

Abstract

This paper presents an analysis of international cooperation related to higher education financing. International cooperation constitutes an important force in financing projects and programmes in higher education institutions, especially in developing countries.

Cooperation activities are mainly conducted by international organizations. Given that international cooperation has been always controversial and cooperation associated with education is not an exception, this paper discusses the complexity of defining cooperation, as well as the main classifications and characteristics of international organizations related to higher education.

The data analysed show that, at all levels, the most important donors in education are bilateral organizations. However, data on higher education show the opposite tendency, as multilateral agencies are the main donors in this field.

Funding institutions and implementing recommendations and policies, two of the central aspects analysed in this paper, are two of the clearest ways in which international cooperation affects higher education worldwide. Other parts of the paper are devoted to the difficulties that arise in studying this topic, representative examples of agencies and several general recommendations.

International cooperation represents an important and interesting option for higher education institutions as an alternative source of financing in developing countries; therefore, it seems essential to discuss this topic and to look for ways of improving these activities.

INTRODUCTION

International cooperation has an important role to play in the financing of higher education institutions in developing countries, although cooperation has not been analysed in any depth. Historically, international cooperation has been closely related to international organizations established at the end of the Second World War. These agencies have in fact been the main contributors to the institutionalization of coopera-

tion in different sectors, in which educational issues have been included.

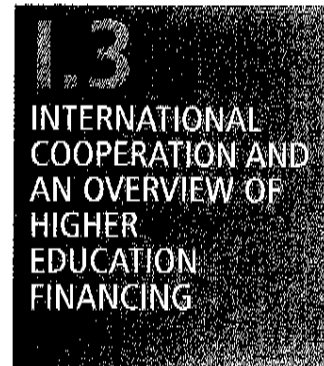
A worldwide report on higher education financing must not exclude the topic of international cooperation, because financing is a significant activity within international cooperation in higher education, particularly in developing countries. Indeed, international cooperation constitutes an important force in financing certain projects and aspects of higher education institutions worldwide. Because international cooperation activities are widespread and diverse, analysing their influence is a very difficult task. To begin with, collecting accurate data is a challenge, as cooperation activities range from directly providing funds to influencing policy-making (by means of recommendations and reports) and building networks.

Financing higher education is seen as one of the most complicated topics in specialized literature. Decisions concerning financial policies involve taking up positions on several issues such as education in society, socioeconomic backgrounds, the responsibilities of the different actors in a nation, and the roles played by the state, science, technology, research, information and culture in a country. These aspects vary depending on the context but they are crucial for defining financing policies at the higher education level.

In terms of international organizations, the differences in scope, types, goals and activities are significant. Some of these organizations finance teaching and research projects directly, whilst others finance institutions or programmes, sponsor student and academic exchange programmes or publish studies and specialized reports on higher education. They also participate in building networks between academics and decision-makers. These are just some of the examples of international cooperation activities at the higher education level.

Two of the most important activities carried out by these organizations in relation to higher education financing are funding institutions and implementing recommendations and policies. This report focuses on both of these aspects.

The report includes six sections. The first defines international cooperation and discusses



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current issues in this field. The second section describes existing international organizations and their role in higher education financing. Following this, two aspects of international aid and financing in the third sector are discussed: data on the financing provided by international agencies to the higher education sector in the third section, and an overview of international organizations in the fourth. The report ends with several recommendations in the fifth section and conclusions in the final section.

THE DIFFICULT TASK OF DEFINING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION: CURRENT TRENDS

Given the diversity of international cooperation activities, they tend to be defined by the organizations who conduct them on the basis of the types of activities developed. For instance, assistance, philanthropic, non-profit, development aid and subsidies are some of the most common (Levy, 2003). In defining cooperation, the characteristics of the donors, recipients, actors involved, conditions, activities supported, circumstances, and context are very relevant.

As mentioned above, some of the most common examples of the type of activities in higher education that are supported by international cooperation are 'development projects, foreign student support, research and teaching projects, extension activities and business and consultancy of public service projects' (McAllister, 1996). Student exchange is one of the most popular activities in cooperation, especially when institutions associate it with revenue generation. But there is also cooperation at other levels, from improving the managerial skills of university staff, online courses, and exchange programmes with faculty or administrative staff in developing countries. Projects financed by international cooperation aid can also be coordinated by local academics, international organizations or both, and sometimes research activities involve different entities (Tilak, 2002, p. 305). Another important aspect in international cooperation is building infrastructure.

According to Beerkens (2002, p. 297), consortia, networks, alliances, businesses and associations are some of the results of interorganizational agreements that have emerged recently in higher education.

Cooperation takes place between governments, international organizations, federal and local governments, and higher education institutions, depending on the institutions that are participating and the scope of the agreements.

There is a long tradition in terms of cooperation between universities worldwide (Martins Romeo, 2003,

p. 41, and Tilak, 2002, p. 302). One of the antecedents in the modern history of universities is the case of the University of Berlin (Germany) and Columbia University (United States), who signed an agreement in 1906 to carry out joint academic activities. This agreement was signed by William Fulbright and the Nobel Laureate in Physics, Werner Heisenberg (Martins Romeo, 2003, p. 42).¹

Other examples of these antecedents are the activities conducted by some of the most important foundations, such as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and the Carnegie Corporation, which developed programmes to promote science in developing countries after the 1950s. They also gave priority to financing in developing countries, which grew until the 1970s. Education became the 'fourth dimension' of foreign policy and fitted into the objectives of industrialized nations in the West (Selvaratnam, 1985, p. 310).

International cooperation has always been controversial, and cooperation associated with education is not an exception. On one hand, it has been associated with a genuine recognition that education is a basic element of national development and self-sustainable growth. On the other, cooperation has been seen as a main component of neocolonial relationships, of the expansion of markets and trade mechanisms, and of technology transfer, in benefit of the geopolitical interests of industrialized nations (Morales Gómez, 1992, p. 2). In discussing the intentions of international organizations in providing aid, Coraggio (1996) considers three ideas: they continue with the human development process in the current context of industrialization; they seek to compensate for the effects of the technological and economic revolution, which are a part of globalization; or they seek to implement specific economic policies, by acting as a 'Trojan Horse' in the social policies arena.

Levy (2003) claims that even less radical academics believe that assistance mainly reflects the interests and goals of the donors and not the receptors (p. 17).

There is a classic dichotomy between modernization and dependency in developing nations. This debate affects the approaches and assumptions related to national development and international aid.² There are many tensions and issues surrounding the conditions imposed by international organizations. Because every international organization has its own agenda, international cooperation cannot be considered neutral, especially when some of the most important international agencies are dominated by the US and there are many interests at work. For instance, one of the main points on the agenda of some of the most important international organizations, such as the World Bank, is promoting privatization and market mechanisms in the public higher education sector in developing countries.

Additionally, it is not possible to deny the responsibility of national governments in negotiations with international organizations, since they are in part responsible for reaching these agreements, as Coraggio (1990) indicates.

It is not possible to ignore these aspects when international cooperation is discussed, principally because many universities in several regions care for social functions and are responsible for preserving and developing the national and cultural identity of the countries.

The following section analyses the characteristics of international organizations.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS RELATED TO HIGHER EDUCATION: CLASSIFICATIONS AND EXAMPLES

As mentioned above, cooperation activities in education are mainly conducted by international organizations (Center on International Cooperation, 2005). These organizations can be bilateral or multilateral, depending on the number of participating countries and whether they have a regional or worldwide focus. The fields in which these activities are carried out range from national security and peace issues to economy, trade, environmental, human rights, education, health, science and technology issues.

One of the most useful classifications that may be applied to these agencies is included in the *International Organizations Yearbook* (Union of International Associations, 1998). According to this text, international organizations can firstly be divided into intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. These two general types could also be classified into three types: 'conventional organizations',³ 'other bodies' and 'special types'. Most of the multilateral and bilateral organizations are governmental, and non-governmental organizations are basically foundations and private initiatives. Conventional organizations include federations of international organizations, universal membership organizations, intercontinental membership organizations and regionally oriented membership organizations. Some examples are the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and UNESCO.

Foundations such as Ford and Rockefeller belong to the classification 'other bodies', 'non-governmental' organizations. The definition 'other bodies' includes 'organizations emanating from places or persons or other bodies', 'organizations of special form, including foundations and funds' and 'internationally oriented national organizations' (Union of International Associations, 1998, p. 1757).⁴

In the case of foundations, there are a large number of these philanthropic organizations. In the United States, the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations have been very active and they have influenced 'the development of the social sciences at home and abroad' (Samoff, 1999, p. 64). There are other interesting foundations around the world, such as Toyota, Volkswagen, Gulbenkian and Aga Khan, all of which fund higher education projects.

These classifications are important if we are to clarify the differences between these organizations. Indeed, although the Yearbook by the Union of International Associations is a unique and useful source of classifications of international organizations worldwide, it does sometimes create confusion in the way it classifies international organizations (Hajnal, 1997, p. 11). One of the main problems of its definition of an international organization is that it is very broad. For example, it considers free trade agreements, such as the North-American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and the World Trade Organization (WTO), as another type of international organization. The inclusion of these agreements makes the definition of international organizations more complex, since they are regimes more than organizations.

The term international regime has been used to refer to rules and norms within a particular issue-area; thus general-purpose organizations such as the UN would not be considered regimes ... International organizations are the formal embodiment of institutions and regimes. They are housed in buildings, employ civil servants and bureaucrats, and have budgets. (Martin and Simmons, 2001, p. 2)

Kratochwil and Ruggie (2001) consider regimes to be:

broadly defined as governing arrangements constructed by states to coordinate their expectations and organize aspects of international behavior in various issue-areas ... Examples include the trade regime, the monetary regime, the oceans regime, and others. (p. 347)

The clarification is pertinent, since higher education has been affected by both international organizations (for instance, the World Bank and UNESCO) and regimes such as trade agreements and, more recently, the General Agreement on Trades and Services (GATS) (García Guadilla, 2003, and the OECD, 2002a). Historically, however, organizations have had more of an impact in terms of cooperation activities than have regimes.

International organizations related to higher education can be classified according to types of agencies and activities, such as banks, UN systems directly related to education, UN systems (mainly UNESCO), university

associations, networks and foundations. The scope of these organizations is either international or regional. Table I.3.1 presents several examples of these organizations.

These classifications depend mostly on the types of

TABLE I.3 Examples of international organizations related to higher education according to their activities and characteristics		
Type of agency	Worldwide	Regional
Banks	World Bank	Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) Asian Development Bank African Development Bank
UNESCO system	UNESCO Institute for Education (IIEP) International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) International Bureau of Education (IBE) Institute for Information Technologies in Education (ITE) International Centre for Technical and Vocational Education and Training (UNEVOC) UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS)	International Institute for Capacity-Building in Africa (IICBA) European Centre for Higher Education (CEPES) International Institute for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (IESALC)
Bilateral development aid	US Agency for International Development (USAID) Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) Department for International Development (UK) (DFID) German Foundation for International Development (DFG) Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) Netherlands Development Assistance Research Council (RAWOC)	
Consultation and policy research	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)	
Foundations	Rockefeller Foundation Mellon Foundation Morgan Foundation MacArthur Foundation Carnegie Corporation of New York Pewchar Foundation	
University associations	International Association of Universities (IAU)	Latin American Union of Universities (UAL) Association of Universities of Asia and Pacific (AUAHL) Association of Arab Universities Association of Commonwealth Universities Association of African Universities
Networks		European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA) Asia Pacific Higher Education Research Network (APHERN) University.net Chippewals Group of Universities
International cooperation in higher education	Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Higher Education (SIC) Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation in Higher Education (NOIPPE) Consortium for North American Higher Education Collaboration (CONAHEC)	
Associations and human rights	Amnesty International Network for Education and Academic Rights (NEAR)	

Source: Madeleine Vignatiello, "La investigación sobre el desarrollo internacional a partir de 1990 en México. Un estudio de caso en México sobre la investigación sobre el desarrollo para la formación de la membresía de los académicos en México: actores y organizaciones." México: COMEST/CEPESU.

activities. Some are simply financial institutions, whilst others are dedicated exclusively to consultation and technical assistance, and others include both aspects. Comparative studies are an important topic in higher education financing, although they are scarce (Johnstone, 1991, p. 5); because of this, contributions have included the creation of databases.

Other classifications, particularly within the field of higher education, consider universities to be international cooperation organizations. Van Ginkel (1996) mentions 'associations, interuniversity cooperation projects, university businesses involving educational associations, and university networks'. According to Beerkens (2002), De Wit includes 'academic associations, academic consortia and institutional networks' (p. 305).

Many important multilateral regional agencies are working in the field of higher education, although the three most important multilateral organizations are the World Bank, UNESCO and the OECD (Sadlak and Hüfner, 2003).

As mentioned above, this report presents two aspects: an analysis of the main policies recommended by the World Bank, UNESCO and the OCED, and data on funds awarded to the higher education sector by different international organizations.

QUANTITATIVE DATA ON INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

It is true to say that education is commonly supported by international cooperation organizations. Nevertheless, the percentages are smaller than might be expected, given the extent to which relevant educational issues are part of public discourse. From the total aid reported by the OECD in 2002, only about 8.5 per cent was given to education. Some of the aspects that receive the other 90 per cent of support are health and population, economic infrastructure and services, production, multisector, programme assistance, action relating to debt, emergency assistance, and others (OECD, 2005). If this 8.5 per cent assigned to education worldwide is contrasted with the percentages given by specific regions, only the European Union confers to education and health about 11.5 per cent from the total aid given to developing nations – 3 per centage points above the worldwide average.

However, the percentages differ by region: in Africa, the educational sector represents about 41 per cent of the aid from all recipients; in Asia, the percentage is about 33 per cent; in Latin America, it is 9 per cent; in Central Europe, it is 8 per cent, and in Europe, it is 1 per cent (OECD, 2005).

The accuracy of the figures on international coopera-

tion may often be called into question. It is very difficult to obtain data on education, but ascertaining the specific amounts invested in higher education is even more complex. Each organization presents different figures and, even within the same organization, the information can sometimes be contradictory.

Levy (2003), in making the distinction between multilateral and bilateral organizations, came to the following conclusion:

Taken together, donors have given ample educational assistance to the Third World. During the main years of our study [until the decade of the nineties], bilateral sources accounted for 60 per cent or more of educational assistance, while multilaterals rose past 20 to about 25 per cent, and private donors slipped from perhaps 20 to 10 per cent. As expected, education has represented a much smaller share of multilateral than foundation spending (p. 104).

It seems that, in general, the most important donors in education are bilateral organizations. However, the data on higher education show the opposite tendency with respect to multilateral agencies.

The World Bank is considered to be the world's single largest provider of external funding for education, and yet it is still difficult to obtain accurate figures on its investment in the higher education sector. Some authors have estimated that the percentage is about 17 per cent (Salda, 1997, p. 70), but the figures are not transparent. The World Bank claims that, since 1963, it has provided approximately US\$31 billion in educational loans and credits (World Bank, 2005). From 1963 to 1997, it lent more than US\$3 billion to higher education (Salda, 1997, p. 70). This would mean that it dedicated approximately 12 per cent of its total investments to higher education. According to World Bank data, however, from 1990 to 2004 it awarded around 26 per cent of its total disbursements for education to tertiary education (World Bank, 2005b). Perhaps the variations depend mostly on the periods considered. In any case, it does not seem to be clear that precise figures can be established on the World Bank's contribution to higher education, although it is possible to affirm that it ranges from about 12 per cent to less than 25 per cent.

A further problem lies in discerning the regional distribution of the World Bank's higher education loans. For instance, Salda (1997) considers 60 per cent of the amounts given to higher education to be loans to Asian countries (p. 70). However, Table I.3.3 presents an analysis of the last five years of projects supported by the World Bank and, in this case, Latin America is the region that received most support during that period.

Clearly, the World Bank tends to give more support to primary education than to higher education. This situation became obvious after the World Conference on Education for All, which took place in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990 and was sponsored by UNESCO and the World Bank. The main conclusions in the Conference Declaration were that, before the end of the decade, primary education should be universalized and illiteracy should be massively reduced (UNESCO, 2005). The consequences of the Conference were reflected in the policies adopted by many traditional donors. Unfortunately, in addition to the goals not being reached, the Declaration had several negative consequences for other educational levels, especially higher education, such as a decrease in the international funds received by developing countries.

These consequences were seen not only within multi-lateral organizations such as the World Bank but also within bilateral organizations, since most of them clearly supported primary education exclusively on the basis of the Conference's conclusions.⁷

If one analyses World Bank data, one can see that a historical tendency was reversed. In 1990, World Bank disbursements were about 19.3 per cent for primary education, and 31 per cent for tertiary education. However, from 1995 onwards, the percentages of support for primary education were larger than those for tertiary education, and these figures showed a non-reversible tendency (see Table I.3.2).

TABLE I.3.2
World Bank Disbursements (in percentages) for education by subsector

Year	Primary education (%)	Tertiary education (%)
1990	19.3	31.0
1991	21.7	29.5
1992	25.0	29.2
1993	30.7	28.5
1994	27.8	28.1
1995	34.3	26.4
1996	36.2	27.8
1997	32.4	28.3
1998	34.6	26.5
1999	46.8	21.5
2000	43.8	21.3
2001	45.2	22.7
2002	38.1	22.5
2003	36.7	22.8
2004	32.4	23.2

Note: World Bank Disbursements (percentages) by Education by Sub-sector. Provided by the World Bank, 2004 (the calculations are the author's own).

If one considers the fact that higher education is more expensive than primary and secondary education, both in

developed and in developing countries, these tendencies do not seem fair. UNESCO (1998b) claims that, in 1995, the most developed regions spent US\$4636 per student on pre-primary, primary and secondary education versus US\$5936 on tertiary education. The same pattern can be seen in less developed nations. In 1995, an average of US\$377 was spent on the lower educational levels in countries in transition, US\$165 was spent in less developed nations, and a dramatic US\$26 in the least developed countries, versus US\$457, US\$967 and US\$252 respectively on tertiary education (p. 25). The differences are apparent not only between educational levels; there are also enormous differences between countries.

With regard to accuracy, a further problem is the way in which agencies present the information. On its website, the World Bank claims to have contributed to 365 higher education projects, although if one analyses the data it becomes clear that not all of them are related to higher education. For instance, the World Bank reports that in the last five years it has supported 73 projects related to higher education. The geographical distribution is presented in Table I.3.3. The total investment reported is US\$3,506.03 million. However, an analysis of the data reveals different figures. Every project includes a description of the percentage assigned to each sector. In several projects, the majority of the financing goes to higher education but, in most cases, less than 50 per cent goes to the third sector.⁸ Therefore, it is important to compare the real assignments.

Over the past five years, the amount given by the World Bank to higher education was US\$1269.82 million, but this represents only 36.2 per cent of what was originally reported as the figure for the financing of third sector projects (World Bank, 2005a) (see Table I.3.3).

This example shows some of the complications that arise in a discussion about the subject of international assistance, especially regarding data on a particular sector such as higher education. Besides, every international organization manages different data and subscribes to different criteria.

After the World Conference on Education for All, there were other initiatives, conferences, published documents and so on, but one of the most important was the publication of the document *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise* by UNESCO, in conjunction with the World Bank (Task Force on Higher Education and Society, 2000). The next section discusses the positions of these organizations. The truth is that even after some variations in their positions, the scenario does not seem very optimistic about higher education at the international cooperation level. Because reaching the goal of providing primary education for all has been more complicated and slower than predicted; primary educa-

TABLE 3.3
Tertiary education projects approved by the World Bank from 2000 to 2005^a

Latin America and the Caribbean		Africa		North Africa and the Middle East		South Asia		East Asia and the Pacific		Europe and Central Asia		
Country	US\$	Country	US\$	Country	US\$	Country	US\$	Country	US\$	Country	US\$	
Brazil	9.6	Africa	0.1	Dibouti	0.3	Afghanistan	38.4	Cambodia (2)	2.6	Albania	1.6	
Chile (2)	64.3	Burkina Faso	6.3	Egypt, Arab Republic of	21.5	Bangladesh	1.2	East Asia and the Pacific	10.4	Azerbaijan	1.8	
Colombia (2)	98.2	Ethiopia (4)	36.6	Jordan (2)	46.3	Bhutan	1.2	Indonesia (2)	16.9	Bosnia-Herzegovina (3)	12.3	
Guatemala	4.3	Ghana (2)	30.2	Tunisia	3.9	India (2)	246.9	Laos People's Democratic Republic	1.4	Bulgaria	5.0	
Mexico (2)	26.6	Guinea	18.2	Yemen, Republic of (3)	9.8	Lesotho	0.6	Philippines	4	Georgia	4.1	
Paraguay	1.5	Malawi	12.2	West Bank and Gaza (4)	14.6	Maldives	5.3	Vanuatu	0.1	Kosovo	0.4	
Reru	10.5	Mali	14.4			Pakistan	4.9			Macedonia	0.7	
St. Kitts and Nevis (1)	1.2	Mauritania (2)	27.7			Sri Lanka	24.9					
St. Lucia	1.2	Mozambique	2.7			Vietnam	7.8					
St. Vincent and the Grenadines (1)	1.2	Nigeria	10.4									
Uruguay	9.0	Rwanda	3.5									
Venezuela	4.4	Uganda	7.3									
		Zambia (2)	15.5									
	564.82		206.8		59.6		342		35.4		35.8	
											Total	1275.32

Key: * Million of dollars. The brackets indicate the number of projects approved in the case of there being more than one.

Notes: Projects approved by the World Bank, 2006, available online at <http://www.worldbank.org>. The calculations are the author's own.

tion is still the main priority as proved by the recent *United Nations Millennium Declaration*, whose development goals were subscribed to in 2000 by 180 governments upon the initiative of the UN. However, there is a lack of vision since increasing the access to primary education will eventually increase the demand for higher education institutions, but it is not clear whether less developed countries will have the capacity to respond to this challenge.

The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), which seems to be the regional bank that has given the most support to higher education, is a case in point. From 1962 through 1984, the Bank disbursed US\$540,732,000 to Latin American higher education (IDB, 1997). Despite the fact this amount represents less than half of what the World Bank invested in the higher education sector (calculated for the same period), the money spent by the IDB is really impressive if it is considered that these credits and loans have been distributed across a single region. In fact, the IDB has defined itself as the 'Bank of the University' in Latin America (Maldonado, 2000).

Another interesting example is the Ford Foundation. It has decided to invest US\$330 million in 10 years, establishing the largest fund in the history of the Foun-

dation. The largest amount of its money, US\$280 million, is spent on international scholarships. This allows 3500 students to study for about three years on master's or PhD degree courses at universities around the world. Since 1950, the Foundation has spent approximately 365 million dollars on graduate education for about 30 thousand students in 70 countries (Bollag, 2000, p. 1). According to Levy (2003), the total amount of the Ford Foundation grants to Latin American universities from 1959 to 1984 was US\$73,615,574. Among the different international organizations, the emphasis the Ford Foundation has placed on higher education has always been outstanding (Levy, 2003).

Some strategies followed by foundations have included developing partnerships in order to offer a faster response to demand, such as the Partnership for the Development of Higher Education in Africa, in whose name the Rockefeller, Ford and MacArthur Foundations and the Carnegie Corporation committed US\$100 million to revitalizing higher education in six African countries (see Teferra, and Sanyal and Martin in this volume).

Having analysed about 20 international agencies, including bilateral agencies, banks, foundations, initiatives and networks, one can see that the higher education

agenda of these organizations varies greatly. At the same time, the lack of information on the specific projects supported, the projects' goals, their results and the amounts invested means that studying this topic is a highly complex task.

Examples of bilateral organizations are the Agency for International Development (USAID) and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Canada. According to USAID, its task is 'to establish higher education and research partnerships, alliances, and networks in more than 58 countries involving over 160 higher education institutions from the US and developing countries'. In 1992, the Association Liaison Office for University Cooperation in Development (ALO), which promotes global development through higher education, was established and supported by the USAID. ALO has administered 226 partnership awards that have engaged more than 100 US colleges, community colleges, universities, and consortia of higher education institutions in nearly 60 developing countries around the world (ALO, 2004, p. 1).

The projects supported are very diverse, but in the case of bilateral agencies, the interests of the donor define the type of cooperation. For instance, the official information on a project conducted in Romania by USAID claims that 'this partnership will create an educational center and curricular model that will support a growing cadre of business people in the Cluj region of Romania who are adopting free market principles in order to succeed in the global economy, thereby creating jobs and a vibrant regional economy'. The date of the award was 2004, and the amount awarded was US\$88,602 (cost share: \$49,110) (ALO, 2004, p. 72).

A further example is the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), which 'funds applied research by researchers from developing countries on the problems they identify as crucial to their communities' (IDRC, 2005). Even when the agency supports very specific scientific fields, it directly or indirectly finances higher education. This fact is reflected in one of the IDRC's main goals, which is building 'local capacity in developing countries to undertake research and create innovations, believing that people from developing countries must take the lead in producing and applying knowledge for the benefit of their own communities' (IDRC, 2005). Bilateral agencies have an important role in education, even when they do not focus on higher education specifically.

Other initiatives and networks that do not have as many financial resources as other international organizations also carry out important activities to promote international cooperation based on academic activities. Examples include the Consortium for North American Higher Education Collaboration (CONAHEC), the Asia Pacific

Higher Education Research Network (APHERN), Universia.net and the Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Higher Education (SIU).

The first of these, the CONAHEC, 'enhances mutual understanding and cooperation in the North American community by fostering collaboration between institutions of higher education in Canada, Mexico, and the United States'. It has different agreements in place, which include student exchange programmes (CONAHEC, 2005). The second example, the APHERN, is an Asia Pacific initiative that organizes 'cooperative activities which focus on regional issues' and 'activities that facilitate personal interaction through exchanges, conferences, and seminars on higher education' (APHERN, 2005). The third example, Universia.net, is a portal that connects nine Latin American countries and Spain and provides 'new channels for information related to universities, to support the development of the application of new technologies in education and to encourage educational and technological innovation and the emergence of new platforms of communication within the Hispanic university community' (Universia.net, 2005). Finally, the Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Higher Education (SIU) mainly promotes student exchange programmes. 'The quota programme encompasses 1,100 students annually. Starting for the school year 2005-2006, 800 of the students will be from developing countries, while 300 will come from countries in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia' (SIU, 2005). These are four examples which show the diversity that exists within the field of international cooperation.

Having analysed several quantitative aspects related to international cooperation at the higher education level, one may conclude that, even when countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America depend heavily on external help through international cooperation to provide, expand, and, in some cases, maintain minimum educational services at all levels, the truth is that cooperation for development has been affected by the financial crisis around the world.

Torres (1996) considers that, in the case of the World Bank, the financing of educational projects should neither be its sole nor its most important activity. Indeed, World Bank loans represent only 0.6 per cent of the total expenditure that developing countries invest in this sector (Torres, 1996, p. 72). This is one of the main reasons for analysing the dimensions of international cooperation, because proportionally the figures are not as large as is sometimes thought. However, international aid is important and it can be strategic, since these resources support activities that cannot normally be supported because typically institutional funds have already been allocated.

A further consideration is context, as these amounts of

money do not mean the same to middle income nations as they do to low income nations. For some countries, these additional resources may be their only chance to develop 'strategies to promote the service and the way to maintain and build the key institutions', as well as the only way of influencing 'political decisions directly conditioned by or that indirectly generate an opinion climate' (Morales Gómez, 1992, p. 1). Aboites (1997) points out that, in many developing countries, negotiations with the World Bank are important not because of the loans themselves but because negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are required in terms of the socioeconomic agenda of the country.

AN OVERVIEW OF THREE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS' FINANCING OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The development of policies, studies and recommendations is another important dimension in the influence of these organizations related to financing, especially in influencing decision-makers, in legitimizing certain positions and approaches and in building networks of experts.

As for the publication of reports, policy papers and other types of documents that provide recommendations, from 1990 to present the World Bank, UNESCO, and the OECD have published several major reports and analyses that are directly related to higher education worldwide. These bodies have also published a large number of regional and national reports.

International organizations do not only publish basic documents that are highly influential in determining government reform, as several studies have shown (Aboites, 1997; Bracho, 1992; Coraggio, 1990; 1996; Coraggio and Torres, 1997; Maldonado, 2000; Mollis, 1999; Puiggrós, 1994; Torres, 1996); they also produce a considerable amount of statistics.

Every international organization has its own agenda and tries to move the national states forward to those particular agendas. According to Hüfner (1997):

[...] although international organizations usually cooperate with each other, they also compete with each other as they are exposed more and more to new challenges that impose various processes associated with globalization and the regionalization of social and economic development (p. 321).

In this section, only the positions of the World Bank, UNESCO and the OECD are analysed. Even though other regional banks are very important, in many ways

they just follow the recommendations and tendencies established by the World Bank. It is UNESCO, however, that rules the principal policies on education, which are then followed by other UN organizations. According to several authors, it is the OECD that establishes most economic and social policies worldwide, since some of its policies are later translated by the World Bank for their application in developing countries (Henry et al., 2001).

THE WORLD BANK

The World Bank has been one of the main agents in transforming the higher education financing agenda. After publishing *Higher Education: The Lessons of the Experience*, the World Bank modified some of its criteria on higher education financing, especially after the publication of *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*, with UNESCO (Task Force on Higher Education and Society, 2000), although it has maintained several of its principal lines of action. These include promoting the diversification of financing funds, the use of economic incentives in establishing criteria and policies (which are mostly related to quality) and the efficient management of funds (World Bank, 1994). In a text published in 1994, the Bank sustains an unambiguous tendency to reduce public funds for universities. It also suggests, as alternative sources of financing, the participation of students in the expenditure through tuition fees; it claims that students must pay between '25 and 30 per cent of the cost per student'. It also recommends revenue-generating activities such as 'short professional training courses, research contracts for industry and consultancy services; selling products by auxiliary business such as hospitals or housing for students' (World Bank, 1994, pp. 58-9).

In 2002, the World Bank published another document as part of the *Directions in Development* series, in which it established that, although public financing is still the main source of financing for higher education, it has been supplanted by non-public funds (World Bank, 2002). It looks for major reforms in political and economic aspects, by using positive incentives to promote changes (World Bank, 2002, p. xxiv).

In this sectorial document, the World Bank keeps to its idea of sharing the cost of higher education, representing at least 10 per cent and no more than 30 per cent depending on the country and institution. It recommends giving institutions more freedom to manage their resources and develop proactive policies for generating revenue (World Bank, 2002, pp. 71-2).

UNESCO

Three of the most important aspects in financing are the efficient use of public resources, the searching for alter-

native sources of financing and an emphasis on the importance of government funding (UNESCO, 1995).

The World Declaration on Higher Education was published as a result of the World Conference on Higher Education, which took place in Paris in 1998. There were two articles specifically on financing: *Strengthening Higher Education Management and Financing* and *Financing of Higher Education as a Public Service*. Another aspect emphasized by the Declaration was 'the promotion of North-South cooperation to ensure the necessary financing for strengthening higher education in developing countries' (UNESCO, 1998a). It also recognizes that 'the principles of international cooperation based on solidarity, recognition and mutual support, true partnership that equitably serves the interests of the partners and the value of sharing knowledge and know-how across borders should govern relationships among higher education institutions in both developed and developing countries and should benefit the least developed countries in particular' (UNESCO, 1998a).

In 2003, five years after the World Conference, regional follow-up reports were published, in which the topic of financing was given precedence. The regional reports on the Arab states, Asia, Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa point out the common problem of inadequate financial resources, particularly insufficient funds to expand and fulfill the basic requirements of teaching and research (UNESCO, 2003c, p. 3, and UNESCO, 2003b). The European report states that there is a clear move towards diversifying sources of financing by many higher education institutions in the region (UNESCO, 2003d, p. 15). It recognizes that tuition fees are not only a controversial but also a key topic in the region's future. Some reports recognize more advances in diversifying financing sources than others. The Asian report points out that the institutions have carried out important reforms to diversify financing and that student loans are an important alternative UNESCO (2003a). Finally, all the regions accept the importance of international cooperation and its benefits.

TASK FORCE ON HIGHER EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

The Task Force, which was a joint initiative, represented an important convergence between the World Bank and UNESCO (López Segre and Maldonado, 2002). The Task Force's report, which discusses the situation of higher education in developing countries, claims that, 'in financial terms, the global higher education sector is sizeable and growing rapidly. We estimate that global spending on higher education is roughly US\$300 billion, or 1 per cent of global GDP, and growing at a faster pace than

the world economy' (Task Force on Higher Education and Society, 2000, p. 54).

It also promotes the search for alternative sources: 'The financing of higher education does not need to be limited to the public purse. In fact, higher education can be provided and financed either entirely publicly, or entirely privately (including by non-governmental organizations), or by some combination of the two'. The report also recognizes that 'multilateral and bilateral donors also have a role to play in the financing of higher education, in order to encourage the national and the international public interest, as well as the contribution that higher education can make to social equity' (Task Force on Higher Education and Society, 2000, p. 56).

THE OECD

This organization, which is known to be a think-tank for the wealthiest countries, carries out consultancy and draws up policies and recommendations. The OECD and UNESCO do not directly finance projects or give loans or credits. The OECD's main activities are promoting the diversification of sources of financing and the rational distribution of sources (OECD, 2002b). In *Redefining Tertiary Education*, the OECD suggests that higher education should seek to share the costs with users and their families and look for different mechanisms, such as generating additional resources by selling non-traditional learning activities and services (OECD, 1998, p. 89).

It also suggests increasing efficacy, extending their autonomy in managing and generating resources, financing policies for change, supporting institutional responsibility and finding a balance in the mechanisms of financing (OECD, 1998).

If one observes the international organizations' positions on financing, one can see that they are not only general but also very similar. In the 1990s, international organizations shared more differences than similarities, especially UNESCO and the World Bank after the publication of *The Lessons of the Experience* in 1994 (World Bank, 1994). This document is remembered for having revealed a more radical position against public funding for public universities in developing countries and for generating controversy across the higher education community around the world (Díaz Barriga, 1995, and Kent, 1995). UNESCO was playing as the counterpart.

There are several reasons why this polarization has been reduced: the changes in context, the economic and higher education crises, and the lack of options in this field. Perhaps the main differences are the role of the state, the types of institutions promoted (university institutions facing non-universities), the types of areas supported and the open promotion of privatization.

Most of these policies and tendencies seem irreversible worldwide, especially the diversification of financing, an increase in accountability and transparency, significant autonomy in management, and the use of economic incentives.

RECOMMENDATIONS

International cooperation represents an important and interesting option for higher education institutions as an alternative source of financing in developing countries. Given the analysis presented above, several recommendations should be considered. They are as follows:

- To establish more cooperation agreements between developing countries, thus changing traditional North-South relations by promoting more South-South cooperation. If one considers the fact that developing countries do not have enough financial resources, the truth is that international cooperation activities do not necessarily need to be based exclusively on financial cooperation: there are other alternatives, such as academic projects for strengthening higher education institutions in developing countries.
- To foster greater coordination between the principal international development agencies from high income countries. A better understanding of their roles, agendas, contradictions and complications seems necessary, which would also prevent the duplication of the activities carried out by international organizations and agencies from developed countries. Increasing alliances between cooperation agencies would seem to be another alternative for achieving goals strategically.
- To differentiate regions and types of institutions in cooperation activities, as some countries and organizations need more help than others. The distinctions do not only need to be made between the recipients (from the macro- to the micro-level), but also between types of help, since there are different ways of collaborating.
- To increase accountability mechanisms in international cooperation activities, given the importance of accountability. There is a lack of information and there is inconsistency between almost all the organizations that carry out these activities around the world. However, more accountability should not only be required of donors but also of recipients. Within the field of higher education, accountability is not only required of national governments but of all of the actors involved, starting with higher education institutions.

- To admit the responsibility international agencies have in the distribution of cooperation aid, as agencies such as the World Bank have an impact on other bilateral agencies in setting their agenda. Generally speaking, international organizations deny their moral responsibility for government reforms in developing countries and this situation must change given the importance that these organizations have at the policy level in developing countries.
- To improve the type of aid given. As Teferra suggests in this volume, it seems necessary to look for more 'long-term comprehensive support' by major donors such as the World Bank. Currently, the World Bank and most of the major donors do not provide this type of aid for higher education projects. With this lack of vision, it becomes difficult to work on making projects more successful.
- In terms of national governments, to extend universities' participation in international cooperation agreements. It seems necessary to involve more higher education institutions in order to consider their needs, particularities, realistic commitments, and so on.
- In terms of universities, to establish more institutional responsibilities and transparency in international collaboration programmes and projects.
- According to experts on this topic, to increase the number of studies that are carried out, since there are many international cooperation issues requiring analysis. Some of these are mentioned in the last section of this paper, although perhaps one of the most important is studying the specificities of the projects that have received international aid in detail, the types of projects and areas that have traditionally received less support and the reasons for this situation. It would also seem relevant to increase debate on international cooperation, given the current limitations of this concept and the reduction in its financing.

CONCLUSIONS

International cooperation has always been subject to debate and controversy. There has been significant recognition of its contributions to education, but in higher education the help it has provided has not been sufficient, given the needs of developing countries.

Two of the clearest expressions of the cooperation of international organizations are through the funding of institutions and the designing of recommendations and policies. However, there is still a considerable lack of data and studies.

Some of the issues that still need to be discussed are