses a dedication to achieving measurable and sustainable outcomes by being selective and country specific in its programs (USAID, 2011, pp. 1 – 3). The objective is to build capacity at an individual, community, and national level, allowing for the country to be accountable for their own development (USAID, 2011, p. 8). The strategy makes references to the MDGs and EFA, however the references are few, and there is more focus on American development goals and policies.

As were found in the British education aid strategy and policy documents, altruistic rhetoric was present in every interview with British aid workers. DFID Interview 8 (2016) stated that “there is an unimaginable [amount of] meetings, cooperation and research that goes into preparing and implementing aid policies, objectives, and efforts [...] to ensuring that [our] work is accountable, sustainable and considerate.” Meetings and research were frequently mentioned, in the context of the whole-of-government approach as there is cooperation amongst the different government agencies, but also as a check and balance attempt in ensuring sustainable, productive and accountable – altruistic – education aid (DFID Interview 2 – 5, 8 – 11 & 13). Similarly, the interviews with USAID employees referenced meetings and research (USAID Interviews 3, 6 – 12 & 16, 2016) as a “continuing part of formulating, implementing and updating the aid policies and efforts, and ensuring is inclusive, accountable and has a measurable impact” (USAID Interview 3, 2016). The desire to promote economic development and

democratic governance was also referenced in the context of ensuring that American education aid is effectively delivered, by tackling corruption, improving institutions and infrastructure, and ensuring good governance (USAID Interviews 4 – 7, 10 & 16, 2016), which are sentiments fitting for altruism but also national interest.

## **5.7 Additional Observations**

The British and American education and security discourses and analysis of interviews demonstrate some similarities, but also key differences. The analysis of the American education aid demonstrates a stronger merging between development and security objectives, repeating aims, terms, and efforts in their education and security strategies. Meanwhile, British education aid prove a coherence in their development and security objectives, but keep the approaches and efforts separate, maintaining a development lens in the education strategy and a security lens in the security strategy. Similarly, both countries still demonstrate the securitization of aid, utilizing the terms ‘whole-of-government’ and ‘fragile states’ as identified by Brown and Gravingholt (2016).

In their final comments, DFID states that “getting rid of poverty will make for a better world for everybody [...] in a world of growing wealth, such levels of human suffering and wasted potential are not only morally wrong, they are also against our own interests” (DFID, 2010, p. 55) explaining that “we are closer to people in developing countries than ever before. We trade more and more with people in poor countries, and many of the problems which affect us – conflict, international crime, refugees, the trade in illegal drugs and the spread of diseases – are caused or made worse by poverty in developing countries” (DFID, 2010, p. 55). However, the previous examples referencing ancillary benefits to the United Kingdom are not common in the education strategy, and there are few direct mentions of national interest and security in the

documents and interviews. When national interest and security were found in the analysis process, it spoke to the larger objectives of British development aid, and not using education in order to promote national interest. The British National Security Strategy (2010) discusses fragile and conflict-affected states as a threat to British interest and security, along with other security threats such as weapon proliferation, natural disasters, and cybercrime. They provide an overview of efforts to counter these security threats, mostly surrounding international cooperation and British capabilities, including economic, innovation, technology, and diplomacy. However, there are few mentions of peace (Cabinet Office, 2010). The discussion of security, conflict and peace in DFID's education strategy, other documents and in the interviews are mostly about providing access to education in fragile and conflict-affected states, with some references to peace education and reconstruction efforts, but mostly linking it to the goals outlined in MDGs and EFA (DFID, 2010). While there was somewhat overlap of sentiments and rhetoric in the security strategy and the analysis, especially when discussing fragile and conflict-affected states, it did not appear to be a strong focus.

Economic development, however, was heavily emphasized by both the national security and in the analysis. The security strategy approached economic development using the terms globalization, free market and trade, and competitive actors, explaining that it would provide opportunities for the British economy to thrive. Additionally, the security strategy linked economic development to other interests, arguing that having a strong and competitive economy would be beneficial to British security and diplomatic efforts as well (Cabinet Office, 2010). The development documents and interviews have a different approach, arguing that education helps build human capital and the skills necessary for an innovative and productive workforce, which stimulates economic growth. However, the outcome is the same, as it will either directly or indirectly

contribute to both the international and British economy (DFID, 2010). Interestingly, both the education and security strategies highlight the English language as an important asset, both as a British asset and an advantage for economic development efforts, as English is one of the main languages for technology and business (Cabinet Office, 2010, p. 21; DFID, 2010, p. 37). From this one can deduct that economic growth appears to be of great importance to British foreign policy and national interest, as is reflected in the national security strategy and education strategy.

The analysis of the DFID documents and interviews found a strong focus on social development, discussing social and cultural inequalities, with a focus on gender and disabilities, as well as linking education to personal development and wellbeing, and having a positive influence on health and nutrition, gender equality, and social cohesion. The British security strategy makes few references to social development or economic development in other nations, but acknowledges the impact security can have on underdeveloped countries, exacerbating existing struggles and poverty (Cabinet Office, 2010). However, there is a focus on whole-of-government approach as well as stating that they will use all government instruments to ensure British security and interest, including international development programs (Cabinet Office, 2010, p. 9), which was brought up during the interviews as well. While there is not necessarily a policy cohesion on social development between the education analysis and security strategy, there is evidence to the theories presented in the securitization of foreign aid literature that development is a tool used to support national interest and promote security.

There was a limited discussion of democracy and governance in the analysis. The national security strategy discusses it in terms of British values, which includes democratic values, indirectly linking democratic governance to development and



stability, and directly linking it to British interests (Cabinet Office, 2010). The analysis of DFID documents and interviews found that the overall argument is that education has a positive influence on stability, civil engagement, and democracy, as well as citing specific efforts that have contributed to strengthening governance, such as scholarships and fellowships to British Universities (DFID, 2010). However, while there are few discussions of democratic governance directly, there are indirect references by using terms such as freedoms, liberty, and rights, which both the national security strategy and the analysis findings equate to British values and to democratic governance.

For the final motive of altruism, the analysis demonstrated a strong focus on having a long lasting, accountable, cooperative and sustainable impact, often referencing the objectives and sentiments expressed in the MDG and EFA. It does not seem concerned with cooperation and creating partners in the context of tackling international challenges and threats, except for some references to environmental and fragile states, the focus seems to be on cooperation in an effort to secure sustainable development. Meanwhile, the British security strategy makes indirect references to having a lasting impact by discussing the future and adhering to international guiding principles. However, the focus is on cooperation with allies, partners, and multilateral agencies in an effort to secure British security and prosperity, and to tackle international challenges such as terrorism, natural disasters, and cybercrime (Cabinet Office, 2010). Overall the British discourse is coherent, acknowledging the interconnectedness of national interest with security and development efforts. The objectives seem to be the same, but the approaches to security and development are kept somewhat separate.

While there is evidence of British education aid being securitized – as the whole-of-government approach has been integrated into their development efforts – they still

manage to maintain a development lens for their development efforts and a security lens for their national security efforts. The analysis of the American security strategy, and the education documents and interviews, demonstrate a more integrated approach. For example, both in the American analysis and in the security strategy they discuss security, conflict and peace as a concern. USAID focuses their discussion on providing access to quality education that contributes to development in fragile and conflict-affected states, with some references to peace education, meaning efforts to mitigate conflict and tensions, and contribute to reconciliation and reconstruction efforts (USAID, 2011; USAID Interview 6 – 11, 2016). The national security strategy puts more emphasis on it than the education strategy, highlighting the security threat conflict-affected and fragile states pose, especially in relation to terrorism and criminal activities. It links its efforts to development efforts and sentiments expressed in the education strategy, demonstrating some coherence, stating that democratic governance and development is key in mitigating the security threats conflict-affected and fragile states pose (White House, 2010). While the focus is understandably more security focused in the national security strategy, and more development focused in the education strategy, the discussion is somewhat coherent.

Additionally, The analysis and American security strategy demonstrate complete coherence in their discussion of the role economic development and growth play in their respective missions, highlighting the importance it has for both the recipient and American national prosperity and security. USAID recognizes that education, economic development, and democracy are all interconnected and have a positive influence on each other (USAID, 2011). Similarly, the national security strategy links development, economic growth, and democracy together. The security strategy argues that economic development will result in benefits for the American economy and security, facilitating

cooperation and international development (White House, 2010). Furthermore, both strategies highlight the importance of the English language for economic growth, both as an American asset, but also an asset for the recipient country's development (USAID, 2011, p. 10; White House, 2010, p. 29), especially linking it to economic development and sharing of values. Overall, the economic aspect is evidently of great importance in both the security and education strategies. Social development is not discussed with the same frequency or significance as economic development. Both the strategy and analysis discuss the importance of human capital, including social aspects, and are focused on human rights and equality, especially gender equality. Additionally, they discuss nutrition and food security, health and HIV/AIDS (USAID, 2011; White House, 2010). However, USAID's discussion is limited, and the security strategy's discussion is mostly linking it to the promotion of democratic values.

The emphasis and linkage between economic development and democratic values is heavily discussed and highlighted throughout the security strategy and the analysis. The education strategy explains that education is fundamental for economic development and democratic governance, by creating human capital and developing an informed population which contributes to economic growth and a healthy democracy (USAID, 2011), sentiments that were reiterated in the interview with USAID employees. The security strategy expresses similar sentiments, recognizing the link between development and governance, and arguing the two are mutually reinforcing, as well as a positive influence on security (White House, 2010). Furthermore, there are continuous references to American values, which are synonymous with democratic values, stating that it is in the interest of America to promote democratic values. The security strategy has a larger focus on this, arguing democratic values and governance allow for the establishment of allies and international cooperation, and have a positive influence on

security and economic interests. However, the USAID documents analyzed and the interview participants agree it has a positive influence on development and human rights (USAID, 2011; USAID Interview 1 – 6, 8 – 10 & 13, 2016; White House, 2010). In fact, it appears to be a key part of both the American education aid and national security strategy to promote democratic values and governance.

Discussion of altruism were mixed and harder to distinguish at times. Lasting impact, sustainability and effectiveness is repeatedly referenced in the American national security strategy, education development documents and in the interviews with USAID employees. The discourse were focused on creating international partners to cooperate with on international threats, challenges, and opportunities. However, both in the USAID documents and interviews, it was highlighted that ensuring accountability and transparency in their programs and policies, and aiming for sustainable outcomes in their efforts are crucial and always taken into account when formulating policy and designing efforts (USAID, 2011; USAID Interview 2 – 6 & 9 – 12, 2016). Similarly, the security strategy makes several references to ensuring ‘lasting’ development, peace, and security, and demonstrating a commitment to cooperate with international organizations, civil society, local governments, and the local community. Furthermore, the commitment to international cooperation and promotion of shared values illustrates the commitment to sustainable and accountable efforts (White House, 2010).

Nevertheless, there is an interconnectedness between American and international interest, and it is in America’s interest to facilitate international cooperation, strengthen allies, and promote shared values. For example, the USAID education aid strategy (2011) makes specific references to the establishment of international cooperation through education aid, but the rhetoric of the strategy is in the context of an interconnectedness and a globalized world, as well as linking the education objectives to

US foreign policy discourse (USAID, 2011). The national security strategy makes it explicitly clear that it is an objective and in America's national interest to establish close and strong allies and partners to cooperate on international threats and opportunities, specifically discussing economics, fragile states and terrorism, and climate change. Furthermore, the discussion is focused on the spreading and encouragement of American values, referring to democratic values and governance (White House, 2010). The discussion and objectives outlined in the education and security strategy, as well as what was expressed during interviews, is comprehensive and coherent with each other. Both during the analysis and in the security strategy: objectives, efforts, and outcomes are views as inherently interconnected, and they are not really separating their security and education efforts to the same degree as the British government is.

Overall, the America government is synchronized in its discussion of conflict and peace in the security strategy and education discourse, focusing on conflict-affected and fragile states, linking it to terrorism and criminal activity, and labelling it a hinderance to development and security (USAID, 2011; USAID Interview 1 – 10, 2016; White House, 2010). The British government have a similar focus on them, both discussing conflict-affected and fragile states in their national interest and education aid efforts, however, they are not as succinct in their concerns. The education strategy is focused on providing access to quality and productive education to develop peace and human capital, while the security strategy is about the threat conflict-affected and fragile states pose (Cabinet Office. 2010; DFID, 2010; DFID Interview 3 – 11, 2016). While the emphasis is different, the fact that both countries include fragile states in both of their education and security strategies speaks to the securitization of foreign aid identified in literature by Brown and Gravingholt (2016), and Riddell (2007). Furthermore, both the British and American government focuses on economic development, linking it to wider

objectives within development, national interest, and security objectives. However, the British discourse continues to keep the efforts and strategies more separate, also discussing social development in their education strategy, while keeping the security strategy focused on security and economic.

Economic growth and human rights are important to both countries. The British education strategy had a strong focus on social and economic development, while the British security strategy only focused on economic growth, having few references to social aspects (Cabinet Office, 2010; DFID, 2010; DFID Interview 3 – 8, 2016). Social aspects were far less discussed in the American development and national interest discourse, except for the comprehensive discussion of democratic values and governance, which touched on social development rhetoric such as human rights, civil liberties, and freedoms (White House, 2010; USAID, 2011; USAID Interviews 1 – 16, 2016). The British discourse had a limited discussion of democracy and governance, but did link the positive influence education, human rights, and development has on democratic governance, and vice versa (Cabinet Office, 2010; DFID, 2010; DFID Interviews 3 – 6, 2016). The American discourse placed far more emphasis on democracy. The security strategy states that development and democratic governance are mutually reinforcing and have a positive impact on American security and economic interests, as well as the stability of the international environment. Thus, the promotion of democratic values and institutions is found to be in the American national interest (White House, 2010). Similar sentiments are found in USAID's education strategy and expressed in the interviews; however, the discussion is from more of a development lens, looking at the positive influence education, human rights, development, and democracy has for and on each other.

Both the British and American education aid and security discourse demonstrate similar sentiments to the ones identified in human capital and democratic peace theory, albeit to varying degrees. The UK seemed more concerned with human capital and development, than focusing on democratic governance. The British education strategy is especially concerned with human capital and development from both an economic and a social aspect (DFID, 2010). The US, however, is equally focused on human capital and democratic values in both their education and security strategies (USAID, 2011; White House, 2010). Another similarity between the two countries is the focus on international cooperation, especially in the security strategies. The American security strategy heavily emphasizes the promotion of shared international values, interest, and cooperation in order to ensure their own security and interest (White House, 2010). While the British security strategy does use similar sentiments, it is more focused on the international cooperation aspect than promoting their own leaderships and values. The respective countries education strategies also discuss the facilitation of international cooperation and shared values, but are more concerned with establishing sustainable and lasting development.

## Chapter 6 The Findings

The UK and US are two of the largest international aid donors and have a large international presence, utilizing their influence and capabilities to tackle the challenges and opportunities present in a globalized world. This research has looked at the effects of 9/11 and the securitization of foreign aid, with the aim to investigate the affects this has had on British and American education aid. Research by Brown and Gravingholt (2016), Hills (2006), Marriage (2006), McConnon (2014), and Riddell (2007) have all found evidence of British and American development efforts merging with their security objectives, utilizing a whole-of-government approach to ensure that their interests are safeguarded. Meanwhile, data from OECD (2017) shows a growing development aid budget, with education and health being the two largest sectors the UK and US donate aid to. Considering this context, it would be rational to assume that national interest, such as security and economic concerns, have influenced education aid. Yet, there has been no research aimed at the securitization of aid at the sectoral level, specifically education aid; a literature gap this research aims to fill.

This research has been guided by the research question *have national interest and the securitization of foreign aid influenced the British and American education aid policy discourse, and if so, how?* With two additional sub-research question to help guide the research:

**RQ2.** What are the main national interest objectives of the United Kingdom and United States governments? How does Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism help explain these objectives?

**RQ3.** What reasonings does the British and American government give for providing education aid to underdeveloped countries? How does Structural



Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism help explain these reasonings?

This chapter will present the research findings from the content analysis of the British and American education and security strategies, education aid documents and interviews, providing answers to the research questions. First, the findings will discuss the importance of education aid for British and American foreign policy, finding that the wide and long-term affects education has on development is why education is an important part of British and American foreign policy. Furthermore, the national interest motives will be outlined, comparing and differentiating the British and American motives for education aid and how this relates to their national interests. The findings and research questions will be further discussed in chapter seven.

## **6.1 The Bottom Turtle**

Knowledge exchanges between states is just as much about cultural exchange and skills exchange as it is about pure information. Since the colonial, trader, and missionary days, there has always been an exchange of knowledge and culture amongst the industrialized and developing worlds, but education aid is an exchange based on academic research and governmental policy, and often rooted in democratic ideals. In reviewing previous literature, this study found that there were two recurring reasons why education aid is such an attractive aid strategy.

Money has always been a powerful tool, but it is also a highly corruptible one, easily misused or abused if not properly appropriated. There are too many contingencies and stages that need to line up for financial aid to be successful, especially in a fragile or unstable government. Research by Ndulo and van de Walle (2014), and Kaufmann (2009) argue that focusing on education aid as a foreign strategy is less corruptive than

giving financial aid and has a much more long-term effect on development. Similarly, research by Petrikova (2014) examining the short- and long-term impact on wellbeing by development projects in Ethiopia, found that knowledge transfer on agriculture and social-infrastructure had a greater positive impact in the longer-term. It is like the saying goes: *give a man a fish, and you feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish, and you feed him for a lifetime.* It might be a long-term investment and take years to see results, but it tackles issues from a bottom-up approach, rather than top-down.

In the analysis of British and American foreign policy documents and interviews, especially their respective aid agencies education strategies and reports, this study finds that the donor states recognize the wide and long-term affects education aid has. The significant potential education aid has demonstrated is why it is considered to be such an important part of their foreign policy. DFIDs education strategy perfectly sums up both countries sentiments:

Education is a basic human right; a pathway to maximise individual potential, extend freedoms, build capabilities and open up opportunities. Quality education will equip and empower future generations with the ever changing skills and competencies needed to achieve sustainable development (DFID, 2010, p, 11).

This is similar to what the literature shows – that the lasting and wide impact is what makes education aid so attractive. American foreign policy discusses education as the foundation for human development, pointing to the importance it has for economic growth and democracy (White House, 2010). The USAID Education Strategy (2011) labelled education as a fundamental and crucial precondition for human and economic development. British foreign policy considers education a human right and the key to addressing the challenges of the Twenty-First Century, specifically listing economic

woes, climate change, and conflicts as challenges that can be ameliorated by broader educational opportunities (Cabinet Office, 2010).

Both the United Kingdom and the United States highlight the impact education has on economic and social development, linking it to long-term positive impacts on global and national challenges. Sentiments found in Human Capital Theory are expressed in both countries' education strategies and national security strategies, emphasizing the benefits of education by generating human capital, which in turn stimulates employment, and fosters trade and economic growth. USAID's education strategy specifically states that:

The acquisition of skills is central to building human capital, increasing labor productivity, catalyzing the adoption of new technologies and innovations, and accelerating novel applications of existing technologies. In an economy open to trade and with well-functioning markets, workers can add not only to their own incomes, but to the country's economic growth in a significant and sustainable way (USAID, 2011, p. 2).

DFID's education strategy maintains that "countries with more educated populations enjoy higher rates of economic growth and less inequality" (DFID, 2010, p. 11), and similarly to USAID's education strategy, DFID speaks of human capital as the key to stimulating long-term economic development:

The challenge for governments is to build human capital in a way that is efficient, cost effective and ever responsive to the changing demands of the national economy. Skills shortages are often not the key constraint to growth, and providing people with skills will not generate employment. But an appropriately skilled workforce is a necessary ingredient for long term growth (DFID, 2010, p. 35)

What both countries argue in their respective strategies is the need for education to generate human capital and stimulate long-term economic development and growth. But unlike providing financial aid, education aid will enable the recipient state to ultimately maintain and develop their own economic structure. And an economically secure government and population will have a positive impact on the stability of the country, enabling them to deal with challenges both nationally and internationally.

The same rationale is evident for social development. Education nourishes the mind, building up and giving the population skills and information that motivates social development, especially in the cultural, health, and political sectors. Britain has committed to the MDGs, and their overall aid practices as well as their education strategy reflect this:

There is strong evidence linking levels of education – enrolment levels, but particularly levels of learning – to economic growth, improved health and nutritional outcomes, lower fertility and social stability. These gains underpin the critical role of education to achieving all the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). [...] Education can play an important part in the emergency response to conflict or fragility, in the long term process of reconstruction and building stability and in promoting civil engagement and democracy. Empirical evidence links levels and distribution of education achievement to indicators of democracy, stability and security (DFID, 2010, p. 11).

Education can help create an informed population that can take an active part in the development of their country, not just economically but also with health, conflict resolution, stability, and promoting human rights and democratic values. USAID echoes the sentiments of social development, especially promoting democratic governance:

[...] education helps catalyze transitions to democracy and helps preserve robust democratic governance. Economic growth and development are the most important factors influencing regime transition and democratic survival.

Researchers agree that improvements in average per capita income increase the probabilities of democracy and democratic survival. Furthermore, access to quality education is often a key factor in transforming individuals from “subjects” to citizens – allowing them to participate meaningfully in the political life of their countries (USAID, 2011, p. 3).

The UK and the US believe that economic and social development will help foster good and stable governance, creating partners that they can cooperate with, and mitigate threats and challenges to their national security. Education can act as a leveler of society, closing social and economic disparities within a society by creating equal opportunity, human capital, and economic growth. This is beneficial for the individual, the society, and the government, and with the interconnectedness between industrialized and developing states, it is beneficial for the global community. In essence, the reason why education aid is considered to be such an important part of British and American foreign policy is because they consider it the engine of society, and it has a positive effect on their long-term national interests.

There is a story, likely fictional, of a scientist presenting a lecture on the cosmos when a little old lady interrupts him to say his theories are hogwash. The Earth is too heavy to float around the sun like the scientist claims, she informs him. Instead, the Earth rests on the back of a giant turtle. When the scientist asks what the turtle stands on, she says it stands on an even larger turtle. When the scientist smugly asks what that turtle stands

on, she stares him down and says, “you’re very clever, young man, but its turtles all the way down.”

In the world of economic development and national stability, education is the bottom turtle; the foundation of what society stands on. Education promotes economic and social development, which is how countries achieve stable and democratic governance, which stimulates cooperation amongst states, resulting in international and national security and stability – each advance standing on the back of its predecessor.

International development, cooperation, and stability rely on and impact each other; one cannot be achieved without the other, and at the bottom of this there is education.

Education is the root of economic development; it is a long-term investment to ensure a long-term impact.

## **6.2 The Motivations**

Based on the literature review, theoretical framework, and examination into the case studies, I established five national interest motives: 1) economic development, 2) social development, 3) democracy and governance, 4) security and 5) altruism. Further analysis of British and American education aid documents, interviews, education strategy, and national security strategies in chapter four and five determined the emphasis the countries placed on each motive. The analysis of the education and security strategies showed that despite the strategies having different purposes, the policy documents share a lot of similarities in their areas of focus, illustrated in table seven below.

*Table 7 Findings: Analysis of British & American Education Aid*

Motives	DFID Education Strategy 2010 – 2015	UK National Security Strategy 2010 – 2015	USAID Education Strategy 2011 – 2015	US National Security Strategy 2010 – 2015
<i>Education</i>	305	2	285	31
<i>Security</i>	5	197	4	226
<i>National Interest</i>	1	28	2	86
Economic Development	Strong	Strong	Strong	Strong
Social Development	Strong	Low	Low	Low
Democracy & Governance	Medium	Medium	Strong	Strong
Security	Medium	Strong	Strong	Strong
Altruism	Strong	Low	Medium	Medium

It is important to note that the figures shown in the table for ‘education’ and ‘security’ are only for the times those words were used in the appropriate context. I did not include ‘education’ and ‘security’ when they were used in references and titles. The context of the word use was considered as well. For example, the word ‘security’ was only counted if used in the context of violence, conflict, and threats, not in other contexts such as ‘food security’. The figures for ‘national interest’ represent how many references were made to that term, and include not just ‘national interest’, but similar phrases such as ‘our interest’ or ‘security interest’. Furthermore, it is important to point out that when discussing their national interest, states do not necessarily use the exact term, rather it is reflected in their discussion of concerns and goals.

The remaining categories represents the different motivations, and have been ranked between ‘strong,’ ‘medium,’ and ‘low’ emphasis, which has been determined based on a comprehensive context analysis. This distinction was made because it is to be expected that there would be a considerable difference in the times ‘education,’ ‘security’ and ‘national interest’ was mentioned, considering the nature of the four main policy documents – two education strategies and two security strategies.

The first part of the analysis looked at the number of times the terms ‘education,’ ‘security’ and ‘national interest’ were used in their respective strategy, and found a considerable difference between the education and security strategies. The only discrepancy was the number of times ‘education’ was referenced in the US National Security Strategy (2010), demonstrating a relatively high volume for a security strategy. ‘Security’ was expected with the education strategies, as they are part of developmental policies, which deals with conflict-affected countries. However, the USAID Education Strategy (2011) specifically references the US National Security Strategy (2010), stating their education strategy “will be implemented in the dynamic policy context of principles and guidelines enunciated in” the American security strategy (USAID, 2011, p. 4). The analysis of the British education and security strategy did not result in any unexpected findings, nor did they demonstrate the same overlap as the American strategies. When looking at ‘national interest,’ neither education strategies directly referenced the term any substantial amount, however, as the findings will demonstrate, the link between the objectives of the education strategy and the national interest outlined in the security strategies are considerable. Overall, the coherence between British education and security strategies was medium. Economic development was the only motive ranked strong for both strategies, while there was a wide gulf between the emphasis placed on the other four motives. The analysis of British education aid



demonstrated a strong emphasis on social development and ensuring a lasting impact, while the security strategy had a low emphasis on both categories. The American strategies demonstrated greater consistency between the education discourse and national interest. Both the American security strategy and the education aid analysis demonstrated a strong emphasis on security, economic development, and democracy and governance. There was low emphasis on social development, and a medium emphasis on altruism.

The research found that both the US and the UK argued for fostering economic development, investments, and trade to combat poverty and unstable governments around the world, and creating a global competitive economy, from which, ultimately, they also would benefit. In their education aid strategies and documents, education aid was seen as a supportive tool to generate the human capital needed to stimulate economic development. Education is the key ingredient to nourish the minds and skills of the people in developing nations, so they can be productive partners in creating national and international peace and stability, as well as furthering democratic values and governance. The coherence between the two donor countries studied here and their respective education strategies and national security strategies is palpable. Additionally, this study found that cooperation is high on the agenda, and both countries are motivated by continuing and strengthening old partnerships and ties, as well as fostering new ones. This is clear in both the education strategies and the national security strategies: international cooperation and cooperation between states, civil society, and other international actors, is considered key to achieving their agendas and goals. However, as previously discussed, the emphasis on national security goals and education goals differed somewhat between the British strategies.

Both states demonstrate altruistic motives, as both countries make it clear in their education and national security strategies that they believe they have a moral duty to help foster a positive change in developing nations. Both the education and national security strategies for the United Kingdom and United States discuss each country's desire for their actions to have a long-lasting impact rather than a mere temporary alleviation of poverty. While it is more widely discussed in the education strategies, this study found that both the UK and US include education in their foreign policy because of its wide impact and its vital importance in achieving the established goals of creating stability and peace, furthering social and economic development, and having a long-term affect. Thus, evidence of both national interest and altruism have been found in British and American education strategies. The findings for each motive will be further discussed in this chapter; their ramifications and theoretical implications, as well as the question of national interest versus altruistic motivations, will be further discussed in chapter seven.

### **6.2.1 Motive One: Economic Development**

Economic development was strongly emphasized across the board in both the British and American discourses, highlighted in all their strategies for similar and different reasons. The US highlights it as a key part of their national interest, discussing it in their security strategy as both a goal of national interest and as a method to secure their interests (White House, 2010, pp. 1 – 6 & pp. 43 – 46). The research found that economic growth and development is so strongly emphasized due to the link it has to multiple other American interests. The security strategy links economic growth to the traditional business and prosperity sentiments, as well as increasing American capabilities, but further links economic development as a facilitator to creating international integration and cooperation, democratic governance, and the promotion of

human rights and gender equality (White House, 2010, pp. 28 – 40). Economic development is equally highlighted in the education strategy, arguing education contributes to economic growth by facilitating human capital, productivity, and innovation, as well as democracy and stable governance (USAID, 2011, pp. 2 – 8).

While the approach to economic development in the education strategy is from a developmental perspective, the sentiments are similar to those in the security strategy, and the overlap between their national interest and development objectives are palpable. Their discussion of economic growth, in both the education and security strategy, is also linked to other aspects of development including democratic governance and social development. Democratic governance, which will be further discussed in motive four, is paired with economic development as the two main objectives found in the American security and education strategy. It is evident that the education strategy is deeply influenced by American interests, especially concerning economic growth.

The analysis also found that economic development is one of the main sentiments in British discourse, heavily emphasized in both the security and the education strategies. The education strategy discusses economic development from a human capital perspective, arguing an education and literate population allows for the skills and innovative workforce which is needed in order for economic development to succeed, as well as to achieve a positive overall improvement of society (DFID, 2010, pp. 21 – 37). The security strategy discusses economic development in both a domestic and an international context, however, the strategy ultimately finds that the two are inherently linked. In the domestic context, advancements in technology, communications, and trade are needed to create opportunities for British interests to prosper, both economic interests and security interests. A stable economy is important for an effective and stable British defense and governance. In the international context, economic cooperation and

development through a free market and open trade allows for economic growth in Britain, and can have a positive impact in underdeveloped states' economic and social development, preventing instability, conflict, and state failure (Cabinet Office, 2010, pp. 9 – 22). The British strategies manage to keep their respective security and development approach in their strategies, but the influence of national interest is more evident in their discussion of economic interest and economic development objectives than any of the other motives. The sentiments are the same: facilitating economic growth will secure other interests, including security, health, and governance. The difference is that the sentiments are primarily applied to the donor states in the education strategy, and to British interests in the security strategy.

Economic sentiments are found to be the most prevalent in all four strategies. This can be deemed rational as economic wealth is necessary for the safekeeping of national security and to sustain an active and stable government. In a development context, economic wealth is necessary for a fragile and underdeveloped state to achieve the necessary resources to properly develop and maintain infrastructure. In a national interest context, wealth is needed to maintain the already established infrastructure, and to further their national interest objectives. The British security strategy states that a prosperous economy is necessary to ensure effective governance (Cabinet Office, 2010, pp. 9 – 11), and the education strategy argues a stable economy is needed to enable individual freedom and fight inequalities (DFID, 2010, pp. 36 – 37).

Similarly, the US education and security strategies highlight economic wealth as key in enabling proper infrastructure and governance, having positive influence on social aspects such as political participation, equality, and freedoms (USAID, 2011, pp. 2 – 14; White House, 2010, pp. 28 – 35). Furthermore, the US highlights economic growth

as a key national interest, as it has a positive role in ensuring American capabilities but also in enabling international development and security (White House, 2010, pp. 28 – 46). These findings support the theory that national interest influences international development, especially as it pertains to economic sentiments.

Interestingly, the discussion of economic development and interest were linked to the spread of democratic values and human rights. USAID wrote that economic growth is both a catalyst for the development of democratic governance and necessary for its stability, as well as enabling individual freedoms (USAID, 2011, pp. 1 – 3), sentiments that are evident and important to American national interest (White House, 2010, p. 35 – 39). Similarly, DFID finds that economic stability and social resilience is intertwined and needed for positive development (DFID, 2010, p. 21), while the British security strategy states that a free market enables open societies where people can be free (Cabinet Office, 2010, p. 4). This linkage was more evident in the American strategies, but the British strategies demonstrated similar sentiments. Moreover, the discussion of universal values and promoting the English language was interestingly mentioned by both countries. The American education strategy argued English language training, scholarships, and exchange programs would be beneficial for underdeveloped states in order to further their economic development by increasing their ability to utilize technology and research, which is widely available in English (USAID, 2011, pp. 12 – 14). Similarly, DFID and the British security strategy states that English language skills are beneficial for business practices and for competing in a globalized economy (DFID, 2010, p. 37), as well as building networks around the globe (Cabinet Office, 2010, p. 21). Furthermore, the British and American security strategies explain that economic development enables shared international values, which stimulates further cooperation

on trade and security (Cabinet Office, 2010, pp. 4 – 18; White House, 2010, pp. 11 – 15).

These findings supports the argument that national interest influences education aid, especially with regards to economics. This is not surprising, as economic wealth is a necessity for any functioning government, thus highly sought after and prioritized. These findings are further supported by research conducted by Krasner (1978), and O'Brien and Pigman (1992), who have established the importance of economic wealth in British and American politics through a historical perspective. Furthermore, it harkens back to the main tenants expressed in the theories presented in chapter three. As Structural Realism explains, states need to build capabilities to ensure their security, and from a Neoliberal perspective, a thriving free international market enables cooperation and international security. The analysis has found that economic wealth is key for British and American national interest, as it enhances their capabilities and defense. Furthermore, both the British and American security strategies discuss the international market as an international integration factor (Cabinet Office, 2010, pp. 4 – 18; White House, 2010, pp. 11 – 15), reminiscent of Neoliberal thinking.

### **6.2.2 Motive Two: Social Development**

The analysis of the British and American policy documents and interviews found different outcomes. While both are focused on the right to education, the social development aspects and commitment to MDGs and EFA targets are more evident in the British policies (DFID, 2010). The American policies demonstrated low emphasis on social development, focusing more on economic development and democratic governance, and instead of life skills and self-reliance the focus was on labor market-oriented skills (USAID, 2011). Social development was of low emphasis by America in

both their education and security strategies. The British policies are different, demonstrating a strong emphasis on social development in their education strategy, and a low emphasis in their security strategy. The emphasis in the respective British strategies makes sense, in that a development document focuses on social aspects more than a security strategy, but the findings in the American strategies were unexpected. It is surprising that USAID's education strategy did not emphasize social development more. The discussion of social development in the American education strategy includes gender equality, human rights, and health aspects, however, social development is often linked back to or discussed as an outcome from economic growth and democratic governance, the two main themes in the education strategy (USAID, 2011, pp. 1 – 17). Similarly, the discussion of social development in the American security strategy is short and linked back to wider objectives, which includes the promotion of the American values of democracy, civil liberties, and freedom (White House, 2010, pp. 35 – 45).

While the British security strategy had a limited discussion of social development, briefly mentioning health and inequalities, the education strategy had a strong emphasis on social development. In fact, the two main themes of DFID's education strategy were how education contributes to economic and social development. Their discussion included personal life skills, health aspects, and social inequalities – focusing mostly on gender equality in their discussion of access, discrimination, gender-based violence, family planning, and other challenges often specific for girls and women (DFID, 2010, pp. 11 – 24). Interestingly, the British education strategy also linked their social development discussion to promoting norms and values, with some mentions of democratic values and governance, although it was not a long discussion (DFID, 2010, p. 11). Furthermore, throughout the British education strategy, both the MDGs and EFA

goals are referenced, demonstrating a strong commitment to the international values of cooperation and altruism. This is more evident in the analysis of British social development discourse than any of the other motives.

Social development is considered to be more altruistically motivated than economic development or conflict and peace efforts due to the less direct positive benefits donor states can get in return, while economic development and peacebuilding have more of a measurable outcome and return. These findings allude to a more development motivated British education aid policy, while America seems to be more influenced by their national interest, a consistent finding in the two previous motives. Research by Brown and Gravingholt had similar findings, concluding that “some countries, especially Nordic ones, have strong commitments to a high level of altruistic foreign aid. This is also the case for the UK, whereas the US and France are historically far more inward-looking” (Brown & Gravingholt, 2016, p. 327). Additionally, analysis conducted by Kirk (2007) expressed similar sentiments, finding that the securitization of aid is stronger in American aid practices compared to British aid (Kirk, 2007, pp. 185 – 187). It is important to note that British education aid still exhibits evidence of being influenced by British national interest, and American education aid has evidence of altruistic motives. Neither country is completely selfless or selfish in their aid policies.

### **6.2.3 Motive Three: Democracy & Governance**

The analysis of British education discourse and security strategies found that they have a medium emphasis on democracy and governance. The education strategy highlights the role education plays in civil engagement and stable governance, and while there are few direct references to democratic governance, their overall discussion is directed towards good governance in terms of transparency, accountability, stability,



sustainability, participation, and freedom – terms used when discussing democratic governance (DFID, 2010, pp. 8 – 12 & pp. 39 – 41). Still, the emphasis is rated medium compared to the emphasis the education strategy put on economic and social development. The British security strategy directly discusses the promotion of democratic values and institutions as part of their national interest, but they categorize it as ‘British values’ rather than democratic, including open societies, civil liberties, rule of law, obligations of the state, freedom, justice, and human rights (Cabinet Office, 2010, pp. 4 – 23).

Despite these ‘few’ references, the overarching sentiments in the values, institutions, and processes both strategies wish to promote are rooted in democratic ideals. This is part of the analysis process, to draw out the main tenants and discourse of the strategies, which are directly and indirectly stated. Thus, the analysis finds that there is a medium emphasis on democracy and governance in the British education discourse and security strategy. The analysis of the American strategies found a strong emphasis on democracy and governance. Compared to the British discourse, the American discourse were much more direct in their discussion and emphasis on democracy and governance. As previously mentioned, the analysis found that the two key motives emphasized in the American strategies were economic development and democratic governance. USAID's education strategy highlights the positive impact education has on economic development and democracy, as the economic growth creates the resources necessary for a stable democratic government to flourish, and education creates informed and active citizens contributing to the establishment and sustainability of a healthy democratic government (USAID, 2011, pp. 1 – 8). Similarly, the American security strategy is focused on promoting democratic values and governance, stating it is in American national interest, linking it to both economic and security interests (White

House, 2010, pp. 36 – 45). Similar to the British sentiments, the American strategies are focused on transparent and accountable governance, protecting freedoms and civil liberties, and promoting human rights, which the US government argues is done through the establishment of democratic governance (White House, 2010, pp. 36 – 39).

It is not surprising to find an emphasis on democracy in British and American foreign policy, as both nations are proponents of democratic values and institutions. Research by Burnside and Dollar (2000 & 2004), Dalgaard et al. (2004) and Pattillo et al. (2007) has found that governance and infrastructure impact the effectiveness of development efforts and Olson (1993) concluded that democratic governments are inherently better at providing the necessary services and stability than are non-democratic governments. Additionally, research by Rummel (1997) and Abadie (2004) found democratic states have less terrorism, civil conflict, and corruption. Considering the sentiments found in the British and American discourse, it is no surprise the promotion of democratic values and governance is emphasized by both. Britain has prided itself on upholding democratic values and institutions both domestically and internationally (Lunn et al., 2008), and for America it has been a long-term interest and strategy, evident in their efforts in Germany and Japan following the Second World War, their actions during the Cold War (Jansen, 2002; Puaca, 2009), and as a part of their national identity (Mann, 1970) – and it is still a prevalent motivation in their foreign policy today (White House, 2010). Thus, the finding of democracy as an important motivation is not surprising.

#### **6.2.4 Motive Four: Security**

The analysis found that Britain had a medium emphasis on security, while America had a strong emphasis. Both countries centered their conflict and peace discussion around fragile states in their education and security strategies, which was also a recurring theme

in other British and American policy documents (Cabinet Office, 2008 & 2015; DFID, 2002, 2005a, 2005b, 2011 & 2015; USAID, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2011b, 2014 & 2015; White House, 2002 & 2006). Brown and Gravingholt (2016), Riddell (2007), Kirk (2007) and Duffield (2007) all explain this focus as a result of 9/11; conflict-affected and fragile states have been categorized as a breeding ground for criminal and terrorist activity, thus posing both a security threat and a need for development. As we know from the securitization of aid discussion, this is the reason for security and development policies merging. Previously, the focus was on underdeveloped states with a high capacity to more effectively utilize foreign aid. However, since the 9/11 attacks, the development discourse has included the aforementioned rationale for focusing their aid to underdeveloped fragile states, which does not necessarily demonstrate the same capacity for an effective utilization of aid, but pose more of a security threat (Brown & Gravingholt, 2016; Duffield, 2007; Kirk, 2007).

The British education documents and interviews discussed fragile and conflict-affected states, and the threat they posed, but the overall discussion was development focused, mostly aiming the discussion at ensuring access to education, as well as some references to education playing a part in peacebuilding and rebuilding (DFID, 2010, pp. 11 – 23).

The British national security strategy has a security focus, focused on conflict-affected and fragile states in the war on terror narrative, as well as other security threats related to criminal activities, and biological or nuclear weapons (Cabinet Office, 2010, pp. 17 – 25). Except for fragile states, there is little direct overlap between the discourses of Britain's education and security strategy in their conflict and peace discussion, and they very much stay focused on their respective development and security objectives.

However, the education efforts undoubtedly support the security efforts surrounding fragile states. Thus, evidence of national interest influencing DFID's education strategy

is perceptible. The American discourse demonstrate more overlap. The conflict and peace discussion in USAID's education strategy is centered around fragile states. Like the British strategy, it is focused on ensuring access, but also focuses on education efforts that promote peace and social cohesion (USAID, 2011, pp. 7 – 15). The American security strategy is heavily centered on fragile states and the threats they pose, while the discussion is security driven, it is also very development focused (White House, 2010, pp. 9 – 22). The discourse and focus demonstrate more overlap in American strategies, compared to the British strategies. Interestingly, this is mostly due to the American security strategy's merging of security and development objectives and efforts, and while the education strategy is development focused, it does specifically state that it "will be implemented in the dynamic policy context of principles and guidelines enunciated in the 2010 National Security Strategy" (USAID, 2011, p. 4). Hence, the influence of American national interest in USAID's education strategy is apparent.

Both countries security strategies made several references to the key words outlined in table seven. When describing the international landscape, the terms most widely used were globalization, interconnected, cooperation, and participation. Their outline of security challenges and threats mentioned fragile states, terrorism, crime and drugs, proliferation of nuclear and biological weapons, and the environment and climate change. Additionally, they emphasized the importance of economic growth and the free market, development, cooperation, and promoting democratic governance and values (Cabinet Office, 2010; White House, 2010). These findings in the security strategies demonstrate a strong emphasis on enhancing international cooperation and development, as well as encouraging states to become active members of a global market and security measures. A national security strategy has to tackle the challenges

of the Twenty-First Century, and with globalization and the interconnectedness of the world, partnership and allies in international cooperation is crucial. The references to this were evident in the education discourse, however, more so in the American education discourse compared to the British discourse. Most of the British references to cooperation regard collaboration with governments, organizations, and civil society in their education efforts. However, there are sentiments indicating that this motive is a factor, albeit a low one. This is especially apparent when DFID discusses climate change in their education strategy, linking education with creating awareness about the challenges and a sense of responsibility for protecting the international environment (DFID, 2010, pp. 11 – 12). Additionally, the strategy makes specific references to fragile and conflict-affected states, insecurity, global competitiveness, making the world better for everyone, international crime and drugs, refugees, and the spread of disease, as well as mentioning British national interest (DFID, 2010, pp. 8 – 12 & p. 55). In the American national security strategy international cooperation is considered a key strategy, outlining threats and opportunities such as crime, conflict and terrorism, climate change, development, and economic growth. It also specifies establishing and encouraging new partners to cooperate, citing globalization and the interconnectedness between economic growth, political stability, and security threats (White House, 2010, pp. 14 – 44). The American education discourse demonstrated interest in international cooperation as well. USAID links their strategy to the wider context, stating that education and development is needed for countries to become economic actors in a globalized world, promoting a thriving global economy (USAID, 2011, pp. 4 – 7). Additionally, the American education discourse is focused on fragile states and the promotion of democratic values and governance, linking it to international security and economic growth (USAID, 2011, pp. 1 – 8).

While the British and American education discourse did not demonstrate the same emphasis as their national security strategies, the analysis did find that there is evidence that the education strategies are influenced by the sentiments found in the security strategies. The education strategies discourse is concerned with globalization and the interconnectedness of the world, and their discussion of spreading British or American values are indicative of trying to stimulate cooperation and an international culture which supports their values and interests. The British security strategy states that it is in British interest to stand up for their values and promote them internationally, thus increasing their influence (Cabinet Office, 2010 p. 4 – 18). Similarly, the education strategy discusses promoting the values outlined in the security strategy, such as human rights, democratic governance, equality, freedom, and open societies (DFID, 2010, pp. 10 – 17). This reveals a link between the security and education strategies in the objective to promote international cohesion and cooperation. Similar findings were discovered in the American discourse. The American security strategy specifically states that promoting their values, especially democratic values, are in American interest (White House, 2010, pp. 35 – 39). The American education strategy echoes this, stating its commitment to promoting American values, again, specifying human rights and democratic values (USAID, 2011, p. 5). These findings are also evidence of the securitization of aid and the whole-of-government approach being adapted by both Britain and America. Additionally, development has been acknowledged by Britain and America as a method in ensuring national interest, specifically economic and security interests (DFID, 2015; USAID, 2002; White House, 2010, pp. 14 – 15), thus finding these sentiments in their education strategies in not surprising. This is consistent with previous findings of a merger between British and American security and development objectives.

This coherence in the analysis alludes to a link between education aid and national interest objectives. The reason Britain and America focus on fragile states in their education aid is because of the security threat they pose. Since 9/11, security and fragile states have become a permanent fixture in the foreign policy discourse. In fact, the failure to invest in the development of failing states is argued by the British and American foreign policy as a detriment to their own security, as well as international security. Duffield (2006) explains this overlap of failed states, security policy, and development objectives has made aid a “strategic tool in the war against terrorism” (Duffield, 2006, p. 27). These findings support this claim; both the UK and US are utilizing education aid to ensure their national security interests. However, the US demonstrates more merging of security and development efforts than the UK, suggesting that compared to the UK, the US is more motivated by national interest.

### **6.2.5 Motive Five: Altruism**

Findings in the analysis of the fifth motive show British education aid placed a strong emphasis on altruism, but a low emphasis in their national security strategy. America had a medium emphasis on altruism. DFID stressed that their aid efforts had to be sustainable, accountable, and lasting, highlighting in the education strategy that their efforts are not to steer the development process, but provide the recipient country with the tools to steer the development process themselves (DFID, 2010, p. 28).

Additionally, the British education strategy is very focused on the MDGs and EFA targets, repeatedly drawing parallels between their objectives and the objectives outlined in the MDGs and EFA (DFID, 2010). Similarly, USAID is concerned with accountability, sustainability and longevity of their efforts, also making references to the MDGs and EFA goals (USAID, 2011, pp. 1 – 19), and the discourse in the

American security strategy there is a frequent use of terms such as lasting, moral duty, shared prosperity and interests, and sustainability (White House, 2011, pp. 11 – 44).

The British security strategy demonstrated a low emphasis on altruism. While the overarching sentiments of the strategy allude to it, as there are statements about the interconnectedness of the world, obligations to help, and ensuring a prosperous and secure future for both Britain and the world (Cabinet Office, 2010, pp. 3 – 18), the discourse does not exhibit the commitment to the good foreign aid principals. The British education discourse, however, demonstrates a high emphasis on altruism. The discourse frequently uses key terms, including accountability, sustainability, wider impact, and lasting impact (DFID, 2010, pp. 11 – 41). DFID is also one of the largest bilateral contributors to development and poverty reduction related research (Marriage, 2013), which is reflected in their education strategy, pledging to invest and listen to research when implementing their education programs (DFID, 2010, pp. 40 – 51). Furthermore, the strategy highlights its commitment to cooperation with recipient governments, international organizations, civil society, and local organizations in their efforts, demonstrating a conscious effort to ensure their programs are effective and sustainable (DFID, 2010, pp. 33 – 40). The commitment to MDGs and EFA goals are also repeatedly referenced in the education strategy, further establishing the British commitment to international cooperation, but also demonstrating altruistic motives as the core of the MDGs and EFA objectives are altruism and the international community taking care of each other.

The American security strategy places a medium emphasis on altruism, highlighting that development aid is a moral imperative, as well as strategic and economic (White House, 2010, p. 15). Furthermore, the strategy demonstrates a commitment to



sustainable and lasting effects, cooperation with governments, organizations, and civil society (White House, 2010, p. 35), and discusses the importance of sustainable, accountable, and lasting efforts for the future (White House, 2010, pp. 40 – 49).

Additionally, the security strategy highlights the importance of investing in research to ensure that new and durable solutions are found to international challenges (White House, 2010, pp. 30 – 44). Similarly, USAID is also investing in research as well as building its own research agenda to tackle future needs and challenges (USAID, 2011, pp. 19 – 20). The education strategy is focused on being sustainable, accountable, and effective in their efforts, and specifically states that USAID wants their efforts to provide the tools for the country to take the lead for their own development (USAID, 2011, pp. 5 – 16). These sentiments demonstrate that altruism is a part of American foreign policy.

While the British education aid discourse demonstrated a strong emphasis on altruism, the British security strategy was found to have a low emphasis. This can be due to the nature of the strategies and the focus, but also demonstrates a larger separation between development and security objectives. The American security strategy and the analysis were both found to have a medium emphasis, and the American security strategy demonstrated more altruism than the British security strategy. However, the coherence between the American education and security strategy also alludes to a merger of the development and security sector, and can be further evidence of the influence national interest has on American education aid. Nye (1999) has explained that for democratic governments, national interest is used to describe and prescribe foreign policy because the interests are often shared or connected with the rest of the world. Evidence of this is found in both the British and American strategies, emphasizing how interconnected the world is and the need for international cooperation to tackle current and future

challenges such as terrorism and climate change (Cabinet Office, 2010, pp. 15 – 23; White House, 2010, pp. 5 – 17). Furthermore, the strategies often reference the benefits, opportunities and challenges globalization has created (DFID, 2010, pp. 11 – 15; USAID, 2011, pp. 4 – 7). These findings do conclude that altruism is a factor in British and America education aid. Regardless of other findings where national interest might be more of an influence, altruism is an inevitable part of their foreign policy discourse.

### **6.3 Education Aid Positively Influences National Interest**

The research has shown that American education aid has a high influence of national interest, with some altruistic motives. While British education aid is found to have a medium influence of national interest, with altruistic motives just surpassing their national interest motives. Furthermore, the analysis demonstrated that the securitization of foreign aid has permeated the British and American education aid sector as well, finding evidence that the formulation of their education strategies is influenced by the whole-of-government approach as well as national interest objectives, mainly economic and security interests. In *The Bottom Turtle*, the findings demonstrated that education aid is considered to be a long-term strategy that has wide and positive implications on different sectors, including governance, social cohesion, health, and the economy; and this explains the reason for the American and British focus on education aid. The findings presented in *The Motivations*, have outlined British and American national interests and education motives, finding overlap between the two. From these findings we can conclude that education aid is positively influenced by the national interest of the UK and the US. However, the findings also concluded that American education aid is more influenced by national interest than is British education aid. In table eight and nine, the findings of British and American education aid will be summarized and

categorized as based in altruism or national interest, outlining the evidence and reasoning for this conclusion.

*Table 8 Findings: British Education Aid*

Motivation	Evidence
Altruism	<p>British education aid strategy demonstrated strong emphasis on ensuring a lasting impact in their education aid objectives, stating that their education efforts have to be sustainable, accountable, and enduring across generations. Additionally, they highlight that their goal is for the development process to ultimately be directed and lead by the recipient government and citizens, not the British government, stating they will cooperate with the recipient government, civil society, and the local community in their efforts to ensure this. This demonstrates a conscious effort to ensure their efforts have a positive and lasting impact.</p>
	<p>The education strategy was highly focused on social development, specifically assisting in the development of personal life skills, health and family planning, social inequalities and gender, human rights, and developing values and norms that promote social cohesion.</p>
	<p>DFID made references to aid and development being a moral duty of the British government, as it is moral and necessary to help developing nations. The British education strategy frequently references international institutions and objectives, including altruistic and international cooperation sentiments, often highlighting the MDGs and the EFA objectives.</p>
	<p>The education strategy did not have much overlap with the security strategy on the aspects of social development and lasting impact, demonstrating independence from the national interest and security objectives of the United Kingdom.</p>
National Interest	<p>Economic sentiments are highly emphasized in both the education and security strategies. Discussed from a human capital perspective, the education strategy aims at creating an educated, literate, skilled and innovative workforce, allowing the state to participate in the free market, and achieving economic growth. Similarly, the security strategy also discusses human capital, arguing that for Britain to ensure their interests and prosper, economic wealth, trade, and a free market are crucial. Assisting economic growth in underdeveloped states has positive implications for Britain, for both its security and economic interests.</p>

	<p>Evidence of the whole-of-government approach in their discussion of conflict and peace clearly represents the presence of national interest in British education aid. The fragile and conflict-affected states discourse was present in both strategies, demonstrating some overlap between sentiments and objectives, both linking the security threats such as terrorism to underdeveloped and fragile states. That the British education strategy bears similarities in this respect to their national security strategy, which is clearly driven by national interests, strongly suggests that the education aid they provide is also viewed in terms of British national interest.</p>
	<p>Democratic values and governance are discussed in both education and security strategies, linking social and economic development to the promotion of democratic values and governance. Furthermore, the strategies are concerned with promoting British values, including human rights, equality (especially gender equality), freedoms, civil liberties, rule of law, obligations of the state, and justice; these are also typically categorized as democratic values. Admittedly, these sentiments are more evident in the security strategy, but there is a coherence with these sentiments in the education strategy as well, demonstrating a merging of objectives between education and security goals.</p>
	<p>The overlap between the British education and security strategies on economic growth is palpable. Furthermore, there is a noticeable overlap in the discourse and objectives regarding conflict and peace, and democratic values and governance. Again, overlap between the education strategy and the explicitly national interest focused security strategy demonstrates a degree of national interest in education aid.</p>

There is a clear merging of British development efforts and their national interests, especially economic and security interests. However, the emphasis and lack of overlap on the discussion of social development, as well as the focus on ensuring a lasting impact, demonstrates that altruism is still an important part of British development efforts. Based on the findings from the research process, summarized and outlined in table eight, the research finds that British education aid is equally influenced by both national interest and altruistic motivations.

Table 9 Findings: American Education Aid

Motivation	Evidence
Altruism	<p>The American education strategy demonstrates a conscious effort to ensure that US education aid efforts are sustainable, accountable, effective, and have a lasting impact for generations to come. While the emphasis for a lasting impact was found to be medium, they are mindful of it in their efforts. Furthermore, they emphasize cooperating with the recipient government and its citizens, including the civil society and local communities, to ensure that their efforts are lasting and effective, and so that the development process will ultimately be in the control of the recipient government and citizens, not creating a dependency on American assistance.</p>
	<p>While the social development focus is low, the education strategy is focused on promoting human rights and gender equality, referencing education as a human right and a tool to become independent and improve the quality of life. This is also evident in the security strategy, but despite the overlap, the education strategy manages to stay developmentally focused and demonstrates altruistic motivations.</p>
	<p>Both strategies make references to aid and development as a moral duty. Additionally, the education strategy references international institutions and objectives, including altruistic and international cooperation sentiments. Furthermore, they reference the MDGs, and the EFA objectives, as influencers to their education sentiments.</p>
National Interest	<p>Economic development and growth are strongly emphasized in both the education and security strategies. International economic growth is linked to American national interest, because as they state, it assists in increasing their national economic wealth and capabilities. Furthermore, the American discourse explains that economic development promotes international integration and cooperation, democratic governance, human rights, and open societies. These sentiments are evident in both strategies, linking economic development to other positive influences and promoting American national interests. The economic discussion in the education strategy is from a human capital perspective, arguing it provides skilled and productive citizens, who are also independent, informed, and politically active, thus also positively impacting democratic governance, human rights, and human health - echoing the sentiments from the security strategy and American national interest objectives.</p>

	<p>The American education and security strategies place a strong emphasis on conflict and peace, linking it to the securitization of aid discourse by focusing on fragile and conflict-affected states. The education strategy is focused on promoting peace and social cohesion in fragile states, and while it does so from a development perspective, it also approaches it in an international context. Overlap between the sentiments in the education strategy and the security strategy acknowledge the threats fragile states pose and that development is one of the measures that can assist in mitigating the threat and occurrence of fragile states.</p>
	<p>The American strategies place a strong emphasis on democratic values and governance, and the promotion of American / democratic values such as open societies, transparent and accountable governance, protecting freedoms and civil liberties, human rights, and democratic institutions. Stating in the security strategy that promoting democratic values and governance is in the American economic and security interests, as the promotion of these values helps establish sustainable and stable democratic governments, stimulate social and economic development, mitigate underdevelopment and fragile states, and allows for international cooperation, all of which benefit America as a nation with economic and security concerns all around the world.</p>
	<p>The American education strategy places a medium emphasis on establishing partnerships and stimulating international cooperation, often echoing sentiments found in the security strategy, including promoting American values, acknowledging the interconnectedness of world, and discussing fragile states and terrorism. Furthermore, the security strategy states that it has adopted a whole-of-government approach, and declares that development is part of America's process to secure US interests, while the education strategy specifically states that it will be implemented in conjunction with the American 2010 National Security Strategy.</p>
	<p>The coherence between the education and security strategies in promoting democratic values and economic growth is palpable, and the two most obvious areas where national interest is very influential in the American education strategy.</p>

The findings of American education aid, summarized in table nine, demonstrate that their education aid is heavily influenced by American national interest, specifically economic and security interests. However, there is some evidence that altruism is still a part of their education aid efforts, apparent in their discussion of ensuring a lasting

impact and being conscious in the creation, implementation, and effects of their education aid efforts. Compared to the findings of British education aid, we can conclude that while both countries education aid is influenced by national interest, it is at varying degrees. The British education strategy has evidence of national interest influencing their education aid, but altruism is still an important factor in their discourse. American education aid is more motivated by national interest, with less influence of altruism.

These findings are similar to the findings Brown and Gravingholt (2016) and Kirk (2007) presented in their research on the securitization of aid, also looking at the US and UK, finding an increased focus on fragile states in both development and security policies. The sentiments expressed in the securitization of aid debate are evident in British and American education aid discourse, and they have both adapted the whole-of-government approach. Britain is found to have fully adopted the whole-of-government approach, but still maintains a developmental focus and altruistic motives, while the US is completely committed to the whole-of-government approach and is more focused on security interests than altruism and development. However, it is important to note that altruism is still present in American education aid. These findings are interesting and will be further discussed in the context of the securitization of foreign aid debate, previous findings of related research, and in relation to the synthesized theoretical framework.

## Chapter 7 Two Birds One Stone

The research has found evidence that the British and American education discourse and objectives correlates with their national interest and objectives outlined in their national security strategies. However, while one can conclude that education aid has a positive influence on British and American national interest, it is more complicated than simply labeling education aid as *selfish*. In this chapter, I will discuss the findings that there is overlap between British and American education aid motives and national interest presented in chapter six. The securitization of American and British foreign aid has already been established in previous research by Brown and Gravingholt (2016), Chandler (2007), Duffield (2007) and Hills (2006), but there has not been any research on how it has influenced education aid. The relationship between education aid and national interest, and how the different variables and aspects of development, security, and national interest are all connected, and the securitization of education aid will also be discussed.

### 7.1 The Relationship between Education Aid & National Interest

Research question three asked *what reasonings does the British and American government give for providing education aid to underdeveloped countries*, as answering this question would help provide more insight when examining the influence of national interest in education aid. While there are numerous factors that cause underdevelopment or conflict, previous literature demonstrated that the emphasis put on education is due to the positive impact it has on other sectors, including health, social development, conflict resolution, equality and human rights, innovation and economic development, and democratic governance. Education and knowledge allow for the citizens and government of the recipient nation to take charge of their own development, as well as providing knowledge and skills useful for human and economic development (Carothers



& Brechenmacher, 2014; Tostan, 2018). However, schooling is more than education, it is also a socialization process. In addition to knowledge, social skill such as resilience, creativity, empathy, tolerance, and problem solving are taught in both the classroom and on the playground. With the wide net development aims cover, it is arguably natural that education is highlighted, as it is important, if not essential, to the sustainable development of a society and state.

The sentiments discovered in the literature review are very similar to the sentiments that the British and American education discourse express. Former British Secretary of State for International Development Douglas Alexander begins the Department for International Development's Education Strategy (2010 – 2015) by declaring that education “holds the key to unlocking the human potential needed to secure a more peaceful, prosperous and greener future for us all. [...] It is an essential investment in our common future,” explaining that education is an investment in economic growth and for fostering stability and security. Former Administrator of the United States Agency of International Development, Rajiv Shah, takes a slightly different approach in his foreword, speaking of education as a way to “promote the natural curiosity and entrepreneurial spirit” in order to “create engines of economic growth.” Concluding his remarks with a quote from former President Obama that “education and innovation will be the currency of the 21<sup>st</sup> century” (USAID, 2011, p. NA). The forewords very much represent the ideals and culture of their respective countries, but ultimately, they both express the realization that the importance of education is due to the wider impact and results it yields. Knowledge and education are the bottom turtle of society, and to unlock potential and to improve the quality of life, education is necessary.

In the analysis, it was found that an overwhelming emphasis was put on the positive impact education has on economic development and growth; this was found in both the British and American education discourse. This may be remnants of the early foreign aid philosophy that was based on economic principles; focused on fixing capital deficits and stimulating economic growth by providing financial funds (Easterly, 2008; Smith, 1904; Marshall, 1920). The rationale expressed in the strategies demonstrate an influence by the sentiments found in Human Capital Theory, which is an economic based theory (Sweetland, 1960 & 1997).

Economic motives found in the education discourse also strongly correlate with the national interest objectives outlined in the British and American national security strategies. The linkage between education, economic development, and national interest is seamlessly presented. DFID (2010) writes that education provides people with the knowledge, skills, and capacities to take advantage of economic opportunities and contribute to the national economy, enabling the country to participate in the free market. Similarly, the British National Security Strategy (2010) highlights the importance of economic growth, both from a development and peacebuilding perspective, and in the interest of British trade and economic growth. The linkage is just as effortlessly discussed in the American education and security strategy. USAID (2011) states that education is an investment in development, contributing to economic growth as it facilitates the creation of human capital, technological advancements and innovation, influencing both the individual income and the domestic revenues, as well as the international market. The American National Security Strategy (2010) approaches the topic similarly, stating that economic development benefits the prosperity, businesses, and capabilities of America and other countries.

For the other motivations, the UK and US differed in the findings. Where Britain demonstrated a medium emphasis on security, as well as democracy and governance, America demonstrated a strong emphasis on both of those motives. However, while Britain had a strong emphasis on altruism and social development, America respectively had a medium and low emphasis. However, regardless of the degree of emphasis placed on the motives, it was easy to discover the correlations between the different motives for education aid, and the correlation between the education aid motives and national interest objectives. Carothers & Brechenmacher (2014) explain what the British government refers to as the ‘golden thread’ – how all the different aspects of development are connected and dependent upon each other. The same goes for education: it is an end in itself while also facilitating educated citizens and leaders to address the complexity of underdevelopment, enabling the vocabulary and tools to build peace, creating the skillful workforce needed to stimulate economic growth, positively impacting social aspects such as health, promoting human rights and democratic values, and contributing to stable and democratic governance (Manion & Menashy, 2012; Robeyns, 2006). Coincidentally, conflict resolution, economic growth, promotion of human rights and democratic values are also defined as national interest objectives in the British and American national security strategies.

Just as all the different aspects of development are connected, so are the security threats, objectives, and interests outlined in the national security strategies. Britain describes security and national interest as a ‘virtuous circle’ – where education, innovation and enterprise, a stable economy, and trade is needed to keep Britain and British citizens free, prosperous, and safe (Cabinet Office, 2010). Similarly, America states that their interest is ‘inextricably linked’ with other nations and cannot be realized separately (White House, 2010). The interconnectedness of the world is very much respected in

both the British and American discourses. Globalization means that the national situation, its economy and safety, is impacted by events beyond its borders that are often outside of their direct control, and this is clearly acknowledged by the UK and US in their strategies. What can be deduced from this is that threats and opportunities are shared with the world, and there is somewhat of a reliance on the behavior of other states and non-state actors. While the UK and US cannot control it directly, they indirectly try to influence this behavior through aid, while simultaneously ensuring the interests of their own nations and citizens.

The idiom ‘two birds with one stone’ refers to getting two things done with one action. Assisting the most benighted states in the world is of long-term national interest for developed nations, as it helps strengthen the security and stability of the international arena, which has effects at home. Education is the engine of society, and it is in the national interest for donor states to promote that engine. Education aid helps build the human capital needed to support a country’s development. Educated citizenry become teachers, nurses, entrepreneurs, government workers, and inventors. They get the tools to promote social and economic development and create democratic governance. This has a ripple effect, from the national, to regional, to the international level, and back home to the British and American citizens. Few countries have the capabilities to strategically combine their hard and soft power to such a success as the UK and US have. Both countries have understood that to excel in the international arena and to maintain their long-term interests, soft and hard power has to be combined. Both British and American foreign policy treats aid as an investment bringing prosperity and security to their countries. Former British Secretary of State for International Development Andrew Mitchell (2015) said that “it is not just aid from Britain, it is aid for Britain’s benefit too [...] foreign aid makes Britain richer, safer and morally better.” In those

words, Mitchell recognizes that aid is beneficial not only for the recipient, but for the donor as well. Thus, it can be concluded that giving education aid benefits British and American national interest, but does this mean that education aid is only motivated by national interest and not by altruism?

## **7.2 The Securitization of Education Aid**

Since 2000, education aid has moved up in the foreign policy discourse.

Simultaneously, in the aftermath of 9/11 terror attacks, the international security discourse has had a drastic shift. The War on Terror concentrated on fragile states where the lack of proper governance allows terrorist networks and activity to take hold, establishing a safe haven for the terrorist groups to recruit and organize, posing a security threat for the international community. The change in the international security discourse also impacted foreign aid, and based on previous research, three distinct changes have been identified. First, it resulted in aid being directed to fragile states, such as Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan, over the previously prioritized underdeveloped states, such as Sudan, Congo, and other impoverished African countries (Brown & Gravingholt, 2016; Woods, 2005). Secondly, governmental structures were altered to merge or better coordinate between security and development efforts, also called a whole-of-government approach. Additionally, states choose to deliver aid through their own agencies over multilateral institutions, allowing them to pursue their own priorities more closely. Which lastly, building on the second change, resulted in efforts to expand the aid discourse to include security and governance objectives, as well as the traditional development objectives of social development and poverty reduction (Brown & Gravingholt, 2016; Riddell, 2007; Woods, 2005). This change of aid discourse has been dubbed the securitization of foreign aid and has been well discussed and investigated in

this research and in research conducted by Brown and Gravingholt (2016), Hills (2006), Kirk (2007), Marriage (2006), McConnon (2014), Riddell (2007) and Woods (2005).

Security concerns and stable governance has been a part of the foreign aid discourse since at least the aftermath of the Second World War. This development was only amplified after 9/11. While the MDGs created eight shared development goals in order to establish a consensus and partnership in development efforts, the influence of security has continued to rise in the aid discourse, as has the influence of national interest. Fragile states and post-conflict reconstruction pose both a security threat and a development challenge for donors (Woods, 2005, pp. 394 – 397), thus the merging of objectives and efforts in the security and development sector can be considered a natural evolution. Brown and Gravingholt (2016) identified the whole-of-government approach and the focus on fragile states as key evidence of aid being securitized. Where the whole-of-government approach was defined as shared goals between agencies and an integrated government response towards security, and the securitization of aid refers to foreign aid being increasingly influenced by national security interests. While the securitization of UK and US foreign policy has been established, the findings from this research, based on primary and secondary sources, and an in-depth analysis of government strategies, has found that their education discourse has also adopted the fragile state sentiments, and there is clear evidence of the whole-of-government approach being deployed. Thus, finding the securitization of British and American education aid is confirmed.

The British aid budget and infrastructure have been altered to fit the security narrative, and their allocation of aid following 9/11 has gone to states who are either allies in the War on Terror or fragile states at risk of becoming enemies in the War on Terror,

including Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan. Thus, much of the aid efforts that focused on poverty reduction in the 1990s, have since 9/11 been diverted in accordance with British security objectives (Woods, 2005, pp. 403 – 405). DFID expanded upon its development scope, introducing security as a development aim together with clean water, poverty reduction, education, and healthcare (McConnon, 2014, pp. 145 – 149), and consistent with the changing development discourse, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan have been among the top 10 recipients of British aid since 2001 (McConnon, 2014, p. 138). It did not take long for this to be reflected in the British education aid discourse as well.

Pakistan has long been one of the top 5 British aid recipients, and in 2005, DFID published a strategy for tackling development and security together, addressing Pakistan as a fragile state and a threat to global security. Education is noted as an important part in creating opportunities and promoting a stable and inclusive society in Pakistan to alleviate the security threat the country poses. (DFID, 2005b, p. 12). These sentiments are also evident in DFID's (2010) education strategy, in which the analysis found that the fragile states discourse has very much been adopted, as the recipient state is referred to as 'fragile state' more so than 'underdeveloped state' – in fact 'underdeveloped' seems to be a description of the recipient state, while 'fragile' is the title as well as description. The analysis of other publications by DFID (2005b, 2007b, 2010 & 2013) demonstrated the same language.

The whole-of-government approach is clearly a part of DFID's overall strategy (Brown & Gravingholt, 2016; McConnon, 2014; Woods, 2005), and while it is certainly included in the education strategy due to the department's practices, it is not overtly referenced to in the strategy. McConnon (2014) explains that previous research on

British foreign aid has found conflicting results. Some argue that British aid has been securitized, where development aid has been used for conflict resolution, and getting states to adopt Liberal values of free market and democratic governance. Others have argued that the 'leading principle' has been altruism, where British aid has been focused on poverty alleviation and helping the most vulnerable (McConnon, 2014, pp. 136 – 138).

The findings in this research are similar to that of previous findings: while the education strategy has adopted the fragile state terminology (securitization), it seems determined to keep a development perspective (altruism). Woods argued that the growing overall British aid budget has mitigated some of the securitization of aid (Woods, 2005, p. 405), and Marriage (2006) argue that DFID serves as a moral feature for the British government, promoting human rights and development, while simultaneously cooperating on British security objectives, military operations, economic interest and trading routes, and political alliances (Marriage, 2006, p. 489). The arguments made by Woods (2005), McConnon (2014) and Marriage (2006) seems to fit with the findings in the analysis of DFIDs (2010) education strategy. The education strategy has conclusively been securitized, but simultaneously has somehow still managed to keep a development focus.

Woods (2005) identified that in the wake of 9/11, American aid has been designed to ensure security objectives, increasing their aid budget, reorganizing their infrastructure to ensure cooperation between the security and development sector, and establishing coherence between their security and development strategies. A decade later, the securitization of their aid is still in effect. The whole-of-government approach is demonstrated through USAIDs close working relationship with the State Department,



publishing a joint strategic plan in 2007 and 2014, as well as cooperating with the Department of Defense (USAID, 2015), and previous research has demonstrated that the fragile state terminology has been adopted by the agency. The findings in this research are consistent with previous research: the analysis found that the fragile state discourse and whole-of-government approach has been included in education aid. The aid recipient state is referred to as fragile and conflict-affected states, underdevelopment is included as both a symptom and contributor to fragility and conflict, but 'fragile state' is the dominant term used for the recipient state. The discourse analysis of motives demonstrated that USAID's development and education efforts are formulated in coherence with US national interest, specifically tackling the security threat of fragile states, promoting democratic governance and stimulating economic growth.

Additionally, there is overt evidence to the whole-of-government approach, as the education strategy specifically states that it will be implemented according to the principles and guidelines in the American national security strategy.

The findings are not that surprising considering the changes to the governmental structure, which placed USAID under the State Department and, greatly diminishing its status as an independent organization. This marks the securitization of American aid and reflects the close alignment between US national interest and foreign aid. Swiss explains that the close ties between US national interest and the State Department has made USAID a 'policy receiver' not a 'policy creator' (Brown & Gravingholt, 2016). What Swiss alludes to is that USAID is not in charge of their policy developments or guided by development needs, but guided by the State Department and American national interest. USAID acknowledged the close ties with national interest and the securitization of their aid efforts when it published the policy statement *Foreign Aid in the National Interest: Promoting Freedom, Security, and Opportunity* (2002), in which

education is included in the new discourse. Admittedly, aid is a gift not a given, and the USAID and State Department's Strategic Plan for 2014 – 2017 states that aid is “not a gift to other countries, but an investment in our shared security and prosperity [...] we are strengthening security partnerships and combating extremism and international terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and other transnational threats” (USAID, 2014, p. 3). But the obvious integration of education aid with American security and national interest is concerning, as it gives the impression that security and national interest will always trump development needs. The securitization of foreign aid can have several possible repercussions, including an impact on resources made available to development agencies, alterations to the education aid formulation, and a reduction in efficiency.

Both countries' education strategies have included the fragile and conflict-affected state discourse, demonstrating that their education aid is linked with the global environment that has followed the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and witnessing a shift from altruistic aid focused on poverty reduction to aid being more securitized and influenced by national interest. While poverty has been linked to security issues before, the link between fragile states and security is focused on terrorism and crime syndicates, and the wider threat they pose to international security and stability. Literature by Call (2008 & 2011) and Nay (2013) have noted that there are more discrepancies in this link, and also that it does not always take into account other factors and issues that allow terrorist and crime organizations to grow, and a singular focus can prevent other issues fragile states face from being tackled, especially if the focus is just on terrorism and the War on Terror. However, as Brown and Gravingholt (2016) explain, the UK and US have still adopted the term and continue to use it in the formulation and justification of their foreign policy, which has now permeated into their education aid.

While the term reflects the concern fragile states pose to international security and peace, it does also argue for development efforts. In the education strategy, DFID discusses fragile states as a result of being underdeveloped, struggling with poverty, and unstable governance, and in some cases experiencing conflict, arguing that through their education efforts it can facilitate development and mitigate the factors contributing to fragility. Similarly, USAID adopted the term quickly after 9/11, describing fragile states as both a security threat and a development concern. While the US foreign policy is mostly concerned with fragile states in a security lens (Brown & Gravingholt, 2016), which is also evident in the education strategy, the strategy does look at their education aid as an effort to stimulate economic growth and democratic governance, mitigating the security threat.

The securitization of American aid has been well established in previous research, and this research has found the same sentiments their education aid strategy. While the influence of national interest in British education aid is palpable, their firm stance on ensuring a sustainable development makes the securitization of their education aid more subtle. DFID is different from USAID as it still operates independently from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, while USAID is under the State Department, which has meant a loss of autonomy and influence. While DFID has not experienced the same loss of autonomy, it has experienced more influence from other departments and coordination with wider foreign policy and national interest objectives (McConnon, 2014, pp. 135 – 136). The reorganization of their internal bureaucracies and creation of inter-departmental coordination mechanisms is a reflection of the new security discourse, but it is also the logical explanation for the expanding development discourse, and the influence of national interest this research has found in education aid discourse.

9/11 is as the prime example of how the spillover effects fragile states pose can affect developed nations. Poverty, hunger, and limited social services are common in fragile states, and it is estimated that between 14-30% of the world's population live in fragile states. Education is a social service impacted by conflict and governance, so there is a rational connection between the fragile states and education discourses. Thus, education is often included in policies seeking to repair fragile states (Kirk, 2007, pp. 181 – 184). The security discourse and influence of national interest in their education strategies can be directly or indirectly linked to the changes of security interests and development discourse following the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks. However, a concern exists that the needs of the recipient country and its population are not being adequately considered as a result of the merger between development aid and security. Using the example of Afghanistan, where Western security forces used aid to facilitate short-term security objectives which only resulted in frustration amongst the local communities, Brown and Gravingholt (2016) argued that “pursuing short-term national security interest often entails a zero-sum logic or a beggar-thy-neighbor approach, rather than a cooperative approach that is more likely to produce global benefits” (Brown & Gravingholt, 2016, p. 240).

In the Western, democratic tradition the United Kingdom and United States hold dear, governments exist to serve their people. It follows from this understanding that a country's foreign policy and development aid needs to be placed in the context of their national interest and the global environment, and admittedly, the merger of security and development objectives can have positive impact on the donor state and the international system. Aid budgets have increased, and development efforts have become more long term and innovative compared to previous decades. The securitization of American and British aid is evident; however, the UK has still maintained a

development focus in their education aid. The US did admittedly demonstrate more of a presence of national interest in their education aid discourse, and seem to have adopted the securitization process more, but development aspects are still present as well.

### **7.3 Education Aid: National Interest or Altruism?**

Both the countries examined in this research, Britain and America, found evidence of national interest influencing their education aid policies, which is referred to as a securitization of their aid. The highest level of securitization was found in American education aid, and while Britain has integrated their education aid with national interest and security concerns, it has managed to maintain a development focus. The securitization of aid is a global phenomenon unfolding due to watershed world events including terrorist attacks, development of biological and nuclear weapons, and the continued violations of human rights across the globe. Yet, why has American education aid been more securitized than British aid? Why do both countries continue to emphasize education in their foreign policy if aid is just about promoting their national interest? And how has British education aid managed to keep a development focus in a development discourse that has taken a security focus?

In chapter two, I discussed previous literature and three international relations theories for their insight into identifying what states consider to be in their national interest, why they act as they do, and how this correlates with states giving education aid. Structural Realism claims that a state's national interest is to increase its security and relative power, and that countries would only help other states if it was in their national interest to do so. Meanwhile, Neoliberalism argues that states give aid because assisting others helps build trust and a free market, and through this they can promote their national interests. A newer international theory, Social Constructivism, takes a sociological

perspective and argues that the societal and ideological norms and ideas of international cooperation and altruism have been internalized and embedded into the cultural DNA of states, leading them to give aid. Social Constructivism does not forget about national interest, but instead of focusing on what it is, the theory claims the ideology and history of a country is what influences their national interest, which changes over time. The theories and the synthesized theoretical framework have assisted in identifying the motives, explaining key components and the context related to this research, and have assisted in the analysis process.

National interest, capabilities building, and power relations are central to state behavior, and foreign aid is an instrument states use to increase their influence and capabilities. The security focus and the influence of national interest in education aid impacts the distribution of aid, as witnessed by the aid flow to Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan following 9/11 and the War on Terror, while previously targeted countries such as Congo, Sudan, and Haiti who pose less of a risk have seen a decrease in aid (Brown & Gravingholt, 2016, pp. 243 – 249). This is a rational development according to structural realism, as security and national interest are what motivate state behavior, and foreign aid is a tool for states to ensure their safety. In relation to the securitization of education aid specifically, the report by American Colonel Venhaus (2010), which outlined the common characteristics of the youth who joined al-Qaeda, who were feeling lost, frustrated, and undervalued, and demonstrated a lack of problem-solving skills. Venhaus argued that since education has been used to rehabilitate former al-Qaeda members, providing education at a younger age could prevent them from ever joining in the first place. However, structural realism theories do not take into account such preventative measures, and the relevance is really with regards to the security

focus and inclusion of national interest in something that is in practice developmental and altruistic.

American foreign policy is traditionally linked to realist thinking (Rice, 2008). This is not an unwarranted link, as even in the American education strategy, security is immediately introduced, and the larger education and development discourse is linked to the American national security strategy. Furthermore, the terminology is reminiscent of the structural theorist perspective, especially with respect to the American position in the international system, which is acknowledged in both the education and security strategy. America considers itself a global hegemon, a leader with a strong influence it needs to maintain (Rice, 2008; White House, 2010), thus the influence of national interest is more mainstreamed throughout its policies. Britain, on the other hand, has a different national political culture, a history of altruism found both in their welfare system and foreign policy institutions. Unlike in America, the focus on poverty in British aid is legally mandated, and while laws can be changed, the ideology and practice of governments are more engrained than what a change of administration can uproot. Brown and Gravingholt (2016) pointed out personalities and leadership as a factor, and former President George Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair have much to do with the mainstreaming of the discourse following 9/11. However, the policy shift has continued under different administrations; in Britain it started under Labor then Conservatives, and in America it was under a Republican administration, then Democrat, and back to Republican. While state leaders and the current environment might influence state behavior, at the core, states are motivated by their interest to gain more capabilities and ensure their security.

Interestingly, all four documents made references to national interest, and the analysis of government documents and interviews referenced interest as well. This is to be expected from the national security strategies, which are primarily concerned with protecting the homeland. Although references to national interest are noticeably lower in the education strategies, its inclusion demonstrates that education aid is not entirely altruistic. This finding speaks to the coherence of British and American overall foreign policy agendas, and how their specific goals and motivations are reflected consistently in both documents. While the term ‘national interest’ or similar terms were not used in equal frequency, the study found that the goals and motivations in both the education and security strategies were UK and US national interest, just put in a different context (Cabinet Office, 2010; DFID, 2010; USAID, 2011; White House, 2010).

The sentiments of democratic peace theory are ubiquitous in the findings, as the focus is on democratic values, free markets, and economic growth as factors which contribute to international stability, security, and prosperity. Furthermore, the connection between the education, democracy, cooperation, and free markets, are adopted in the British and American discourse, represented in both their education and national security strategies. The main emphasis in their strategies is on economic development, and the language used is based on democratic ideals and values of equality, freedom, and liberty.

Cooperation is approached differently in the different strategies, but there is an overarching sentiment of a moral duty to the international community, as well as to protect domestic security and national interest, to cooperate in achieving international development, prosperity, peace, and stability. The terminology in the American strategies seems to suggest a neoliberal perspective, focused on democracy and a free market, stating that creating human capital that can serve national, regional, and global stability and security, ultimately benefits their national interest. There are no references



to specific trade interests and agreements necessarily, but there is a strong emphasis on economic development, free markets, and trade, as well as the importance international economic growth has for American national interest. The education strategy acknowledges indirectly that economic development will positively influence the economy of the donor state, furthermore, the economic sentiments are based on the preferences of America, such as the free market (Weiss et al., 2014; Hicks & Kenworthy, 2003; USAID, 2011; White House, 2010). Hicks and Kenworthy (2003) explain that in neoliberalism, democratic institutions, a free market, and international cooperation are all connected. The analysis of the American discourse and the findings of the motives support this. Both American strategies emphasize economic development and democratic values, however, they are recurrently linked to each other as well as other education motives and national interests. For example, democratic values and governance is linked to conflict resolution, development, and stability in fragile states, which is both a development objective outlined in the USAID education strategy and stated to be in American national interest in their security strategy. Additionally, economic development is considered a positive outcome of education, which contributes to the promotion of democratic institutions, facilitating economic growth, and stability (USAID, 2011; White House, 2010).

Both the UK and US highlight economic development. The British rationale is that education is beneficial for economic growth and the promotion of democratic values, which positively impacts the quality of life and national development, allowing the state to participate in the international economy (DFID, 2010). The United Kingdom considers insecurity in other parts of the world to be the result of underdevelopment, and because of globalization, events happening in other parts of the world can impact the UK. Aid is used to counter this. With education, human capital is created, and

democratic values are promoted, which allows for poverty reduction and economic growth. The UK believes this is mutually beneficial for both the recipient and donor country (Cabinet Office, 2010). Without a doubt this demonstrates self-serving motivations, but it is undeniable that the sentiments of moral obligation to help those who need it also comes from a selfless place. Neoliberal principals explain this as absolute gain, as the British efforts are facilitating the acquirements of capabilities, as well as partaking in international cooperation (Keohane & Nye, 1989), which has a positive influence on democratic institutions, human rights, stability and security, and economic growth: the established British national interest and education aid objectives. The neoliberal argument is that states forgo immediate gains as the benefits by cooperation will be greater, albeit take more time (Hicks & Kenworthy, 2003). Education aid is an example of this, as it provides educated and skilled citizens, contributing to the promotion of development and democratic governance in fragile states, which in turns benefits international security and stability, and therefore the national interest of donor states. The findings demonstrate that British and American strategies to ensure their national interest have adopted this belief, education being an example of a long-term investment in promoting democratic values (often referred to as British and American values in their strategies), and ensuring economic growth, which benefits the national interest of the UK and US. Puaca (2009) explains that in Japan and Germany, Americans used the educational system to rid those societies of the extreme views held under their previous dictatorial regimes as part of a larger plan to bring the former World War II aggressors back into the fold as partner nations (Puaca, 2009, p. 50) and democratize them, a strategy that has arguably worked and been beneficial to American interest. With their current education aid strategy and discourse, the British

and American government is demonstrating the same rationale, thinking long-term about the greater benefits to be achieved.

However, the analysis demonstrated that the social context, the ideas, norms, culture, and history influenced state behavior and their aid. Social constructivism claims the international environment is a social structure based on our ideas and understanding, influencing state behavior and state interactions with each other (Adler, 1997; Wendt, 1992 & 2006), and this includes UK and US national interest and education aid. In the findings of what motivations Britain and America emphasized, argued in the theoretical framework, as well as during the analysis of their education aid discourse and interviews, their cultural identity and values were very much reflected. Both the British education and national security strategies outline the 'British values' as equality, civil liberties, rule of law, and justice, and these are reflected in their formulation of the education aid programs and objectives. For example, DFID is concerned with promoting democratic values and gender equality in its education efforts, and the national security strategy states that promoting 'their' values will ensure Britain's safety and international stability (DFID, 2010; Cabinet Office, 2010). Similarly, American sentiments in their strategies are a reflection of their culture, ideas, and values centered around freedom, liberty, and democracy. Democracy is heavily emphasized and continuously referenced when discussing development and security objectives, and the American discourse argues democratic values and institutions are an important factor in realizing other objectives including peace and stability, economic growth, and social development (USAID, 2011; White House, 2010). These values are important in their national policies and are also highlighted in the international community by other states and international organizations, so while they call them 'British values' or 'American values' they could easily be considered as 'universal' democratic values.

The British and American cultures are evident in their formulation of education and national interest. The British political culture of a welfare state, and the emphasis on poverty reduction, are represented in their education strategies, especially in the emphasis put on the role education plays in economic growth and the development of other social sectors (DFID, 2010). This is also seen in the emphasis they place on education as a human right, arguing it is fundamental for the realization of other rights (DFID, 2010). Likewise, the national security strategy emphasizes promoting British values as part of their national interest. Values such as human rights, freedom, equality, democratic governance, and much of the other national interest objectives demonstrate an influence of British values, including the economic interest of free markets and trade, and when discussing security threats and conflict they advocate democratic governance and institutions (Cabinet Office, 2010). Americans considers themselves the leader of the free world, and their culture is built on the values and ideas of liberty, freedom, and democracy, and unsurprisingly, these sentiments are expressed in their education and security strategies. Democratic values, governance, and institutions, and a free market, are all highlighted as objectives that help ensure the safety and prosperity of the US, as well as contributing to international peace (White House, 2010). Furthermore, the American cultural sociology is very much demonstrated in their education strategy. From the very beginning, the foreword to the American education strategy expresses the values of innovation, entrepreneurship, and democratic values and institutions, and the free market is mainstreamed throughout the strategy. Democratic values are presented as a positive *outcome* from education, and a positive *influencer* in further advancing social and economic development (USAID, 2011).

While the political ideology of the government in power can influence the discourse, previous literature states that political ideology matters only somewhat, and that

countries' beliefs and values are so deeply embedded that a change of government has its limits, at least when it comes to foreign aid. As hypothesized by Therien and Noel's (2000) research, for party ideology to have an influence on foreign aid, it needs to be in power for the long-term, rather than the back and forth between parties in power that we often experience. But even so, if a government manages to be in power for a significant duration, it's ideology might still not overcome the structurally embedded values of the society. Where structural realism did not adequately address this, social constructivism explains that the ideology and values of a country are so deeply embedded that the state ideology cannot be surpassed by the comparably small differences between party ideologies. The education strategies and the national security strategies demonstrated the culture of their governments. The language, emphasis, and sentiments expressed are a reflection of British and American ideas and values, but it is also a reflection of international norms and ideas. The references made to the MDGs and EFA targets, as well as human rights, are all international standards. The United Kingdom and United States are two of the wealthiest and most power countries to ever exist. Both nations have a variety of means with which to secure their national interests. Unlike previous governments, and their own pasts, the UK and US used foreign aid to advance their interests because their governments have internalized their nations' domestic values and international norms (Guzzini & Leander, 2006; Zehfuss, 2002).

#### **7.4 Why Does This Matter?**

The new security concerns following 9/11 have influenced both the formulation of national interest and the foreign aid discourse. While having a coherent foreign policy sounds like organized and prepared governance, the growing securitization of aid has repercussions. The purpose of something does inevitably influence how it is carried out, thus, the donor states purpose for their foreign aid will influence how they distribute and

provide foreign aid. Woods (2005) wrote that the securitization of aid impacts the goals, delivery, and budget, and by donors prioritizing their own agenda it could result in “competition and clashes among priorities, creating aid chaos in many of the poorest recipient countries” (Woods, 2005, p. 393). The findings demonstrated that security objectives and national interest influence British and American education aid, as evidenced by their sentiments that underdevelopment and fragile states have spillover effects and contribute to criminal and terrorist networks impacting their security. Furthermore, they both put an emphasis on economic development and interests, discussing education as generating human capital and economic growth, resulting in them being active members of the free market. This has an indirect positive impact on the donor state’s national economy. Lastly, altruistic motives are evident in the sentiments of moral obligations and genuine efforts to ensure sustainable development, and the focus on education is due to the wider impact it has on other aspects such as social cohesion, healthcare, and economic and political development (DFID, 2010; USAID, 2011; Cabinet Office, 2010; White House, 2010). The theories have explained different aspects of the findings, but no single theory has managed to explain the complexity of why both national interest and altruism influence education aid.

Similarly, this research has found that the influence of national interest in British and American education aid does present some concerns. Specifically, the objective of education aid can be distorted; instead of focusing on development objectives and poverty reduction in their education efforts, it focuses on security objectives to the extent that it effects the aid distribution method and effectiveness of their efforts. Evidence of this was found in the relatively lacking emphasis on social development in American education aid, as well as the coherence between national interest objectives and the objectives outlined in the education strategy, specifically economic and security

interests, and the promotion of democratic governance. Similarly, British education aid demonstrated links between the objectives outlined in their security strategy and their education strategy, especially surrounding economic interests, but also some regarding security and democratic governance.

The research findings demonstrate that education aid is both an act of altruism and national interest. The priority placed on poverty alleviation, human rights, and social aspects are altruistic, while promoting democratic values, economic growth, and a free market can be both altruistic and self-interested. For an action to be altruistic it does not have to be at the *expense* of personal interest, but is it altruistic if it *serves* personal interest? Altruism is demonstrated by the donors declaration of a moral duty to help, and the education aid strategies demonstrate altruistic motivations such as wanting to achieve sustainable development and improving the quality of life in underdeveloped countries. Thus, does it matter that it also serves the donor country's national interest? Social constructivism explains the international culture and values of 'moral duty to help' is deeply embedded within both British and American culture, and there is evidence that both countries are motivated by altruism in their education aid strategies. Furthermore, concurring with neoliberal thinking, the international arena is not a zero-sum game. Others do not need to have less for a country to have more, and others do not need to be insecure and underdeveloped for a country to be secure and developed. In fact, this research shows that helping other states develop and thrive is in the national interest of Britain and America, as it helps them develop and thrive, as well as tackle their security issues either directly or indirectly.

National interest has always had some impact on aid. For example, the allocation of foreign aid has been influenced by the geostrategic interest of the donor states, and

commercial interests have been well documented as a factor for ensuring economic development in targeted countries. However, altruistic motives and moral visions have always been found to be the underpinning factor in development aid (Brown & Gravingholt, 2016; Woods, 2005). The findings demonstrated that altruism is a part of the British and American discourse, but the merging of security objectives in both the British and American education strategies is significant enough to demonstrate that national interest plays a notable role in the formulation of their education aid. In the findings of why education is an important focus in UK and US foreign policy, it was the wide and long-term impact education has that makes it so attractive. Based on previous research and the analysis of their education strategies, education positively impacts economic and social development and democratic governance, which in turns facilitates stability and international security.

Both countries have a strong standing within the international community that they wish to keep, and with aid they can garner positive attention and establish ties with other countries. However, both states demonstrate clear altruistic motives with their education aid, stating they have a moral obligation to help those who are suffering, and through education they promote human rights and equality, as well as a long-term positive improvement of people's quality of life, health, security, and resources (DFID, 2010; USAID, 2011; Cabinet Office, 2010; White House, 2010). In this way, education aid can address both requirements; it bolsters the UK and US visions of themselves as caring, altruistic nations by benefiting other people, while simultaneously buttressing their own national security by removing threats before they are formed.

Where the UK and US differ is that Britain has maintained a more altruistic and development focus, and American education aid is more securitized and coherent with



their national interest objectives. This is similar to the findings in research published by Brown and Gravingholt (2016) and Kirk (2007). A possible explanation for this can be found in how they view themselves. In many ways, the United States built the current world order out of the ruins of World War II and has spent significant amounts of blood and treasure to preserve it. As evidenced by the Marshall Plan through recent attempts to democratize and rebuild Iraq and Afghanistan, the US considers it a threat to their national interests and security when states suffer from underdevelopment. These underdeveloped nations become unstable, unreliable, and a breeding ground for threats such as radicalization and terrorism (White House, 2002 & 2010). Furthermore, when discussing cooperation in their security strategy, it is in the context of 'America as the leader' (White House, 2010, pp. 1 – 9).

Britain has a similar perspective on security and development, explaining that the terror attacks in New York, London, and Mumbai are a result of state failure and radicalization in Afghanistan and Pakistan (DFID, 2009, pp. 15 – 16). However, they are more concerned with *cooperating* than *leading* in their rhetoric. These sentiments could very well be a result of British history and experiences, such as the disintegration of the British Empire, their role in Europe and during the World Wars, and their current place in the international arena, as well as domestic politics and values.

It can seem to be an innocuous way of promoting national interest, because while it does serve the national interest, it is also providing education and development to fragile states. However, Hills (2006) explains that the merging of development and security efforts can have serious consequences in blurring the lines between aid workers and security staff, citing events in 2004 when the Danish foreign aid agency had "its houses flattened by rockets and a suicide bomb, its staff forced to flee, and an American

warplane accidentally bomb one of its camps, killing six people. The deliberate targeting of aid agencies by Iraqi insurgents is equally marked” (Hills, 2005, p. 640). Similar sentiments are also expressed by Brown and Gravingholt (2016) explaining that this makes insurgents consider aid workers legitimate targets for attacks, as they are considered an extension of military personnel and security efforts and not ‘neutral humanitarian’ workers. Ultimately, the concern is that with the securitization of aid, aid agencies can be perceived as quasi-security agencies, making them more exposed as targets. It can also create mistrust between aid workers and the community they are trying to help, especially if the aid is considered to be misused, corrupted, politicized, or given with strings attached.

With education aid there are additional concerns. Previous research by Bush and Saltarelli (2000) argued that education can be both constructive and destructive, and Swimelar (2013) explained that “control of social, political and cultural institutions is equated with greater power and influence in the state overall” (Swimelar, 2013, p. 173). Education is an important factor in human development, but it is also a great responsibility to ensure that education is unbiased. If education aid is perceived as being another extension of British and American interest and security efforts, the concern is that their education efforts will be considered a tool in ‘westernizing’ other parts of the world, creating mistrust and resulting in ineffective programs. Furthermore, it could result in tension and violence, both within society (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000), or between the aid workers (donor country) and different groups within the society of the recipient country. Education is not a quick fix, but a long-term development tool in facilitating economic and social development. However, while the promotion of human rights and democratic values and practices that are often considered western are closely associated with development, development efforts still needs to be respectful of the practices and

culture of the recipient country. While the education strategies demonstrate a strong influence by national interest, interestingly, the British and American discourse is very concerned with working with the local government, civil society, and local communities, demonstrating a conscious effort to be respectful to the recipient country's culture. While the securitization of education aid is evident, that does not mean that altruism, moral vision, and a commitment to achieve sustainable development is not a part of it. Arguably, just because national interest is an important factor in the development of education aid does not mean that altruism is not a part of it. The idiom "two birds with one stone" is found to be very true with regards to education aid, because while the securitization of aid has impacted British and American education aid, and national interest is very much a component of the education aid formulation, the altruism displayed by the moral responsibility to help is clearly also a factor. Education aid fills the need to assist in ensuring sustainable development, but is also beneficial for their national interest in the long term, thus, education aid is 'two birds with one stone.'

The main purpose of conducting academic research is to inform and contribute to knowledge and development, having implications for both academic research and for policies. The findings of this research support the idea that national interest influences British and American education aid, which yields several implications. In relations to academic research, the findings contribute to the unpacking of the securitization of foreign aid, being part of the continuation of researching and comparing countries and aid sectors when examining the securitization of foreign aid, and how national interest influences different aid. Additionally, it contributes to the research on a post-9/11 world, a watershed events which has had a profound effect on the international environment, including foreign aid and by extension education aid. As the research

builds on research conducted by Riddell (2007), Alesina and Dollar (2000), Schraeder, Hook and Taylor (1998), Doucouliagos and Paldam (2007), and Brown and Gravingholt (2016), continuing the examination of if and how national interest influences foreign aid, specifically the education aid sector, and investigating how the whole of government approach and fragile states discourse are evident in different foreign aid sectors.

The securitization of foreign aid can be traced to the post-9/11 security concerns, as well as post-Cold War geopolitical changes, and arguably the merging of national interest and development aid can be described as a strategical process to justify the increasing foreign aid budget and country selection. Perhaps what is more puzzling than the influence of national interest objectives in education aid, is the varying degree between the US and UK. As Brown and Gravingholt (2016) explains, a state does not have a single purpose in mind, and multiple events and objectives guides state behavior, thus, I can only speculate to the reasons for the differences between the influence US and UK national interest has had on their education aid. The US position in the international system as a global hegemon seems like a natural reason for the stronger influence of national interest in their education aid. The UK, who has a strong standing in the international system, might have stronger altruistic sentiments in their education aid due to their national culture and ideological preferences. Furthermore, the American and British institutional design might be an explanation, as USAID being under the control of the US State Department has removed the autonomy of the aid agency, whereas the British institutional structure is more separate.

Good policies result in good institutional environment and practices, and sustainable and accountable aid. Academic research assists the development of global education

policies and education aid, as well as informing policy makers, and expanding the research pool on the influence of national interest on education aid assists in the ensuring that education aid is sustainable and accountable. Education has real and perceived implications in a society, and a lack of ownership and accountability in education aid can distort policies and create mistrust in the aid system and efforts. Key organizations such as the World Bank and United Nations influences the global and national education policies, and these organizations as well as governments, are informed by academic research. How education aid policies are formulated impacts their function, structure and outcomes, and as the findings demonstrate that there is an interpretive component to British and American education aid policies, which impacts the accountability and efficiency of education aid. With the large amount of money spent on education aid, serious participation in the formulation and accountability of education aid policies is expected. These findings help inform the American and British governments in how their policy documents are influenced by national interest and the securitization discourse, and the perception of their policies. The implications being that, while the role of recipient country is crucial for the success of education aid programs, the accountability of donor country policies is crucial in ensuring trust and sustainable implementation and outcomes.

In summary, accountability cannot be left to chance, and in the cycle of good governance, both in the context of donor and recipient state, accountability in education aid policies are crucial in ensuring positive results. This starts with improving policy ownership and accountability. Education aid occupies a central spot in the international aid system, and should be utilized to educate generations, encourage participation and empowerment, and promoting social and economic development. Academic research is aimed at exploring, explaining and informing topics, for both research and policy

reasons. Investigating the influence of national interest in education aid is meant to help ensure fair and equitable education aid, and ensuring accountability. Accountability in education aid policies will ensure accountability in education aid programs, increasing trust in the system and ensuring sustainable education aid. The findings of this research, just as academic research overall, is an important component in the commitment to ensuring accountable and equitable education aid policies and efforts. Essentially, no matter the subject, in order to understand how it presently, how we want it to be, and how we can achieve it, we need to be informed.

While Woods (2005) argued that “the international development community has not yet been swept up into the war on terror, but it stands on the threshold” (Woods, 2005, p. 409), meaning the securitization of aid is not irreversible, this research argues differently. The international landscape of the new millennium is not reversible, nor is the documented link between underdevelopment and security challenges, or globalization, or the watershed events that have defined the world we live in today. The findings in the research of British and American education aid demonstrated both concerns and benefits in the merging of development and security objectives. The concerns with the securitization of aid is that aid efforts that used to be focused on poverty reduction and social development are being less prioritized in favor of projects that benefit the donor’s national interests, especially commercial and security interests. But it has also resulted in larger aid budgets, as well as more long term and innovative efforts in aid delivery and projects as compared to the aid efforts in the 1990s and earlier.

While keeping development aid and global security completely separate is not feasible, and a few benefits are listed, the concerns are considerable and valid. However, instead

of focusing on reversing the merger, there are steps that can be taken to ensure that aid keeps a development focus over a security focus, or that the merger is at least more development friendly. Possible steps that can be taken to mitigate the securitization of aid include continuing the trend of establishing a shared international development agenda through multilateral agencies and guidelines, such as the MDGs (2000), or the Sustainable Development Goals (2015). This provides a roadmap for governments in their aid practices and allows for a more unified evaluation of aid practices. Part of the analysis in this research was evaluating the aid discourse and determining if it was coherent with the moral visions outlined in the international development discourse as well as the MDGs and EFA targets. Through this, it was determined that while national interest influences British and America education aid, so does altruism. Secondly, coordinating development efforts through established multilateral institutions rather than bilateral aid can help mitigate the security focus, and instead ensure that the efforts are more developmentally focused. Of course, multilateral aid has its disadvantages as well, and bilateral aid should not be abandoned. But having donors commit to using multilateral institutions in their aid delivery can result in less biased aid practices, promote greater capacity and accountability, and increase coordination and efficiency of aid efforts.

While the securitization of aid cannot be reversed, that does not mean that academics activists, and government agents should not continue to research and discuss the securitization of aid, highlighting concerns, changes, and solutions to policy makers and fieldworkers alike. The impact this research aims to have is of course to expand the foreign aid debate, but also to demonstrate the wider impact the securitization of aid has. One hears ‘the securitization of aid’ and can easily understand it when considering it in the context of globalization and the interconnectedness of positive and negative

events, specifically regarding security threats and the global economy. But putting it in the context of the sectoral level, realizing how education is used to promote national interest, and illustrating the positive and negative effects this has will hopefully make policy makers and fieldworkers more conscious in their aid practices, resulting in transparent, accountable, and moral development aid practices; even the ones influenced by national interest.



## Chapter 8 Conclusion

We are mandated to combat through education the ‘ignorance of each other’s ways and lives’ that has fueled armed conflict across the ages [...] As this new edition of the EFA Global Monitoring Report makes clear, conflict continues to blight the lives of millions of the world’s most vulnerable people. Warfare is also destroying opportunities for education on a scale that is insufficiently recognized. The facts are telling. Over 40% of out-of-school children live in conflict-affected countries. These same countries have some of the largest gender inequalities and lowest literacy levels in the world. I hope that, by turning the spotlight on what has until now been a ‘hidden crisis’ in education, the Report will help galvanize national and international action in four key areas [...] First, we need to get serious about stopping the egregious violations of human rights at the heart of the education crisis in conflict-affected countries [...] Second, the humanitarian aid system needs fixing [...] Third, we need to be far more effective at exploiting windows of opportunity for peace [...] Finally, we need to unlock the full potential of education to act as a force for peace [...] Let us work together in using them to confront the hidden crisis in education and create a world in which every child and every parent can live in freedom from fear (UNESCO, 2011, pp. i – ii).

The initial inspiration for this thesis, the EFA monitoring report *Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education*, was published by UNESCO (2011) and raised concerns over the increasing influence of security objectives in development efforts. The 9/11 terror attacks have had a huge influence on the international environment, shaping not only the security discourse, but also the development discourse. The foreword of the 2011 EFA monitoring report reminds the world what is at stake. Education aid is an integral part of development objectives, and the purpose of this thesis has been to research the

education aid puzzle, utilizing the theories Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism in examining the securitization process and influence of national interest in British and American education aid.

Education is a determinant of social mobility, it is the bottom turtle of a functioning and developing society. The development goals outlined in the MDGs (2000), and now in the SDGs (2015), cannot be achieved without providing access to education. With education, inequities and discrimination can be fought, accountable and transparent governance can be promoted, and individuals gain the knowledge and skills to contribute to the development of their own lives and society

Education aid is important for future development efforts, and the findings in this research is a contribution to the continuing examination and discussion to improve and ensure accountable education aid. There has been a ‘rød tråd’ throughout the thesis guiding the investigation. Each chapter has highlighted key aspects and examined crucial variables of the research, but the chapters have also built on each other, formulating a coherent examination of British and American education aid and the influence of national interest. Before ending this *red thread* with some concluding remarks, this chapter will summarize the key points of each chapter and the research findings, as well as revisit the research questions that have guided this thesis.

Furthermore, this chapter will reflect on the research process, highlight the contribution of this research, and provide some insight for future research.

## **8.1 Summary of Findings**

Chapter one presented the research puzzle, providing a contextual overview of the philosophical and practical changes of foreign aid, and clarifying the placement of the securitization of education aid puzzle. Furthermore, it outlined the methodological

approach of the research, providing a roadmap for the thesis, and ensuring that the red thread is not lost. Chapter two and three provided the theoretical framework and reviewed previous literature that helped underpin recurring themes in aid motivations and state behavior. Furthermore, it helped identify the six motives used in the discourse analysis of British and American education aid. Together, chapter one, two, and three provided the first building block in the analysis, providing a basis to work with, and giving background and context to the research puzzle and analysis.

Chapter four dove into the case studies, specifically examining British and American education aid, probing into their ideas, interests, institutions, and practices – setting the scene for chapter five, which examined and analyzed their education aid strategies and national security strategies published for the 2010 – 2015 period. The research, methodology, and frameworks established in chapter two and three were applied to the research and analysis conducted in chapter four and five, and based on this, the findings were presented in chapter six. One of the first findings established was the explanation why education aid is so important to British and American development efforts. The analysis demonstrated that the emphasis put on education in their aid efforts is in essence due to the wide and long-term affects it has, linking it to social and economic development, as well as democratic governance. The education strategies, interviews and government documents demonstrated that education is viewed as a tool to open up opportunities and freedoms, equipping and empowering future generations with the skills and knowledge necessary for a functioning society and state (DFID, 2010, p. 11; USAID, 2011, p. 2). The findings were consistent with the sentiments expressed in the review of previous literature, including the research of Carothers and Brechenmacher (2014) and Lichnofsky (2017), which found that education provides both the practical

and social skills necessary for a thriving and healthy society and government, positively influencing the improvement of health, governance, and the economy.

The securitization of British and American foreign aid has been well established in previous research, such as that published by Brown and Gravingholt (2016), McConnon (2014) and Woods (2005), but research on the specific aid sectors was lacking. This research found that the securitization of British and American foreign aid has extended to their education aid efforts as well, evidenced by the coherence between national interest and education aid objectives, and the adaptation of the fragile states discourse and whole-of-government approach. However, the findings demonstrated that American education aid is more influenced by national interest compared to British education aid. This difference is demonstrated by the emphasis placed on different motives and overlap between strategies, as well as the terminology and references to other policies made in their education strategies. Overall, there was more overlap between the American national interest discourse and their education aid discourse, compared to the British national interest discourse and education aid discourse.

In addition to the findings in analyzing the overlap between motives, analyzing the overall education aid documents and interview transcripts found that both the British and American education strategies have adopted the fragile states discourse, making several references to the term and expressing concern over the development and security threats fragile states pose. Furthermore, evidence of the whole-of-government approach was identified in the American education documents and interviews, as the strategy specifically references the American national security strategy, and evidence of the close working relationship between the State Department and the Department of Defense is acknowledged. British education aid documents and interviews did not

demonstrate the same adherence to the whole-of-government approach, so while British education aid has been securitized, and the influence of national interest is evident, the emphasis put on social development and lasting impact demonstrate a development focus and altruism.

American education aid has been more securitized than British aid, and demonstrated more influence of national interest. However, altruism and development are still a component of their education aid. The differences in the findings of British and American education aid was discussed in chapter seven and can be due to the fact that DFID has maintained more autonomy than USAID following the restructuring after 9/11, but is also explained by their status, traditions, and ideas. Essentially, the wider development and security discourse demonstrate that international peace and security has become part of national security policies. The rationale is that international insecurity is a result of underdevelopment, and vice versa, and due to globalization, the events occurring in other parts of the world affect British and American security and prosperity. Foreign aid is one part of the whole-of-government approach in ensuring national security and interests, and education aid is utilized due to the wide and long-term impact it has. In conclusion, this research has found evidence demonstrating that national interest influences British and American education aid, as evidenced by the overlap and coherence between their education aid discourse and national security strategies. However, while the securitization of education aid and influence of national interest has been established, the findings also demonstrated that altruism remains a factor in their education aid discourse. In chapter seven, it was stated that education aid is ‘two birds with one stone’ – formulated in coherence with British and American national interest and security objectives, while simultaneously fulfilling the countries

‘moral responsibility’ to assist in the sustainable development of fragile and underdeveloped states.

## 8.2 Revisiting the Research Questions

At the start of this thesis, a main research question and two sub-research questions were formulated and presented to help guide the process:

**RQ1.** Have national interest and the securitization of foreign aid influenced the British and American education aid policy discourse, and if so, how?

**RQ2.** What are the main national interest objectives of the United Kingdom and United States governments? How does Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism help explain these objectives?

**RQ3.** What reasonings does the British and American government give for providing education aid to underdeveloped countries? How does Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism help explain these reasonings?

The initial review of previous literature and research combined with the sentiments from the synthesized theoretical framework and a preliminary analysis of the national security strategies helped identify the main national interest objectives, with the addition of altruism as a motive to ensure responsible oversight. These motives were identified and formulated by me based on the theoretical framework, literature review and analysis of the national security strategies. Admittedly, there are overlap between the identifiers, however, the summation and explanation remain valid and based on the American and British sentiments and reasonings, as well as the opinions, arguments and

findings in previous literature and the attitudes in the three theories utilized to inform this research, theoretical framework and analysis.

The British and American reason for emphasizing education in their development efforts are very similar, as they both cite the positive impact it has on other development aspects, and that it is a long-term investment. DFID's Education Strategy (2010) specifically states that education builds human capital, enabling the practical and social skills necessary for personal and national development, noting that the effects of education will last generations. Furthermore, it posits that education has a positive influence on economic growth and global competitiveness, quality of life and health, environmental sustainability, and conflict and insecurity issues. (DFID, 2010, pp. 11 – 17). Similarly, USAID's Education Strategy (2011) discusses education as central to building human capital and promoting development and opportunities, and links education as fundamental to economic growth, promoting human rights and freedoms, as well as enabling stable and healthy democratic governance (USAID, 2011, pp. 1 – 9). Their motives are inherently linked to the benefits of education aid in their development efforts. The wide and long-term impact education aid has, especially the positive impact it has on economic growth, governance, and insecurity, is consistent with the national interests outlined in the British and American national security strategies.

While the international development and international security fields have developed separately, they have also worked closely together. In addition to being a source of poverty, inequality, and underdevelopment, generating conflict, enabling environmental disasters and the spread of diseases, failing states contribute to the spread of criminal and terrorist networks (Brown & Gravingholt, 2016; USAID, 2002 & 2011). This notion has really solidified the merger of security and development objectives. With

previous research having demonstrated that it is not simply the lack of resources that causes underdevelopment, but poor governance, as well as the lack of human capital and social cohesion, that deepens the underdevelopment and fragility of the state, the merger is not surprising (DFID, 2005; Bandyopadhyay et al., 2011). What was found by examining the motives, was an inherent connection between all the different development aims and national interest objectives, demonstrating the merger between the fields has extended to education aid.

Both sub-research questions asked how Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism help explain, and the discussion of the findings and theories in chapter seven was especially fruitful, as together they manage to explain the complex connection between the different variables. Structural Realism explains what the basis of state behavior is: national interest – ensuring security and building capabilities – is a natural state concern, and they will not act against their national interest. Thus, it is rational to find the influence of national interest in education aid. Neoliberalism explains how national interest is formulated in modern democratic societies, and how it influences education aid. Both British and American education aid and national interest are concerned with economic growth, conflict resolution, and the promotion of democratic values and governance. These factors are linked to ensuring positive development in underdeveloped countries, and they are linked to safeguarding national security and interests. Finally, Social Constructivism explains why altruism is part of the education aid formulation, together with traditional national interest, as international norms and values of a moral duty to assist have been internalized by both countries. The different sentiments from the three theories complement each other. Globalization and international insecurity force a state to act to ensure their capabilities and security.



However, the interconnectedness and the international norms and ideas have also influenced national values and policy to cooperate and assist.

Similarly to the good foreign aid principals utilized in the analysis of the altruism motive, the Good Humanitarian Donorship (2014) principles outlined in 2003, which both the UK and US have endorsed, emphasize neutrality in aid. If national interest, which is self-serving and political in nature, is influencing education aid, can education aid be considered 'good' when it is not neutral? Other core principles for good aid practices are also outlined, including aid being given in coherence with international humanitarian law, and ensuring that the development efforts are sustainable, efficient, long-term, and accountable. The content analysis found that despite being influenced by national interest and the securitization of education aid, these principles are included and mainstreamed throughout the British and American education aid strategies. This leads to the conclusion that their education aid, despite being influenced by national interest, is 'good' aid practice. The theories also assisted with the national interest versus altruism discussion, demonstrating that national interest and altruism are both influencing state behavior. Admittedly, one sometimes influences more than the other, but ultimately both are present in education aid. Arguably, education aid is used because it fulfils both the need to ensure national interest, while also fulfilling the 'moral duty' to assist in the sustainable development of underdeveloped and fragile states. In conclusion, national interest influencing education aid does not have to be a sinister, and aid can be altruistic even when influenced by national interest.

### **8.3 Research Contribution**

The securitization of aid has been researched extensively, yet, the examination of aid in specific sectors is rare and examining the influence of national interest in education aid

was not been done. Much of the previous literature has examined why donors allocate development aid the way they do, as well as the outcomes and effectiveness of foreign aid. This research has examined the education aid discourse, identifying the British and American motives and how their national interest is reflected in their education aid. The continuation of the foreign aid debate is an important endeavor, because without the continuing debate and analysis the practices and frameworks would not develop. This thesis has attempted to not only continue the foreign aid debate, but also narrow it down to a specific aid sector, something that is not always present in the foreign aid literature. Additionally, it has partaken in the discussion of policy changes since 9/11 and the securitization of aid examination, contributing to the current development and security discourse.

The aim for this thesis is to contribute both to the existing literature and assist in future research. This research is the first to explore the influence of national interest in education aid, and one of the first in examining the securitization of aid at a sectoral level. Therefore, it is in a way contributing to two research fields: the wider foreign aid debate with all the different components, and to a specialized research field looking specifically at the securitization of education aid. Furthermore, the theoretical framework and national interest motives I have established will hopefully be valuable and informative for future research on development and education policies and discourses. However, this thesis is not limited to academic consumption; it is also intended for policymakers and fieldworkers. The findings of this research can hopefully assist in the design and development of future policies and programs related to education and the wider development field, contributing to efficient and ethical education and development efforts. The suggestions put forward in chapter seven and the research findings outlined in chapter six, are relevant for researchers, policymakers,

and fieldworkers alike. Thus, the contribution of this thesis is both theoretical and practical.

#### **8.4 The Research Process in Retrospect**

The limitations and challenges outlined in the introduction were ever-present while conducting this research, and it is important to reflect on the research process. When starting this research endeavor, all of the allotted time and word count did not seem necessary to research the influence of national interest in British and American education aid. However, one of the limitations has been the limited time and space to explore and discuss all relevant aspects of education aid. It was a continuous test to keep the research focused, but it was beneficial to limit the discourse and motivation analysis to the national security strategies and education strategies published for the 2010 – 2015 period, and opening the analysis to government documents published following 9/11, as it helped keep the research focused and kept the research context in a coherent post-9/11 setting. Additionally, the selection of the case studies has been extremely successful and interesting, and the publication of their strategies for the same time period was very fortunate.

This research examined the UK and US because they are two of the largest development aid donors with a noteworthy international influence, and their position and capabilities mean their discourse and policies are valuable for international development goals.

Considering the importance education has for wider development objectives, it amplifies the importance of ensuring the accountability and transparency of their education aid. However, there have been several other case studies that could have been included, either by comparing another government along with the UK and US, or investigating UK and US education aid to a specific country.

The theoretical framework was a frustrating component of the research and continuously revised, but surprisingly, the theories have proven to be not only extremely helpful but also very interesting. Selecting Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism was daunting in the start, but has proven to be very beneficial for the research process. Furthermore, it complimented the methodological framework nicely, having a synthesized theoretical framework, assisting with the motive analysis at every step. The three theories assisted in identifying the motives utilized in the analysis, explaining the wider research context, defining key concepts and variables, and in discussing and explaining the findings. Following the selection of case studies, the methodology came together fairly easily. A qualitative content analysis, paired with a comparative case study, fitted the research topic, especially since the aim was to analyze and compare a policy discourse. In retrospect, it would have been beneficial to have investigated the possibility of including more qualitative data in the research.

Perhaps the biggest challenge in this research was the semi-structured interviews with government aid employees. Reflecting on the process, the interviews would have been more useful if they the interview had been expanded to other departments, instead of focusing only on employees with the aid agencies. However, the interviews were personally useful for professional development, contextualizing the research in a practical setting, and in identifying additional literature useful for the research. The transcripts of the interviews – which were included in the analysis process- introduced new information, nuggets and important insight. Nevertheless, while the research process had its challenges, it has been exciting and thought-provoking, and provided fruitful results.

## **8.5 Directions for Future Research**

One of the things one learns when doing research is how much one does not know, and while conducting this research and reflecting on the research process, I considered some thoughts on directions for future research. Reviewing previous literature presented a plethora of different and interesting variables, and keeping the research focused and narrowed to the specific variables relevant for this research has been difficult at times. However, the roads not taken have left possibilities for other research adventures. Future research has the option of taking a different theoretical approach, changing the case studies or sector investigated, and either broadening or narrowing down the research focus.

Examining other governments' education aid and the influence of their national interest would be my first suggestion. It was difficult to decide between choosing two-most-similar or two-most-different case studies, and it would be interesting to see the differences and similarities between other bilateral donors. Western countries, namely Canada, Australia, and the Scandinavian and EU donor agencies, as well as other bilateral donors including China, Japan, India, Israel, Russia, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates, who all besides Japan operates outside of the Development Assistance Committee, would all make for interesting case studies. Furthermore, looking at the different sectors they emphasize and how national interest is reflected would be intriguing; the governance sector comes to mind first, but aid to the health sector or aid aimed at the environment would also be fascinating studies. Examining other countries and sectors would also allow for a better understanding of why the US has securitized its education aid more than the UK, and why British education aid is still development focused despite the security turn. Brown and Gravingholt (2016) explain that the differences in to what extent states have or have not merged their development and security objectives can be explained by the position of the state in the international

system, its government policy, and institutional traditions, as well as leadership. These factors were also found and discussed in this research, and it would be interesting to test them further by examining additional government policies.

The research could be broadened, from examining the policies and discourses, to also investigate the outcome of the policies and discourse. Furthermore, the time frame could be expanded as the securitization of aid can be traced back further than the post-9/11 scope this thesis established. It would be interesting to examine and compare the post-9/11 securitization of education aid with education aid during the Cold War.

Additionally, the research could be narrowed down to examine specific education efforts, for example examining British or American education aid to Kenya, or one of their top five aid recipient countries. The broadening and narrowing down could also entail selecting a different theoretical approach, but the three selected theories have proven to be extremely useful in the research process. I suggest future research utilize the three theories of Structural Realism, Neoliberalism, and Social Constructivism – as they have been beneficial in identifying the motives, explaining key variables and concepts, and were inspiring when discussing and explaining the findings.

While reflecting on the research process, it is obvious that the interviews could have been exploited more. Interviewing staff from different agencies such as the US State Department or Department of Defense, and the British Home Office or Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and not just employees with USAID and DFID, would be an interesting avenue to explore. This would perhaps be more of an organizational study than what the scope of this thesis allowed, as the focus was on the policy discourse, but it would be interesting, nonetheless. It would also have allowed for the gathering of qualitative data on the educational policy designs and the influence of national interest.

## 8.6 Concluding Remarks

Terror attacks in America, England, India, Iraq, France, and Syria have created insecurity in the world, and the 9/11 and 7/7 terror attacks specifically demonstrated the connection between American and British security to underdevelopment and fragile states. Both DFID and USAID have expressed that poverty and underdevelopment impacts security, fragile states, and radicalization. Poverty reduction and facilitating development is inherently linked with creating a safe world for future generations, and ensuring the success of these efforts is in the national interest of developed states. The Western countries, specifically the UK and US, portray the merger of security and development as a positive transformation as it highlights the moral duty in providing a safer future for everyone. However, the securitization of aid has not been a discourse dominated by aspirational and altruistic sentiments but rather fearful sentiments, linking it to instability, state failure, radicalization, and terror attacks. McConnon (2014) explains that development aid has moved from being based on humanitarianism and compassion, to that of fear and national interest. The findings in the analysis of the British and American national security strategy and education aid discourse found evidence of national interest, security objectives, and fear, but it also found evidence of humanitarianism, compassion, and a sense of global community.

The overall picture painted by the case studies suggest that education aid has become intertwined with the complexity of the international environment, trying to address security threats and development needs simultaneously. Duffield (2007) explains that the adage ‘no security without development – no development without security’ is used to the ‘point of monotony’. However, the security and economic interests of states are inherently linked with the international community. The global market impacts the national economy, and security threats such as terrorism, environmental challenges, and

disease are not restricted by borders. International efforts are needed to ensure national security. Thus, fragile states and spill-over concerns have taken a natural key place in British and American foreign policy. The revision of aid to reflect their security concerns, and adaptation of the whole-of-government approach may be a natural evolution considering the international environment.

Previous research found a dramatic shift after the terror attacks, but there is also evidence of security and development objectives being merged in the aftermath of the Second World War, during the Cold War, and in the 1990s (Duffield, 2002; Brown & Gravingholt, 2016). A year after 9/11, Duffield wrote that “while the recent terrorist attacks on America have had a profound social and political impact, it would be wrong to suggest that they mark a wholly new or unexpected departure. What we are witnessing is a significant consolidation of systems and interconnections that have been slowly maturing for several decades. The violence of 11 September was an historic moment that quickly pulled together many existing threads to reveal a fuller sense of the design” (Duffield, 2002, p. 153). Globalization has created a global community, and events in the Twenty-First Century have fortified the connection between underdevelopment and insecurity in fragile states to the prosperity and security of industrialized states. It is undeniable that fear was present in the British and American homes and governments following 9/11 and 7/7, and the securitization of education aid demonstrates the effects of these events are still a factor. But perhaps what we’ve witnessed is a natural evolution of the security and development discourse following a globalized world full of connected communities, and the process was just more noticeable due to the watershed events of two skyscrapers representing the power of a global hegemon crumbling to the ground.



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