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SPECIAL THEME ON
THE GLOBALISATION OF DEVELOPMENT KNOWLEDGE

Editor

Kenneth King

Editorial Address

Kenneth King, Centre of African Studies, 21 George Square,
University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh EH8 9LD, Scotland UK
Telephone (44) 0131 650 3878; Fax: (44) 0131 650 6535
Emails: Kenneth.King@ed.ac.uk or P.King@ed.ac.uk

Co-ordination Address

Michel Carton, Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Développement (IUED), Post
Box 136, Rue Rothschild 24, 1211 Geneva 21, Switzerland.
Telephone: (41) 22 906 5900/1; Fax: (41) 22 906 5994
Email: Michel.Carton@iued.unige.ch

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Editor

Kenneth King

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SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE GLOBALISATION OF DEVELOPMENT KNOWLEDGE

LIST OF CONTENTS

Editorial

By Kenneth King

KNOWLEDGE-BASED AID	1-8
Banking on Knowledge for Poverty and Growth: The Old and New Knowledge Projects of the World Bank By Kenneth King	1-4
Knowledge for Development – the case of the Department for International Development By Simon McGrath	4-5
Local Spirit, Global Knowledge: a Japanese Approach to Knowledge Development in International Co-operation By Nobuhide Sawamura	6-8
KNOWLEDGE FIRMS, KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS, KNOWLEDGE BANKS	9-22
Knowledge for Development: public good or good for the Bank? By Roberto Bissio	9-12
Ethos of Knowledge Management By Sabine Hempe	12-15
The 'Knowledge Bank' and the Global Development Network By Diane Stone	16-19
The Knowledge Bank in cyber-space: objections and alternatives? Alex Wilks	19-22
INFORMATION, EMPOWERMENT & DEVELOPMENT	23-34
New technology tools for human development: Constructing "educational societies" By Phyllis Johnson,	23-26
eDevelopment, eCooperation: connecting the worlds of information and development By Peter Ballantyne	26-27
Understanding and improving comparative educational data By Denise Lievesley	28-30
ICT and literacy: ten principles for assisting the poor By Dan Wagner	30-32
Globalisation and digital empowerment in India - challenges to education By Yazali Josephine	33-34
KNOWLEDGE, CULTURE AND POWER	35-41
The spectre of a neo-pragmatic vocabulary for educational policies By Maria Célia M. de Moraes & Olinda Evangelista	35-37
Globalisation of Development Knowledge and Cultural Idioms: a New Definition of Modernity and Issues of Interpretation By Shin'ichi Suzuki	37-38

Power Dynamics in Global-Local Aid Relationships By Jeannette Kuder	39-41
DEVELOPMENT KNOWLEDGE, AID AND KNOWLEDGE SOCIETIES	42-50
Whose Knowledge Counts? Re-examining the Role of the World Bank as a Broker of Development Knowledge from a Southern Perspective By Johnson M Ishengoma	42-45
Knowledge society, Education, and Aid By Jandhyala B G Tilak	45-47
21 st Century Higher Education Ingredients for Development By Lawrence Efana	47-50
MEETINGS	51-52
BOOKS AND CONFERENCES	53-57

Editorial

Kenneth King

NORRAG'S analysis of "Knowledge-based aid"

The present issue continues *NORRAG NEWS*'s concerns with "knowledge generation", "knowledge policies", "knowledge societies" and "development knowledge" which we have addressed in different recent past issues [NN23, NN24 & NN 28]. *NORRAG NEWS* always has some perspective on development agencies; so it should not be surprising to see that a good number of the articles are concerned with what is going on in the new "knowledge policies" and "knowledge projects" of bilateral and multilateral agencies. In fact, no less than 5 articles refer to some dimension of the World Bank's many current knowledge modalities; others refer to DFID, and to Japan; while others again look at the knowledge industry from the perspective of the South. These latter see knowledge as an international public good, but they join many of the commentators from the North, in this issue, in noting that agencies have had a long history of involvement with knowledge, even if earlier they called it "technical assistance" or "technology transfer". Much of the agencies' knowledge tradition has been of a "one-way transaction" from the aid organisations or the developed countries to the developing world.

Even though it has become common-place to talk about "knowledge-based aid", Tilak, in this bulletin, is not alone in arguing that international aid organisations are not necessarily knowledge-building or learning organisations. He feels that aid organisations rarely seem to learn from their experience, and their knowledge base about the developing world is slim. Many may more properly be termed "telling" rather than "learning" organisations.

They do acquire a great deal of knowledge about the developing world through their missions, appraisals, reviews, evaluations and completion reports, But it is still uncommon for the recipient countries to be full partners in these. This may be changing here and there in some agencies, but overall the sheer quantity of "knowledge acquisition" that goes on through the modalities of identification, evaluation, appraisal, and completion reporting is prodigious. Or is it? The teams – still pre-eminently from the North – but with some preliminary work done by Southern collaborators – typically carry out these aid activities over the period of two to three weeks in the countries and in the projects concerned. Over the course of a 5 or 10 year project, the shelf space for such analyses, not to mention the annual reports from the projects, will be substantial. And yet there may be little gained that could be termed "in-depth knowledge" of the project or the programme.

Such aid modalities are routinely full of "lessons learned", "best practice" recommendations, and conclusions, which sound like knowledge-based activities. But these are often formulated after just a few weeks – or even a few days - of consultancy visits to the country concerned. If agencies are now getting excited about how they can manage or share their huge knowledge bases, there must be a real question mark around the "knowledge" that is derived from the attempt to synthesise multiple activities which are themselves short term evaluations, reviews and consultancies.

Even the agencies' policy papers, which have a much more public face and are much more widely disseminated than their routine analyses, are not necessarily based on a different foundation. They are still largely done in-house, and, arguably, they are frequently based on a series of very short term reviews and background papers outsourced to Northern consultancy firms. There remains a real question about the knowledge base of agency

policy therefore, whether these policies are the famous international development targets or the sectoral targets of the Jomtien and Dakar fora.

Some agencies have always sponsored longer term research knowledge, and in the case of a small number of foundations and bilateral agencies, this research has been as much carried on in the South, by Southern scholars, as by the North. Increasingly, other agencies are now requiring that their research funding which traditionally was for Northern universities and consultancy organisations directly involve research partnerships with the South.

Whether and how this jointly-produced knowledge actually influences agency policy must remain a moot point. Arguably, there are in agencies two knowledge streams – one that is very time-bound and targeted and leads to policy knowledge, and the other that is associated with long term commissioned research where the link with agency policy has always been much more tenuous.

What is critical in this issue of *NORRAG NEWS* is whether the recent claim that these organisations are becoming “knowledge agencies” or “knowledge banks” is based on their synthesising of their short-term operational knowledge or whether there is any association with longer term knowledge, produced collaboratively with the South.

What is really driving the agency fascination with knowledge is the dramatic synthesising and distributing potential afforded by the new information and communication technologies (ICTs). But a key question must be whether these information technologies are going to facilitate the accessibility and influence of agency “information” for development, derived in the manner we have outlined above, or whether they are going to be used to privilege in-depth knowledge about development. For many commentators, an “Information Bank” would be much less threatening than a “Knowledge Bank”.

It is important to point out that we currently lack coherent accounts of what is the knowledge that is the currency of the World Bank’s various “Knowledge projects” and of the bilaterals’ “knowledge management” and “knowledge sharing”. Equally, we need to be aware, as Ballantyne argues below, that in many agencies their brand new information projects are much less influenced by the experiences gained by agencies over the years about participation, ownership and partnership. Many of the agencies’ information projects, he argues, are pursuing quick results and high visibility at the expense of participation and sustainability.

A NORRAG meeting on Higher Education & Knowledge Societies

The day before the Oxford Conference of September 2001, NORRAG organised a small meeting on another of its long-term characteristic activities – the critical review of an emerging policy document. In this case, it was an opportunity for a group of NORRAG members from UK as well as from The Netherlands to examine the argument and the storyline of the draft policy paper on the role of higher education in constructing knowledge societies. This was done in the company of Jamil Salmi, the lead author of this new World Bank strategy paper, just as NORRAG had done with him 7 years earlier, in Edinburgh, in commenting on the then emerging higher education policy paper. There is little point in rehearsing the concerns of the meeting in Oxford, since further drafts have replaced the one that was the subject of our critical attention. But hopefully some of our concerns as NORRAG members have been reflected in the subsequent drafts.

Knowledge, Research and International Co-operation

During the Oxford Conference, the book on *Knowledge, Research and International Cooperation*, which is the outcome of the DSE/NORRAG/CAS international conference, hosted by DSE in Bonn in April 2001, was launched. This NORRAG volume, edited by Wolfgang Gmelin, Kenneth King and Simon McGrath, elaborates in much greater depth the themes of the Bonn meeting, many of which were captured in summary form in the previous issue of *NORRAG NEWS* [NN28]. There is a useful introduction, which is germane also to this present issue of *NORRAG NEWS*, entitled "Knowledge-based aid and learning-based development". The volume can be acquired from the Centre of African Studies at the University of Edinburgh. A list of contents is included in this issue of the bulletin.

"Education for development: a colloquium on DFID's new education research policy"

On March 12th 2002 there will be an opportunity to look at the past experience as well as the future plans of one agency, DFID, which has over the years funded a substantial body of education research (much of it also recently made available on a CD ROM). There is a more detailed description of this later in the Bulletin.

**"A new approach to African development? internal and external visions"
Centre of African Studies International Conference, 22-23 May 2002**

This is a conference that should appeal to many NORRAG members, whether in agencies or in academic institutions or in NGOs. It is contrasting some of the very latest thinking on development coming from inside Africa – such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) – with the latest thinking on Africa coming from external actors – including aid agencies, foundations, private sector and NGOs. Again a first flyer is available later in this Bulletin.

Access to *NORRAG NEWS*

This "December" issue of *NORRAG NEWS* marks a transition in some ways. In other ways there is a strong element of continuity.

NN has always had a close link to particular major conferences, and our tradition has been to dedicate special issues of the bulletin to major conferences as well as to major policy papers. Thus there were no less than two issues exclusively concerned with Jomtien [NN7 & NN8]; there was an issue dedicated to the mid-term review of EFA (in Amman) [NN 19]; and then a whole issue on the Dakar Forum [NN26].

Another very close link has been with the UK Forum on International Education and Training (UKFIET), and the biennial "Oxford" International Conferences which it has organised. As NORRAG has been one of the founding organisations that have worked together to create this unique series of conferences, it has also linked *NORRAG NEWS* to some of the special themes or sections of the Oxford Conference. Thus the Conference on "Poverty, Partnership and Power" led to an important issue [NN25] on "Partnership and sector-wide approaches", while an earlier conference led to an issue on "International Development Co-operation" [NN22], as well as to a book *Changing international aid to education* (Unesco 1998). UKFIET's colloquia have also produced special issues of NN, such as the one that led to "The brave new world of international education" [NN 27].

The present issue of *NORRAG NEWS* [NN29] is linked directly to one of the main sub-themes of the 2001 Oxford Conference on "Knowledge, Values and Policy". Readers who would like to have the longer papers behind these summaries should email their authors directly.

In earlier years, it would have been problematic for readers to have had these references to earlier numbers of *NORRAG NEWS*, as there is always the problem of accessing such bulletins when one is not a member of NORRAG nor belongs to a library that subscribes. But from early 2002, there is a CD ROM of all the back issues of *NORRAG NEWS*, right back to the very first number in 1986. On renewal of membership for the next year, 2002, this CD ROM is going to be made available, at no cost to our existing membership, and will be provided free to new members. Much of the content of these back numbers will also be available, without charge, on the NORRAG website, say from NN1 up to NN26, but not the most recent two or three issues.

This means, obviously, that for the first time it will be possible to search the whole of *NORRAG NEWS* by author or by subject. This should be valuable for research students as well as agency people wanting to check on themes such as capacity building, skills development, knowledge & development and a great deal else. There must be well over a thousand articles, most of them very pithy and short.

What is unusual about many of the best issues of NN is that the topics which are unpackaged in any particular special issue are dealt with from many different angles, by academics North and South, by agency personnel in the North, and also by NGO personnel. It has also been a site where a small number of graduate students have placed their first short article, at the outset of their research careers.

Best wishes to Michel Carton

Michel has been off full-time work these last 6 months. The good news is that he is now back to the Institute and he is in great form.

Edinburgh 30th January 2002

KNOWLEDGE-BASED AID

BANKING ON KNOWLEDGE FOR POVERTY AND GROWTH

THE OLD AND NEW KNOWLEDGE PROJECTS OF
THE WORLD BANK

KNOWLEDGE FOR DEVELOPMENT – THE CASE OF THE
DEPARTMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

LOCAL SPIRIT, GLOBAL KNOWLEDGE:
A JAPANESE APPROACH

BANKING ON KNOWLEDGE FOR POVERTY AND GROWTH: THE OLD AND NEW KNOWLEDGE PROJECTS OF THE WORLD BANK

Kenneth King, Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh

Email: Kenneth.King@ed.ac.uk

We live in a global knowledge economy – where knowledge, learning communities, and information and communications technologies are the engines for social and economic development. Having knowledge and knowing what to do with it matter the most – particularly for poor people who remain at the margins of the knowledge economy.

New communications technologies and plummeting computing costs are shrinking distance and reducing borders and time – and the advantages of greater knowledge and superior ability to learn are becoming even greater. The remotest village has the possibility of tapping a global store of knowledge far beyond what one would have imagined a century ago, faster and more cheaply than anyone imagined only a few decades ago (World Bank 2000a:1).

The World Bank can claim to have been the first of the bilateral or multilateral agencies to have run up the knowledge flag on its masthead, back in the autumn of 1996, a year after its current President started his first term of office. Since the declaration of intent in the Strategic Compact (that the World Bank would, amongst other things, become *the* Knowledge Bank by the end of the last century),¹ there have, understandably, been a whole series of initiatives within the organisation that have used the K logo in their titles, while at the most general level, knowledge sharing is now one of the critical elements in the World Bank's stated mission.

In seeking to understand the significance of the Bank's new partnership with knowledge, it will be important to sort out to what extent the Bank's discovery that it has a mandate to become a knowledge agency reflects a genuinely new response to a new development imperative, or is also a reworking under the knowledge banner of some aspects of what it was doing already.

The older knowledge projects

It may well be both. There are certainly activities such as the work of the research group in Development Economics or the pre-investment analyses by the Bank of its client countries, which the Bank terms Economic and Sector Work, which have been responsible for a great deal of knowledge accumulation over many years, the latter probably covering most countries of the world. Equally, there have been a long series of World Development Reports (WDRs) which have sought to establish the state of the development art on particular themes, including on Knowledge (World Bank 1998/9). And in most sectors, the World Bank has sought also to develop and synthesise its own policy knowledge, often in ways that have been highly influential in other agencies, even if contentious for national governments, academic analysts and NGOs. One of the most current of these is a strategy paper on higher education, entitled 'Constructing knowledge societies' which sounds very relevant to our present topic and that of the Oxford Conference of 2001

¹ The 'new knowledge partnership' was officially unveiled in the Annual Meetings Address of 1 October 1996 by James Wolfensohn, in which he declared 'We need to become, in effect, the Knowledge Bank'.

(World Bank 2001).² Another of the Bank's long-standing knowledge functions could be said to be the Operations Evaluation Division, which, as in other agencies, has sought to report independently to the Board on aid effectiveness. Lastly, amongst these older knowledge resources of the Bank would be the World Bank Institute (in part a continuation of the former Economic Development Institute) which has a mandate for both staff learning and client learning.

The new knowledge environment

The speed has been remarkable with which it has been accepted first in the OECD countries and then more generally that 'knowledge' is one of the key drivers of economic and social development – or in the words of the higher education paper 'the increasing importance of knowledge as a main driver of growth' (World Bank 2001: i). However since the idea of the Knowledge Bank was taken to the Board in the autumn meetings of 1996, there has been a dramatically heightened interest in the way that the World Bank can leverage knowledge for development.

Something of the range of the World Bank's newer knowledge initiatives can be seen in the pamphlet *Knowledge for all* from which our initial quotation was derived. This contains a useful summary of many but not all of the knowledge projects of the World Bank, as well as a set of Knowledge-for-All Fact Sheets which cover what may be assumed to be 10 of the more easily identifiable K-projects:

Global Development Learning Network
World Links for Development
The Global Development Network
The World Bank Knowledge Sharing Network
The Global Knowledge Partnership
The (Global) Development Gateway
The Global Information and Communication Technology Department
InfoDev: the Information for Development Programme
The African Virtual University
Development Forum (World Bank 2000b).

The pamphlet is one of the first attempts to draw together the multiple new knowledge strands in the Bank, and a few of the older strands, and present this as a coherent implementation of the new vision of the Knowledge Bank. Unlike some other multilateral and bilateral agencies where – at most – knowledge management and knowledge sharing initiatives have got the status of a strategic project, and sometimes of only a handful of dedicated staff, the World Bank would claim to have 'restructured' themselves and invested in knowledge and information technology in many different forms to 'enable better internal and external knowledge sharing'. But in addition they would point to their launching of 'several new global knowledge initiatives' in partnership with the private sector, development agencies and NGOs.³ The Bank has also begun to form a judgement about the 'four critical elements' (necessary conditions?) for countries to reap the benefits of the global knowledge economy:

² There was a plenary discussion of the latest draft of the Higher Education policy paper on 18th September, in Oxford, on the eve of the UKFIET «Oxford» Conference.

³ Several of these global initiatives have been highly contentious, and are also examined in papers in other sections of this issue – see Diane Stone on the Global Development Network (GDN) and Alex Wilks on the Development Gateway.

An economic and institutional framework providing incentives for knowledge creation and use;

An educated and skilled population- to create, share and use knowledge well;

A dynamic information infrastructure;

A network of knowledge centres (World Bank 2000a 7).

In one way, the word 'knowledge' has become pervasive in the World Bank. There are knowledge and learning centres to be found in many different buildings of the Bank's headquarters. Sharing knowledge fairs have been sited in the atrium at headquarters. Staff are annually assessed, in part, on their knowledge sharing activities. The World Bank President is surely the only head of an international organisation who has been able to say – initially of the World Bank Institute but also with more general application: 'This year, I completed the integration of the knowledge and learning functions. My goal is to further strengthen learning and capacity building for both clients and staff – an essential part of the Bank's strategic vision (WBI 2000: 3).

Knowledge would appear, in effect, to have come close to achieving the status of panacea for the World Bank. On the one hand, it offers 'the remotest village' the opportunity to tap into the global knowledge store, while being realistic about the seriousness of the digital divide. 'Acquiring and using knowledge' is the factor that can explain the difference between Ghana and Korea in the 1990s and 40 years earlier. Acquiring and sharing knowledge and information on a 'common platform' is also the rationale for the Development Gateway. And the sponsorship of 'world class local knowledge' for 'world class local solutions' is the axiom of the Global Development Network.

But while there seems much that is new or important under the knowledge banner – and not least the rediscovery of the crucial role of higher education in knowledge societies – there are other questions to be raised about the meanings and activities of this new and largest 'Knowledge Agency'. Is 'knowledge-based aid' (or lending) really different from the older variety? Does the language of knowledge sharing world-wide and of 'a common platform for shared material, dialogue and problem-solving' really augur a new way of working and a new kind of partnership between Bank and non-Bank sources of knowledge? In a word, how crucial is knowledge to the vision of a 'new Bank: a more responsive focused institution, dedicated to learning and excellence'? (Wolfensohn 1996).

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KNOWLEDGE FOR DEVELOPMENT - THE CASE OF THE DEPARTMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Dr Simon McGrath
Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh
Email: S.McGrath@staffmail.ed.ac.uk

Development co-operation is experiencing a dramatic range of new understandings and approaches that appear on the surface to amount to a paradigm shift. The renewed focus on poverty, the international development targets, sector wide approaches, Southern ownership and greater donor co-ordination have all become commonplaces of the last five years.

However, also crucial to this wave of innovation is the way in which new information and communications technologies and new ways of understanding the economic role of knowledge are combining to suggest new challenges, opportunities and modalities for development co-operation. This has led agencies to embrace the idea of becoming "knowledge agencies", more efficient and effective users of knowledge both internally and in their work with their Southern partners. At the same time, agencies have become fascinated with the role that knowledge can play in national development strategies in the South.

Since the World Bank's World Development Report 1998-9, entitled "Knowledge for Development", agencies have been engaged in developing internal knowledge policies and structures. After the hiatus in support to higher education fuelled by structural adjustment and education for all, concerns are once again growing about the challenge of knowledge generation in the South. As part of the wave of sites designed to place development knowledge on the world wide web, agencies have begun hosting or supporting a range of development databases and portals, such as ELDIS, the GNet and the Development Gateway.

This paper seeks to highlight some of the unresolved tensions that emerge from this new agency area of interest. In so doing, it will focus on the case of the Department for International Development (DFID), the British development co-operation agency. In

common with many other agencies, and following the lead of the World Bank, DFID has been developing its own policy for better internal knowledge management. At the same time, through its research strategy and support to the Global Development Network, DFID is developing its own theory/practice of how it should support Southern knowledge generation and dissemination.

However, DFID's most striking achievement in its four years of existence in its present form has been the production of a considerable body of policy documents. Two White Papers have been produced and, supporting them, nine Target Strategy Papers, linked to the International Development Targets, as well as numerous Institutional Strategy Papers, Country Strategy Papers and other documents. This archive can be examined in a number of ways. First, it is of course a set of statements about DFID's policy priorities. However, it may also be read as an attempt to lay out the state-of-the-art in knowledge about what the priorities in development are and how they can be tackled. Equally, this deposit of texts can also be considered in terms of the sources of knowledge upon which it has been based and its implications for knowledge for development issues.

Through an analysis of these texts, supported by interviews and reflections on participation in virtual and real discussion fora, this paper suggests a number of challenges for DFID's knowledge strategy. These include:

- Avoiding the danger that DFID's knowledge strategy is too-inwardly focused;
- More clearly basing DFID's own policies (for knowledge and development) on the knowledge of their partners;
- Redressing an inadequate analysis to date of whether DFID's knowledge policies actually positively impact upon their work in the South;
- Addressing whether DFID is doing enough to support knowledge development and dissemination within and between Southern partner countries;

These challenges are not for DFID alone but for the whole of the development co-operation community as they continue their fascination with knowledge-based aid.

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**LOCAL SPIRIT, GLOBAL KNOWLEDGE:
A JAPANESE APPROACH TO KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT IN INTERNATIONAL
CO-OPERATION**

Nobuhide Sawamura
Centre for the Study of International Co-operation in Education (CICE)
Hiroshima University
Email: nsawamur@hiroshima-u.ac.jp

1. INTRODUCTION

Japan has been the highest bilateral aid provider in monetary terms since 1991, in response to international demand. The country may have been attempting to catch up to more experienced donors, but now it is clearly seeking its own role and position in the aid community. With its growing confidence in providing aid as well as expertise, the country has started to show some reluctance to merely follow the international approaches to development, which frequently stem from Western ideas.

In the globalisation of development knowledge, the Japan International Co-operation Agency (JICA) has also adopted the idea of knowledge management, in line with other aid agencies such as the World Bank. JICA recently seems more confident in its development experience and sometimes emphasises the 'Japan model', which emphasises basic education as a generator of national development. King (1991:196) argues that 'the bilaterals are generally not uncertain about the value of the fields in which they have a tradition of working.' Does this imply that JICA tends to disseminate its own knowledge to developing countries the way many bilaterals have done? Little attention has been given to a Japanese way of thinking on this point.

This paper discusses basic Japanese approaches to building knowledge in the context of international development co-operation. In particular, it explores the tensions between Japan's more recent, independent ideas generated by its own expertise and traditional approaches utilising mainstream development knowledge produced by the West.

2. JAPANESE APPROACH TO BUILDING DEVELOPMENT KNOWLEDGE

It is well known that Japan does not have a long history of providing aid compared with other donor countries in Europe and North America. Indeed, Japan achieved its remarkable economic growth with the support of bilateral and multilateral agencies including the World Bank and countries such as the United States. Moreover, among the present major donor countries, Japan is the only one that does not have its roots in Western civilisation and which does not have missionary experience. In this respect, Orr (1990:139) argues that 'Western nations have for generations promoted Christianity in developing countries and are therefore quite used to «selling» an idea in the poorer regions of the world.' On the contrary, Japanese aid was first carried out in conjunction with reparations to Asian countries after the Second World War. This is one of the reasons why they have often been modest in transferring Japanese knowledge to developing countries. Therefore, the Japanese attitude to aid is reasonably different from that of Western donors. This difference has sometimes resulted in criticism raised by other donors or agencies.

The weakness of Japanese knowledge might be what many recipient countries prefer. The Japanese attitude to educational aid, for example, is to learn from developing countries as well as from its own experience. It is in this regard that JICA states that 'it is important for Japan to learn both from its own experience in education and the educational practices of developing countries' (JICA, 1994:46). JICA is often doubtful about its expertise when applying it in other countries. It has given aid as a way

of learning how to provide aid more effectively and efficiently based on recipients' needs, whereas other donors tend to provide developing countries with what they think such countries actually need. Given Japan's growing confidence in development co-operation, is this modest approach going to disappear in the near future?

3. TRADITION OF JAPANESE SPIRIT, WESTERN KNOWLEDGE

Japan has rich experience in assimilating institutions and systems from foreign countries by rearranging them so as to function domestically. For example, in order to adopt a modern education system, Japan learned a great deal from Europe and the United States in the 1860s and 1870s. But the intention was not to duplicate the educational systems of foreign countries. Rather, it is noted that 'despite all the influences brought into the new school system, the first consideration was always that the system be Japanese' (White, 1987:58).

Wakon yosai, which literally means 'Japanese spirit, Western knowledge', is the Japanese phrase implying that Western culture and learning are just for the head, while the heart remained resolutely native. This guided Japan's development in recent history. The country was sensitive and selective in adopting foreign institutions and systems, because the Japanese believe that no knowledge is completely free of the culture from which it came and that no knowledge is globally applicable. Japan may be trying to disseminate this *wakon yosai* approach in international aid; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1997:95) claims that 'By taking advantage of this experience and these features, Japan can better ensure the transmission to developing countries seeking to introduce more industrialised countries' institutions and policies.' Japan may have an advantage in transferring to developing countries the expertise needed to build local knowledge from global knowledge.

This idea of *wakon yosai* may lead to one of the four basic aspects of Japanese aid philosophy: support for the self-help efforts of recipient countries. Recipients' sense of ownership of development programmes is what Japan considers crucial in international co-operation. This pays attention to mainstream aid policy, but it is thought to have Japan's own independent standpoint as well. However, support for recipients' ability to help themselves does not mean that Japan has rarely contributed development knowledge itself. Recently the country has started to expand and reinforce its intellectual support for developing countries.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Japan is in a position to build unique development knowledge for developing countries. With the increasing desire to play a leading role in the aid community, the country has confidence in its international aid based on the experience of Japan's own development and on fifty years of experience in providing aid outside of Japan. In order to take such initiative, Japan requires a much greater research capacity to develop its knowledge for international users. It is also necessary to critically analyse and evaluate Japanese knowledge along with global knowledge in collaboration with local people and their local knowledge. An inter-learning approach is a Japanese tradition in providing aid. It is vital to create knowledge that is owned by the recipient country. This is particularly true in the education sector, where locally produced knowledge is of central importance in terms of sustainability. The Japanese aid approach is collaborative knowledge production and not simply applying globally distributed knowledge or transplanting Japanese knowledge.

Finally, it should be remarked that knowledge itself does not make any difference; rather, the application of the knowledge 'on the ground' is what matters. Knowledge can be quickly transferred thanks to information technology advances, but the human attitude, a key to development, cannot be changed solely by the acquisition of new

knowledge. It is considered that what is crucial in international co-operation is to remember to include local spirit with global knowledge in order to let new knowledge function.

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KNOWLEDGE FIRMS, KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS, KNOWLEDGE BANKS

KNOWLEDGE FOR DEVELOPMENT:
PUBLIC GOOD OR GOOD FOR THE BANK?

ETHOS OF KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT

THE 'KNOWLEDGE BANK' AND THE GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT
NETWORK

THE KNOWLEDGE BANK IN CYBER-SPACE:
OBJECTIONS AND ALTERNATIVES?

KNOWLEDGE FOR DEVELOPMENT: PUBLIC GOOD OR GOOD FOR THE BANK?

By Roberto Bissio
Third World Institute & Social Watch
Email: rbissio@chasque.net

The intervention aims at motivating debate by challenging some of the prevailing assumptions and myths about ICTs and development. The relevance of information and communication technologies (ICTs) for development was identified, experimented with and promoted by non-profit organisations long before it hit the headlines of the mainstream press and it failed to receive substantial support until the "technomania" generated by the NASDAQ financial bubble led the major development institutions to think they could use the Internet to attract new funds and recover ground in the struggle for the hearts and minds of the public. The centralised and ultimately state-controlled proposals by the World Bank for a "Knowledge Bank" and "Development Gateways" are criticised as essentially opposed to the decentralised collaborative paradigms of the Internet and market-style mechanisms to support content generation in the South are suggested.

1. Knowledge (research-education-information) has been central to development thinking and practice since the sixties and there is already abundant literature and a history of debate around it.

➡ The revolution of the eighties: Southern NGOs meet Northern hackers

- the microchip innovation and the digitalisation of communications in the early eighties led some mythical garage innovators to think of putting that power in the hands of the people (and not industry or governments). The personal computers were born and soon connected among themselves through modems in a myriad of «wide area networks» soon interconnected to form the Internet

- in a similar way, the ability to copy, store and disseminate information instantly and at practically no cost was seen by «hackers» (independent computer experts) from around the world as a tool for a variety of public interest causes long before big organisations acknowledged it (the fax technology was the pet tool of executives), or even as the start of a political revolution, with free and equal «netizens» in a self-governing «cyberspace». The very name of some of them illustrates that mood: PeaceNet (USA), GreenNet (UK), Alternex (Brazil), GlasNet (USSR), Agora (Italy), etc. In 1989 many of them joined technologies and visions to form the Association for Progressive Communications (APC), whose mission was «to allow every person in the world to participate in global information exchanges at the cost of a local phone call»

- Southern NGOs were the major beneficiaries and promoters of the use of that technology: fax was too expensive for them (even to receive) and as a point-to-point medium was not appropriate to stimulate participation. The Internet not only meant the end of long distance (or at least the costs associated to it) but also the globalization of a many-to-many communication model (radio and TV being one-to-many), essentially identical as a village assembly but with global reach. A workshop held in Nairobi in 1991 identified electronic networks as key to an effective Southern participation in the coming Earth Summit.

- the Earth Summit (UN Conference on Environment and Development) in 1992 provided an opportunity to link these technologies with a global campaigning effort. E-mail and electronic «conferences» (discussion groups or forums) were installed by the APC at the UN headquarters in NY in 1991 for the first time enabling citizen groups from around the world to follow the discussions and feed back to them without being actually present. At the summit itself in Rio de Janeiro the electronic communication facilities were set up and managed by NGOs. The initial draft of Agenda 21's chapter 40 (on information and communications) adopted that democratic vision when it stated that «in sustainable development everyone is a decision-maker,» a formulation that was watered down (at the insistence of China) in the final version to read «"everyone is a user and provider of information considered in the broad sense.»

3. The Internet as a global public good

What makes the Internet a «public good» is not the communications infrastructure (which has its owners and costs associated because of the exclusive nature of its use) nor the information it allows to access, which is non-exclusive in its use but may be copyrighted (independently of whether it is paid for by subscribers' fees or advertising). The Internet is a "public good» because its protocol (TCP-IP), i.e. the "language" computers use to communicate with each other is in the public domain. This is not a technological imperative but the result of several independent political decisions.

There are many privately owned protocols. The decision to make this particular one publicly available is what made the Internet grow and defeat other networks based on privately owned protocols, some which could even be deemed technically more robust or efficient. The same happened with HTML, the "language" of the World Wide Web, which made the Internet popular. The competition between «gophers» (another information storage and access system) and the WWW was won by the latter the day the University of Minnesota decided to patent the gopher, even while committing itself to allow its free use. The public and industry shifted massively to WWW, since its creator and institutional owners explicitly and legally placed it in the public domain. To defend the public nature of that language, Microsoft was ordered by the courts to stop promoting its own "dialect" of HTML.

Yet, for many years donors (with a few exceptions) failed to see in ICTs any important contribution to development or poverty eradication and the efforts by universities and NGOs to promote them in the South were always under-funded.

4. The rise and burst of the NASDAQ bubble

- The Internet went commercial in 1994 (when the US government stopped subsidizing it and therefore allowed commercial transactions through the Net, which were until then forbidden). Everybody knows what follows. Like the «tulipmania» in the Netherlands in the 18th century or the «gold fever» of the 19th century, the hype of «technomania» led to a financial bubble with kids becoming millionaires before they left school and billions of dollars available for the craziest of adventures.

5. Will the crumbs of the New Economy feed the world?

It was probably to tap from that money more than thanks to a spiritual conversion that the World Bank announced its intention to become a Knowledge Bank. Of the four components of that new strategy, three have nothing new, they can be reduced to

infrastructure development, capacity building and adjustment reforms (to promote privatisations). The fourth one (*promoting the generation and sharing of global knowledge, through support for knowledge networking*) is precisely what organisations like the APC, or the public spontaneously, have been doing for over a decade. The «comparative advantage» of the Bank in this field is far from obvious.

6. Microsoft vs. Linux: how is knowledge created?

ICTs are an excellent tool for sharing knowledge, as seen above. But how is that knowledge created? Traditionally, the knowledge and technological innovations imbedded in, for example, seeds and medicines, were exchanged between communities or healers in a process of mutual benefit. The industrial system brought patents and intellectual property rights as the key motivators of innovation. By detaching the information component from the product where this information is imbedded, ICTs challenge that privatisation of knowledge. Intellectual property rights are becoming an obstacle to technology transfer and even to human rights, as the HIV/AIDS medicines case dramatically demonstrates.

The current competition between Windows and Linux illustrates a clash of two paradigms. The monopoly of Windows is based on defining algorithms as a literary creation and protecting it by copyrights, instead of industrial patents. The Microsoft operating system runs in more than 95% of the computers. Yet, the giant is being threatened by Linux, an «open source» software. The Linux development model, the same as traditional knowledge, is based on cooperation of independent agents not motivated by profit.

7. The Development Gateway: do we really need gatekeepers?

A so-called Global Development Gateway was created by the World Bank as an ambitious Internet portal. Its declared aim is to provide information to the «development community», yet leaked internal Bank documents describe it basically as a public relations exercise and a way to combat criticism. Even if a centralised development portal was indeed (which can be doubted), it is not clear why should the World Bank be doing it. Are government-controlled editors the best way to create a free press?

8. Conclusion: alternative (market-style) models to support Southern content production

How is content generation, particularly in the South, to be funded, if it is not through centralised mechanisms or by directly subsidising some selected (and necessarily limited) group of content producers?

In many countries government advertising (i.e. ads from state-owned corporations and/or public educational campaigns) is a major proportion of the total advertising market for the printed press. And, as a consequence, democratic campaigns have been demanding that official advertising be allocated according to transparent rules, based on the actual audience of the media and not on political clientelism. A similar, market-style mechanism to fund public interest Internet content generation in the South could be easily implemented and offer an alternative to the un-transparent way subsidies to development-related Internet activities are channelled currently.

Roberto Bissio is the coordinator of Social Watch, an international coalition of citizen groups monitoring social development policies in 50 countries around the world. He was

founder of the World Guide, an alternative reference book on countries and development issues and of Chasque (in 1989), the first provider of Internet access to the public in Uruguay. On July 17, 2001 he filed a claim at the World Bank's Fraud and Corruption Investigations Hotline against the Bank's Development Gateway.

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ETHOS OF KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT

Sabine Hempe, University of Applied Science, Berlin
Email: Sabine.Hempe@bankgesellschaft.de

1 Introduction

Advocates of resource-based theory maintain that resources that are well protected from imitation can be a sustainable source of advantage. From this point of view resource-based theory has a tremendous influence on strategic management regarding the never ending interest in core competencies, competitive advantages and critical success factors.

Today's competitive advantage of a company is its knowledge: the wealth of expertise, ideas, and latent insights that lies deeply embedded in their organisations. Capitalising on those intellectual resources - using existing knowledge to create something altogether new - makes competitive advantage durable.

Many companies have tried to leverage this underused asset by investing heavily in knowledge management technologies. However there is still the human side of knowledge management, which is the hard part and which requires a new kind of executives: one who freely shares ideas and expertise across the company.

2 IT-enabled Knowledge Management

Why rely so heavily on managers to share knowledge? Why not just implement a high-end knowledge management system, keeping in mind the cheap networked computing which is at last giving an organisation a tool to work and learn with each other.

The problem is, that not all knowledge seems to be the same. Knowledge ranges from the more structured, explicit knowledge to the complex or tacit knowledge that resides in individuals and is at least partly inexpressible. The trouble is that, while IT-enabled systems are good at transferring explicit knowledge, direct personal contact is typically needed to transfer the tacit knowledge.

From the strategic point of view the tacit knowledge is most valued. Knowledge then is defined as a fluid mix of framed experience, values, contextual information and expert insight that provides a framework for evaluating and incorporating new experiences and information. It originates and is applied in the minds of people.

3 The Human Side of Knowledge Management

And obviously the human side of knowledge management is the hard part: that is because organisations usually run into four major cultural problems when adopting a knowledge management initiative:

Firstly, people don't like to share their best ideas.

Secondly, people don't like to use people's ideas for fear it makes them look less knowledgeable, and they're suddenly dependent on others to do their jobs.

Thirdly, people like to consider themselves experts, and prefer not to collaborate with others.

Finally, how do you get people who are already working 10- to 12-hours per day to spend «just a little more time» to write down something that might help someone who they may not even know or who may never thank them?

Changing this mind set isn't easy. So how do you successfully bring people together to brainstorm and capitalise on the value they can create? It is evident, that the need is not just for technology use training but also for knowledge processing skills.

A company depends more than anything else on its knowledge. Or to be slightly more specific:

- on what it knows
- how it uses what it knows and
- how fast it can know something new.

3.1 Knowing what you know

An extrinsic approach seems to be most appropriate to get a knowledge management initiative started. This means that a company should create a clear incentives system. It belongs to the state of the art, that managers are judged on their ability to meet specific performance targets for their business units.

However they also should be rewarded and promoted according to how effectively they share knowledge with others outside their units. Besides encouraging employees to contribute information out of «social responsibility» companies should provide monetary incentives and other rewards that can amount to several thousand dollars a year for those who regularly contribute knowledge. Otherwise because of information asymmetries actors might behave selfishly withhold, distort or exploit knowledge.

Knowledge-sharing activities are by nature more difficult to measure than success at meeting specific performance targets. However executives of BP (a company that has become known for its knowledge sharing practices) say that bosses are generally well aware of the level of their cross-unit contributions. An issue which is furthermore supported by BP's corporate culture. However knowledge transfer is not just a question of providing assistance across business units, but also to seek help themselves.

3.2 Knowing what to do

In a broader company context business managers collaborate, connect, give and take.

In this context business managers of BP for example collaborate with peer groups of their business unit, they connect people from different parts of the company, they give advice to other business units when requested by individuals and take advice from other business unit members. The model seems to be an open market of ideas, which should be supported by the company not only through the formation of peer groups but also of cross-unit networks focused on areas of shared interests.

In other words: what you give is what you get - vice versa - what you get is what you give.

Step by step it is time to shift the attention from an extrinsic to a more intrinsic approach. At this point knowledge management will reach more and more potential for both, the company and their managers: it starts when the process of learning becomes a

learning experience itself. Managers must prepare for tomorrow today. This suggests that employees need to seek information to identify skill gaps, recognise areas to improve current performances, keep up with advances in their profession and anticipate how changes elsewhere in the company affect work demands and skills requirement. From this point of view knowledge management act as self-development program.

3.3 Turning Knowledge into Action

One might think, that with the sudden interest in knowledge management, the knowing-doing problem would not exist. The emphasis of knowledge management right now lies on collecting, distributing, re-using and measuring information. However often information technologists who design and build the systems have limited experience or views how people actually use knowledge in their jobs.

Knowledge management seems to be at its best, when people who generate the knowledge are also those who store it, explain it to others and coach them as they try to implement it. In our days knowledge transfer and information change is already tremendously efficient, so that as consequence there are fewer and smaller differences in what firms know than in their ability to act on what it knows.

A positive knowing-by-doing environment is in which the following occur:

- Establish a culture tone that action is valued and that talk and analysis without action are not acceptable.
- Require a culture in which failure is not punished because failure provides an opportunity to continue learning.
- Develop collaborative and co-operative work environments.

⇒ The Knowledge Creating Company

In addition, how will you put in place mechanisms not only to promote but also discipline manager's knowledge sharing activities? Potential dangers could be summarised as «overnet-working». This leads us naturally to the strategic value of knowledge.

Therefore the important context for guiding knowledge management is the firm's strategy. An organisation's strategic context helps to identify knowledge management initiatives that support its purpose or mission, strengthen its competitive position, and create shareholder value. Intuitively, it makes sense that a firm that knows more about its customers, products, technologies, markets, and their linkages should perform better. Nevertheless, the link between knowledge management and business strategy, while often talked about, has been widely ignored in practice.

Form this point of view a successful knowledge management program requires the following success factors:

- A long-term knowledge strategy closely aligned with the business strategy.
- Support from top management.
- A balanced approach of culture, rewards systems and IT-infrastructure.
- Implementation within the context of business issues, rather than as a separate and distinct process.
- Communication, communication, communication.

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THE 'KNOWLEDGE BANK' AND THE GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT NETWORK

Diane Stone, University of Warwick, UK
Email: posaz@dredd.csv.warwick.ac.uk

Why is the World Bank devoting so much effort and so many resources to think tanks? Some of the answers lie in broader objectives of the World Bank to become the 'knowledge bank'. One programme to operationalise this new discourse of knowledge is the Global Development Network (GDN).

The GDN objective is to 'create, share and apply knowledge' (www.gdnet.org). The Network attempts to allow greater scope for 'home-grown' policy, information-sharing and enhanced research capacity in and between developing countries. It is intended to incorporate the 'research community' more efficiently into development policy. The Network is composed primarily of university research centres and think tanks to promote the generation and sharing of knowledge between developing and transitional countries. One intention is that the GDN become a co-ordinating mechanism – 'network of networks' – for organisations, groups and individuals researching development.

This paper outlines a specific form of power – ideational power – that is central to emerging patterns of global governance. The discussion gives some credence to notion of the independent power of ideas (Braun & Busch, 2000). However, the impact of ideas or discourses or knowledge can be greatly magnified when in coalition with broader social and economic forces. Consequently, the analysis also draws upon some current thinking on global policy networks to portray the GDN as a 'global public policy network' (Reinicke, 2000).

Networks and Knowledge

Knowledge is essential to global public policy. It is exhibited in the strong research capacity of the World Bank (Squire, 2000) and other international organisations. Governments, business, NGOs and international organisations all encourage the growth of 'knowledge networks' and the participation, sometimes co-option, of these networks, or elements of them, into broader 'global public policy networks'.

Global public policy networks are 'alliances of government agencies, international organisations, corporations and elements of civil society that join together to achieve what none can accomplish alone ... and give once ignored groups a greater voice in international decision making' (Reinicke 1999-2000). These networks are relatively well institutionalised and formal. They cohere around international organisations and governments that have entered into a policy partnership for the delivery of public policy. Examples include the Apparel Industry Partnership, the Roll Back Malaria Initiative and the Global Environment Facility. Virtually all draw in experts and advisers along with various NGOs, community groups and business interests specific to the policy focus of the network. Within such networks, knowledge institutions or actors provide important information and analytic resources. They act as information resource-banks, initiate and undertake research; and develop network infrastructure – newsletters, data-bases, conferences, web-sites. They also provide the conceptual language and help create common ideas and arguments that educate network participants into the values or consensus of the network.

Knowledge networks involve professional associations, academic research groups, scientific communities that organise around special subject matter. Through normal practices of intellectual and professional exchange, these networks have become transnational in tandem with advances in transportation and communications. They are formed primarily around the desire to advance or spread knowledge. One definition draws upon the neo-Gramscian literature to identify 'embedded knowledge networks'. These are 'ostensibly private institutions that possess authority because of their publicly acknowledged track records for solving problems, often acting as disinterested 'technical' parties in high-value, high-risk transactions, or in validating sets of norms and practices for a variety of service-provision activities' (Sinclair, 2000). This approach stresses the power of authoritative judgement making by non-state actors in policy making. 'Embedded' signifies that knowledge actors are viewed as endogenous to, or legitimate participants in, a policy community. The political dimensions of knowledge and policy implications of 'selected' research are stressed.

The expertise, scientific knowledge, data and methods within such groups provide them with some authority to inform policymaking. For decision-makers in international organisations, governments, corporations and the world's leading non-governmental organisations (NGOs), experts provide technical advice and specialised judgements. These sources of demand, pull thinkers towards them and in so doing recognise the value of their advice and analysis thereby enhancing the authority of institutes individually and the network as a whole. In short, think tanks, institutes and coalitions of researchers are gradually moving from being persuasive societal actors to acquire through global networks, political as well as epistemic authority. Knowledge networks help to both privatise and to open up policy making to certain groups. However, 'openness' and 'closure' is not an evenly balanced dynamic. While a network like GDN might produce a public good outcome of knowledge creation and sharing, the process leading to this outcome has 'club-like' characteristics. Furthermore, while access to the GDN is open, participation in network decision-making is restricted. Broader issues emerge from this case study concerning the transparency and accountability of global networks and the degree to which privatised domains of policy formulation are representative and democratic.

These two categories – knowledge networks and global public policy networks – are descriptive categories of empirically observable relationships and practices. A number of social science concepts have emerged as tools to interpret their indirect policy influence. It includes ideas about 'epistemic communities' (Haas, 1992); 'embedded knowledge networks' (Sinclair, 2000); and 'transnational discourse communities' (Krause Hansen *et al*, 2001). Respectively, these three concepts emphasise the role of 'science', 'ideology' and 'discourse' in power relationships, decision-making and public policy. The GDN is characterised by all three dimensions of power and control in its internal network management, in its relations with the World Bank, and more generally in the development studies research community. However, in reifying social science and adopting the rhetoric of openness, multi-disciplinarity and knowledge sharing, the ideological character of the Network is de-emphasised.

Intellectual Insolvency

Currently the GDN is on a path of development that structurally favours certain groups of researchers – development economists. The subsequent constriction of research agendas has implications for the manner in which development issues are framed, problems defined and solutions proposed. In addition, this analysis addresses the 'cognitive interest' of

embedded knowledge actors (development economists but also other consultants and experts) in professional regeneration and institutional entrenchment. These professionals attempt to secure dominant control over resources, prestige and position within the Network. Although the intention is that the GDN become independent of the World Bank there are various intellectual and resource links that tie the network to 'cognitive interests' embedded in this and other international organisations.

If researchers are to be 'suppliers of solutions', they need to define development problems in such a way as to encourage recourse to their expertise (Knutsen & Sending 2000). Not doing so would mean that researchers define themselves out of consideration as possible providers of solutions. A lack of knowledge is defined as part of the (development) problem. Experts, consultants and advisors have a professional stake in the 'knowledge agenda' of the 'knowledge bank'. Through the GDN, the 'cognitive interest' of researchers entails greater support for research institutes and the promotion of knowledge through improved dissemination (the web-site at: www.gdnet.org, the annual conference, etc) and other products such as scholarships, training, staff exchange and data initiatives that aid the regeneration of researchers. This general tendency coincides with the professional dominance of economic thinking and prescription within the World Bank. Not only are development economists 'embedded', they also have a cognitive interest in the selective use of their mode of problem definition, methodological approaches and policy solutions. It becomes a self-reinforcing dynamic that encourages resistance to other forms of knowledge or alternative disciplinary approaches.

The GDN represents a knowledge network seeking to become embedded across a range of global public policy networks. In other words, the central participants in the GDN are positively positioned to become informers and agenda-setters in global public policy. However, as the development economists in the World Bank and their partner organisations extend their hegemonic knowledge into the GDN, they harden the boundaries of the Network in the interests of internal network cohesion and unity. The GDN becomes relatively insoluble to other disciplines. Multi-disciplinarity is diluted due to the insolvent hard core of development economics.

Research communities are driven by scientific competition as much as any other, more altruistic motive. Although the adverse consequences of competition can be contained, this is dependent on the strength of accountability structures in the network. Successful networks are said to emphasise broad participation, non-hierarchical structures and shared financing arrangements (Reinicke 1999-2000). To-date, there has been strong criticism from key groups within the GDN concerning undemocratic procedures and an unequal distribution of network resources and position. However, the patronage politics of the GDN are being disguised through the adoption of the language of 'merit', 'recognising research excellence' and the pursuit of knowledge. In sum, cognitive interests compete not only in scientific terms but engage in bureaucratic politics and rent-seeking to gain access to resources and recognition.

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THE KNOWLEDGE BANK IN CYBER-SPACE: OBJECTIONS AND ALTERNATIVES?

Alex Wilks, Coordinator, Bretton Woods Project
Email: awilks@brettonwoodsproject.org

Introduction

The latest manifestation of the World Bank as 'Knowledge Bank' is its Development Gateway. The Gateway is supposed to be a neutral internet portal where you can find a range of statistics and services, plus a web guide to the views of all stakeholders in development. This proposition of trying to cover all perspectives – from the Adam Smith Institute to the Zapatistas – has been condemned as naïve and impossible to fulfil.

The Gateway raises important, general issues about the role of powerful, Northern 'knowledge actors' and the role of ICTs - will they constrain debate and channel knowledge or open space for marginalised views? A positive, if unintended, result of the Bank's Gateway push seems to have been a growing concern about the World Bank's knowledge agenda among civil society groups. This in turn may well yield new collaborative, independent info-structures among civil society groups interested in global policy-making, and among Bank-watching ones in particular. Initiatives under discussion include a portal site to monitor the 'Knowledge Bank'.

Knowledge Bank, Cyber-Bank

In recent years the World Bank has made major investments in internal and external knowledge management. Internally it has created a set of thematic groups, databases, helpdesks and an intranet. Externally it has further built on its experience of producing reports, conducting training and running conferences, and has now established a significant web presence.

At first glance it appears excellent that the Bank is taking more account of research in its work and is more actively disseminating information. After all, the major criticisms levelled

at the Bank have been that it makes non-transparent decisions based on political pressure from G7 governments rather than analysis of ground-level realities. However many have come to see the Bank's knowledge activities, on- and off-line, as a means to further consolidate its narrow views. Civil society groups asked to participate in Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper exercises have asked what is the point of attending consultation meetings to propose different development paths when the Bank is pumping out reports from Washington which appear to pre-judge, on the basis of desk-based regression exercises, what are 'right' and 'wrong' policies. Brendan Martin, an analyst who works with trade unions, the ILO and others, memorably expressed this concern, dubbing Bank research reports «heavily leveraged interventions in the policy market».

The internet and other ICT developments have presented opportunities and challenges for the Bank. It is easier to disseminate research reports, project documents etc to a wide audience. Staff knowledge can in theory be stored in databases and be accessed by others inside and outside the Bank and electronic conferences and newsletters can enhance the Bank's communications with a range of actors without the need for Bank staff to travel. Its main site (www.worldbank.org) now attracts 5.5 million page views per month and provides the download of an annual equivalent of 1.3 million 200 page books.

On the other hand posting information to the web may give the illusion of fulfilling demands for transparency whilst not actually providing information in a form that is useful for many of the civil society groups who want to have their say in Bank activities (as shown by a recent IFC project in Nigeria involving Shell). Also the Bank is threatened by the fact that more organisations can now potentially enter the knowledge market. Few people could compete with the Bank's ability to print and disseminate World Development Reports (150,000 copies, many disseminated free). Now the net makes it possible for even small organisations to get their messages out, including ones which are anti-Bank or heretical in the eyes of Bank research staff.

If at first you don't succeed

The Bank's President apparently initiated the Development Gateway project soon after receiving a memo from an intern who complained that the Bank's website was badly planned, hard to navigate and short of off-site links. The Bank's intranet knowledge management system had just been criticised in a Bank-commissioned assessment for containing «fragmented, mixed quality and out of date materials». It concluded that Bank staff members are likely to «become increasingly unwilling to contribute knowledge to a 'black hole'».¹

Rather than be daunted by the difficulties in managing the knowledge of the Bank's staff (who are well-educated and -resourced and subject to a single training and management system), Wolfensohn decided to bite off an even grander challenge: organizing knowledge for everyone involved in development. This initiative - the Development Gateway - is important both because it is probably the largest current knowledge for development initiative and because of the lessons it affords on how not to plan a knowledge management exercise. He proposed "the premier web entry point on poverty and sustainable development", a portal which would bring together statistics, transactions and policy analysis in a way that draws from and is helpful to all development actors - from multilateral banks to community groups.

Questioning many aspects of development

Many people (Bank and government officials, ICT professionals, NGOs etc) were sceptical about this idea. The Bank, however, tried to pigeon-hole its critics as part of the growing

anti-globalisation movement. The protests in Prague, Genoa etc clearly illustrate the tensions and divergent understandings which any multi-stakeholder development portal has to navigate. However the disagreements in conceptualising and analyzing development problems were already present and run far deeper than what is expressed by protesters at global summits.

The very definition of 'development' and of specific topics within it have long been debated. The Gateway seems unconcerned about this. It makes frequent references to 'the development community' as if this was a clear set of people, not a large proportion of the world's population. Asked why the Gateway's taxonomy used classic official agency categories, Gateway content manager Nick Harrison said "development is a mature subject, I think we do know the classifications". Concerns that cross-cutting issues such as gender, climate change and empowerment would be ghettoised and insufficiently addressed were apparently not understood.

The Gateway's scope is impossibly over-ambitious. It aims to feature "the most comprehensive information available on a topic, presented clearly, logically and conveniently" (Gateway Topic Guide Handbook, 15 March, 2001, p.2). This attempt to organise and rationalise development knowledge on the web appears to me to be tantamount to the Walrus and the Carpenter's fictional discussion in Alice Through the Looking Glass of whether a beach could be swept clear of its sand. 'If seven Banks with seven portals swept for ten years, I doubt they'd get it clear.'

It does not matter how many independent people the Bank pulls in to help it govern or edit the Gateway: it is structurally doomed to tie them up in difficult decisions and to disappoint many users and potential contributors. Trying to cover material from all types of development actors and provide information for all types will be endlessly frustrating. Particularly on the net people tend to seek tailored information, produced according to their needs and often found through recommendations or links from people or sites they already know and trust.

Seeking local legitimacy

When pressed on the problems of how it plans to organise material at the global level, the Gateway seeks to legitimise itself by arguing that it will feature 'local' views on its Country Gateways, and that any site user who registers will be able to suggest links. The terms national and local appear to be falsely conflated here: Country Gateways only appear local and comprehensive when viewed from the global level. They will not be able to capture the nuances of all the differing views in a country, and may undermine existing websites and portals which have richer, more diverse content.

The Gateway's interactivity, in particular the possibilities for all site visitors to post new material and comment on existing material sounds very open and democratic. Site users will be able to rank material according to how useful they find it. But such options are likely to further privilege the views of those people with the most time at their computers (such as office- and university-based professionals, people in Europe and North America). Occasional internet users, such as peasant women in rural telecentres, would be very unlikely to take time to post or rank materials.

Using ICTs to watch the Bank

Challenges of connectivity, control and fragmentation are not unique to official initiatives. Some other well-intentioned efforts to bridge information gaps can seem similarly over-ambitious, Northern-dominated and selective (i.e. ELDIS). There is a need for research and

strategic thinking on who is being empowered by such information services and whether Northern-based sites are leveraging or crowding out Southern ones.

Lishan Adam, an advisor on information technology and connectivity at the Economic Commission for Africa commented: "I think the lesson is not for the Bank alone. It is for all institutions that work on 'grand' projects. My own experience in Africa over ten years shows that 'grand' projects seldom work (even if you have local portals, national gateways). For us in Africa what we need is more training, better packaging techniques at local level so as to deliver relevant content to all when needed".

If more such packagers/info-mediaries emerge at different levels, then useful bridges can be built between communities and powerful institutions (Shirin Madon, 2000). This can include efforts to hold the World Bank accountable, including on its Knowledge agendas (ie Mar-Apr 2000 Poverty WDR e-conference, www.realworldbank.org). If Diane Stone is right that «in the absence of global institutions, networks are filling much of the void» (Stone, 2000) then it is vital to learn lessons about what networks/virtual communities work for whom.

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INFORMATION, EMPOWERMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

NEW TECHNOLOGY TOOLS FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT:
CONSTRUCTING "EDUCATIONAL SOCIETIES"

eDEVELOPMENT, eCOOPERATION:
CONNECTING THE WORLDS OF INFORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT

UNDERSTANDING AND IMPROVING COMPARATIVE EDUCATIONAL
DATA

ICT AND LITERACY:
TEN PRINCIPLES FOR ASSISTING THE POOR

GLOBALISATION AND DIGITAL EMPOWERMENT IN INDIA –
CHALLENGES TO EDUCATION

NEW TECHNOLOGY TOOLS FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
CONSTRUCTING «EDUCATIONAL SOCIETIES»

Phyllis Johnson

Southern African Research & Documentation Centre, Harare

Email: "phyllis johnson" <pjohnson@sardc.net>

This paper explores some of the linkages between education and technology in the context of the «digital divide» and access in the South to both technology and education. It draws on two main sources of inspiration as well as the author's own experience over more than a decade since her institution hosted the first bulletin board in southern Africa outside South Africa in 1989. The key sources from which she draws linkages are:

- UNDP's global Human Development Report 2001, Making New Technologies Work for Human Development, and:
- the national Human Development Report for Mozambique 2000, produced for UNDP by the SARDC office in Maputo, Education and Human Development: Trajectory, lessons and challenges for the 21st century.

The global human development report on technology contains several markers for exploration of the knowledge family – knowledge networking, sharing and partnerships, development knowledge, borderless knowledge. The markers explored in this paper are,

Policy, not charity, will determine whether new technologies become a tool for human development everywhere.

and

The broader challenge is to agree on ways to segment the global market so that key technology products can be sold at low cost in developing countries.

Human development is about expanding people's choices, and the framework most likely to expand people's choices sustainably is education. The Mozambique national report does not address technology directly because it has more basic indicators to contend with. These include an adult literacy rate of just under 40 percent and a total combined enrolment of 30 percent, the low value granted to girls education and the burden of girls' seasonal and domestic labour, as well as tensions between formal and traditional education, and in a very real sense, poverty. These conditions produce a literacy rate for women that indicates 53 out of 100 women in urban areas can read and write, 47 cannot. Just 10 women in rural areas out of every 100 can read, and 90 cannot.

If we consider the distance learning node that has been established in Mozambique by the World Bank, and put it together with those 90 women and millions of their sisters and brothers and daughters and sons, mixed together with innovative policies and a good base of initial financial resources, then we come to that part of the national human development report that deals momentarily, but eloquently, with technology. In that report, Miguel Buendía and Virgilio Juvane argue that,

«The need to train people capable of evolving, of adapting to a world undergoing rapid change, and master these changes, is increasingly imperative. From this perspective, the ability to learn throughout life becomes crucial. Schools should direct their training function so as to ensure that their pupils learn how to learn. This new context demands that societies multiply and diversify educational opportunities, becoming genuine

'educational societies': New information technologies, when integrated into education, can transform this utopia into reality.»

The major challenge is to ensure that local, national and regional knowledge is accessible, that Southern as well as Northern knowledge and perspectives are available; and that together, these components form the basis of global knowledge. If that is to occur within a reasonable timeframe, South-North knowledge partnerships are the key. The nurturing of these partnerships requires a balance of commitment, vision, skills and resources.

Knowledge networking should take account of building and strengthening these South-South and South-North linkages, and building skills to enable knowledge sharing. Homepages and websites in the South are chasing too few skills, and even fewer design skills for smart access. So users often prefer to access the Northern sites which may be prettier and easier to navigate but don't contain Southern information, thus ever-widening the «digital divide».

The continued investment in Northern tools development, although important, is not the only way forward, without an equitable response to supporting Southern access and innovation. Knowledge is about opening up, about seeing, stretching, building linkages between ideas and practice, to bridge knowledge, policy and development. The potential for equitable partnerships has never been better.

An emerging example still to be assessed is the World Bank's Global Development Network (GDN) and its associated website GDNet, which is attempting to build a global network of researchers and research institutes, and provide knowledge networking tools for researchers to play their role in developing the educational society. GDN and GDNet are in many ways opposite forces in the democratisation of development knowledge. The structure for GDN is uni-polar and centralised in the North, and its predetermined approach risks exclusion of the independent thinkers of the South. Certainly, its technology tools are not honed for human development and educational societies, but designed as talent spotters for Northern head-hunters. Its innovations are designed for Northern access and convenience, to mine excellence and innovation in the South and make it available to the North, rather than for global knowledge development.

GDNet, by comparison, through the World Bank Institute which developed the actual website with a British institution, has been trying to initiate a more inclusive process that generates credibility and enthusiasm in the South as well as the North, while facilitating encounters that carefully encourage a broad range of perspectives.

The Northern agencies seem unable to see that they are creating a diversion of limited skills to cope with their model of a global network, through access «incentives» that require duplication of work through re-inputting existing information in their format. This means extra staff time and effort in creating entries and abstracts, with no clear indication on how the service will be sustained. Members from the South will find it difficult to maintain the updating of the GDNet database unless it is value-added to their normal work. This must be a more inclusive process, and for the South where resources are in short supply, it must build on existing work toward the massive and priority task of facilitating access to Southern knowledge resources.

There is need to create a critical mass of technical expertise in the South because at present, the limited expertise is being swallowed by international institutions even in their local operations. The latest example of this vacuuming of skills comes from GDNet itself, which has decided it would be nice to have a new project manager from the South, paid in pounds. Nice for whom? If I have only one and you have many, why do you want to take away my one to global service without offering some kind of institutional exchange?? Yes, it is useful to gain experience through attachments and exchange, and even responsibility, but development agencies must begin to see the need to replace skills with other skills, not just suck them all into the belly of the North.

A global network will not be a service if it becomes a burden, and if only those research institutions developed and resourced by the World Bank are able to participate. The resource base needs a wider focus. Knowledge resources in the South are rich and plentiful but increasingly inaccessible, as publishing costs soar and the access of choice becomes electronic. That is what has prompted some institutions in the South to make knowledge resources freely accessible as fast as possible, using appropriate technology, while sustainability of income sources must come later. Northern partners and development agencies should understand and support this determination to develop wide access to knowledge resources.

There is a real danger again of underdeveloping the South again, and suppressing Southern initiative. The challenge is to consider the needs and knowledge of the South when offering technology tools developed by the North to share Northern knowledge resources, and when seeking a definition for «quality». This will not be resolved through one-off training workshops introducing Northern tools hastily put online, but by a concerted and serious effort at working together, supported with adequate resources, to develop suitable, sustainable methodologies and models.

A new vision of technical co-operation must absorb the significance of information technologies, both in creating a new development paradigm and in providing the potential tools for building sustainable capacity. Technology must be seen as a tool for reform. Lest the digital divide, yawning across the Southern oceans, fuels new Seattles and Genoas. SARDC is preparing to become a force for capacity-building in the area of information and communications technology, and has embarked on a number of initiatives. It is becoming increasingly important that Southern information is accessible on the internet, and that research institutions and think tanks can develop and share their information resources, as part of this necessity to generate a commitment to lifelong learning and «educational societies», where opportunities are multiplied and diversified and people «learn how to learn».

Access doesn't mean a computer in every home any more than development means a water tap in every sink. It means, in the first instance, a water tap and a computer in every village. After that, development of knowledge and access will take care of itself, if the tools are available.

Internet is easily accessible and cheap, virtually free, in North America, while elsewhere access is hampered by high online telephone charges. New solutions need to be actively sought, and are already available, for example through alternatives to the telephone such as the microwave technology that is being used to link refugee camps through small radio towers. That is also what SARDC uses to link its four locations, and this radio link with the service provider, after installation, has an annual subscription for unlimited traffic. That means all of the professional staff of 40 or so people can remain online for as long as they wish without worrying about their budgets as every minute ticks by. This is almost unheard of in the South.

Finally, access, access and access. This should be policy, not charity, as noted at the beginning of this paper. Cheaper licenses and charges, more support for innovation. The Northern response to underdeveloped technology access is usually that they will send duplicates by email for those who do not have internet access, ie in the South. It's not the same, is it?

Instead of wringing our hands about lack of electronic access in rural areas, we should work together, South and North, to organize broader access. This not insurmountable and not necessarily resource heavy, but requires innovative solutions and vision to accompany resource flows. Wireless technology, for example, has taken off in the South, where fixed telephone lines are in short supply. There may be more cellular telephones used in southern Africa per capita than in most populations in Europe, and they are being used for technology access as well as telephones, by many sectors of society, not only the elites.

There is need for strengthening southern institutions, not only to participate but to lead this technology revolution.

African leaders have spoken out strongly in favour of this approach, and under The New African Initiative, they have identified information and communications technology as a priority sector for achieving sustainable development in the 21st century

The global human development report (p 9) throws challenges to the global community:

«The ultimate significance of the network age is that it can empower people by enabling them to use and contribute to the world's collective knowledge. And the great challenge of the new century is to ensure that the entire human race is so empowered – not just the lucky few.»

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**eDEVELOPMENT, eCOOPERATION
CONNECTING THE WORLDS OF INFORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT**

Peter Ballantyne
International Institute for Communication and Development (IICD), Maastricht
pballantyne@iicd.org

Summary

In recent years, knowledge and information projects in development have become a growth business. We are seeing an explosion in knowledge products and services of all kinds, developed and delivered by organisations in all shapes and sizes. With relatively low entry costs, accessible technologies, and easily mastered tools, it is possible for almost any agency to become a player.

The ease with which information, knowledge and ICTs can seemingly be harnessed and managed has transformed the information for development business from a rather dull 'duckling,' peopled by librarians, editors, and computer programmers, into a gracious 'swan' reaching new heights and calling on the expertise of knowledge brokers, information specialists, knowledge managers and a host of other dynamic info-mediaries.

This is true for organisations in developing countries as well as in the development community itself.

However, a significant challenge that we face is to define co-operation policies and instruments that answer the question: How can we support the use of information and knowledge to promote sustainable development and alleviate poverty? In a situation where north to south technology and skills transfer often does not apply, it is particularly challenging to define the roles and responsibilities of different actors so that what we do in this area is in response to the demands of poor communities, is locally owned, and strengthens the capacities of local institutions.

As in all areas of development, these are difficult questions and practice lags behind ideals. A lot of research and thinking in development circles is examining ways in which international co-operation can be made more effective. One stream of thinking argues that we should pay more attention to how we do development. Notions like collaboration, decentralisation, joint action, networking, partnership, ownership, empowerment, learning,

participatory, transparency and good governance, institutional innovation, recipient-led, bottom up, and inclusiveness are promoted as best practices to be adopted.

If we look more closely at these and at the nature of information, knowledge and ICTs, we seem to be dealing with a domain that is uniquely well suited to effectively practice what the development community preaches. Many of these notions are exactly the kinds of results we claim can be facilitated through the proper use of ICTs.

But how many of our information and knowledge projects are characterised by these features? How many are actually pursuing quick results and high visibility at the expense of participation and ownership and perhaps sustainability? How many are owned by the organisations or communities that use them? And what happens when we do pay attention to some of these best practices?

Now is the time for well thought out and realistic approaches to development, with ICTs, to be established and tested. There is already a growing amount of evaluative information concerning the use of ICTs in development and many of the stories circulating contain lessons regarding ownership, participation, local needs, etc. These are important, but hardly new to development practitioners. If our starting point was international co-operation best practice, we could concentrate on learning about knowledge, information and ICTs and their impacts on poverty and on process of international co-operation.

How much better would it be if established international co-operation best practices and policies were applied to all new information, knowledge and ICT projects, and did not need to be re-discovered?

This means bridging the gap between 'information for development' practice and international co-operation ideals. The benefits are both ways – better designed information projects using international co-operation best practice, and more effective development and international co-operation that is enabled with ICTs.

Combining the best of development thinking with the best applications of ICTs and knowledge management, we can give substance to notions like 'eDevelopment' and 'eCo-operation' – as development and co-operation, with ICTs, that are e-effective, e-empowering, and e-efficient.

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UNDERSTANDING AND IMPROVING COMPARATIVE EDUCATIONAL DATA

Denise Lievesley, UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Canada
d.lievesley@unesco.org

Statistics can serve to benefit society, but, when manipulated politically or otherwise, may be used as instruments by the powerful to maintain the status quo or even for the purposes of oppression. Statisticians working internationally, usually employed by international, supra-national or bilateral agencies, face a range of problems as they try to 'make a difference' to the lives of the poorest people in the world. One of the most difficult is the dilemma between open accountability and national sovereignty (in relation to what data are collected, the methods used and who is to have access to the results). As participants in this conference will be all too aware, we work in a context which is

changing markedly because of increasing globalisation and new modalities of development co-operation and partnership.

This paper aims to raise consciousness of the role of statisticians employed in the international context, to explain some of the constraints under which they work, to address principles which ought to govern the activities of statisticians generally and to evaluate the relevance of such principles to international statisticians in particular. It will focus particularly on international statistical work in relation to education data and explore how these statisticians can exploit their skills and expertise effectively to ensure that educational development strategies are pro-poor and pro-equity.

Statisticians working internationally in the field of education are likely to be involved in the following activities:

- The tracking of international development aid and charitable giving
- Monitoring the effectiveness of aid and evaluating the success of different aid paradigms
- The collection and dissemination of cross-nationally comparable data, guardianship of these databases and support of, and consultation with, users
- The analysis and interpretation of cross-national data
- Special methodological and technical projects including the development of statistical concepts
- The development and maintenance of international classifications, and standardised procedures to promote comparability of data
- Technical capacity building and other support for users and producers of data within countries
- Establishing and sharing good practice in statistics, supporting activities which improve the quality of data and preventing the re-invention of the wheel
- Advocacy for evidence-based policies

Of these activities one of the key ones is to foster the collection of comparable data across nations, the main objectives being to enable countries to gain a greater understanding of their own situation by comparing themselves with others, thus learning from one another and sharing good practice; to permit the aggregation of data across countries to provide a global picture; and to provide information for purposes of the accountability of nations and for the assessment, development and monitoring of supra-national policies.

Although collecting comparable data is difficult, the measurement problems encountered are not a sufficient reason for abandoning cross-national research because of their growing importance due to globalisation and moves towards cross-national governance. Instead we need circumspection in their analysis and what Roger Jowell calls a resistance to drawing «heroic conclusions on the basis of unexpected national variations in the answers to a single question.»

There are substantially different models of collecting cross-national data. These include:

- the (fortunately discredited) 'safari method' whereby international researchers visit countries to collect the data they need, withdraw the data to an industrialised country and analysis it there with limited appreciation of the context of the data
- the collaborative model in which a research team comprising participants from all of the countries jointly design the key aspects of the study

- pre-collection harmonisation whereby representatives of the countries are consulted to resolve differences in their methodologies in advance of the data collection and the work is mediated by an international or regional statistical agency
- post-hoc harmonisation in which countries collect data independently with the data being later re-analysed in the light of comparative research.

In the paper I will address the merits of the different models from both international and national perspectives. To what extent does the collection of cross-nationally harmonised data distort the priorities of countries ? Can a better harmony of interests be achieved ?

A theme running through this paper will be the tension between respect for national sovereignty and the importance of ensuring access to national data of integrity. In particular data are a vital part of the system of accountability in relation to the use of overseas development aid. Considerations of a political nature (establishing or maintaining alliances, sustaining political blocs or spheres of influence, ensuring votes in international organisations) are yielding to development issues such as good governance, reducing inequalities in society, social development, promoting the rights of the citizen. Concerns that aid can bolster inefficient, corrupt, elitist governments that suppress the human rights of their own people, has led to a focus on aid as a lever to effect improvements, especially in human rights.

Cross-national comparative analysis is an important statistical tool but it also brings risks of suppression or distortion of findings. No cross-national study can be perfect as far as comparability is concerned and it is only too easy to find reasons why the data should not be taken seriously. An outcome of this unhappy state of affairs is often the withdrawal from cross-national research of those countries which achieve disappointing results.

Poor data quality is a recurring problem. Internationally we are constrained in what we can do about the quality of data we receive from countries and since the expectations of users are often unrealistically high these constraints must be honestly expressed. However it would be valuable to explore just what can be done to improve the quality of data and some proposals will be put forward in this paper for a broader discussion. Is the pooling of nationally gathered data the correct strategy or is a radical reappraisal of the international statistical system required to obtain a more comprehensive global picture? Do we over-emphasise the national? I argue that the time is due to address difficult and politically sensitive questions such as this.

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**ICT AND LITERACY:
TEN PRINCIPLES FOR ASSISTING THE POOR***

Daniel A. Wagner, International Literacy Institute
University of Pennsylvania (UNESCO) Philadelphia,
wagner@literacy.upenn.edu

Even for the poorest people in developing countries, the benefits of ICT (information and communications technology) are now becoming understood as part of the matrix of potential solutions for promoting literacy and basic education.

Why is this so? First, poor people in developing countries tend to live in dispersed geographical contexts and are comprised of diverse populations of youth and adult learners, where distance education can be an effective tool. Second, there is limited and thinly distributed professional expertise in terms of teachers, which can be enhanced by ICT-supplemented training. Third, because many in the target population are unable to sit in classrooms (and are too old for the formal school system), the interactive and asynchronous nature of ICT can provide useful solutions. Finally, the diversity of the population of poor people (by ethnicity, language, gender, etc.) requires the kind of consumer focus that, when properly employed, is potentially far more effective within the ICT realm than by individual teachers. For example, even teachers that are well educated may lack the language skills necessary to be effective with poor, minority-language learners.

What ICT solutions should we consider with respect to poor populations with very diverse demographic characteristics? One answer in literacy and basic education is to focus on the professional development and training of teachers, since the quality of teachers is known in virtually all countries (rich and poor) to be a key predictor of student learning. And, as almost any observer will relate, in poor parts of poor countries, many if not most teachers usually lack adequate training for the job they are doing. Furthermore, teachers can become «intermediaries» for bridging the digital divide for the tens of millions of low-literate or illiterate youth and young adults who are in school or are in non-formal education programs in developing countries, but have had little prior access to ICT. Teacher training resources can be delivered through existing training institutions, and would comprise CD-ROM based materials, technology for sharing materials, pupil training resources, and culturally appropriate and multi-lingual content. Such a collaborative program has recently been launched as the *Bridges to the Future Initiative* (BFI), - see www.bridgestothefuture.org - which will begin soon in India, followed downstream by additional partner countries.

What is most important in such initiatives is the set of core principles that will guide the work, such as our list which follows:

1. Even in poorest sectors, ICT is now too cheap to ignore. While once it could be said that ICT would take money away from other lower technologies (such as chalk and blackboards), new approaches can show cost-effective benefits when properly employed.
2. Advanced ICT tools may be relatively more cost-effective for the poor than for the rich. It was often thought that old ICTs (e.g. radio) was necessarily the best route to reaching poor people, while advanced ICTs were only cost-effective for the rich. The example of the cellular phone has dispelled that thought. The Grameen Bank effort in South Asia has shown that even the poorest people can find value and resources to support a system of cellular communications.
3. Learning technologies must have learning and content at their core. Many of the most egregious mistakes in the digital divide era concern an overly narrow focus on ICTs, without commensurate focus on learning and content. Projects within the digital divide must first and foremost be about learning, and about culturally appropriate content.
4. ICT tools must be consumer-oriented and context/culture sensitive. Consumer sensitivity is a longstanding buzzword of marketing in the private sector, yet it seems

to be sometimes forgotten in 'supply-side' projects which try to marry ICT and education. Especially when focussed on the poor, it is critical to pay very close attention to consumer interests and values, which also means ethnic, language, gender, and other cultural dimensions.

5. Literacy and technology are becoming inter-dependent. Literacy and technology are "tools" which have much in common. Neither is an end to itself, but each can amplify human intelligence and human capability. In addition, both are rapidly becoming inter-dependent. New literacy programs need to take advantage of the power of technology, but ICT work will require an ever more skilled population of workers and consumers.
6. In present day economics, the J.I.T. (just-in-time) concept has taken on great saliency, some of which has direct merit to projects like the BFI, for poor people. In addition, we much keep in mind an equivalent J.E.H. (just-enough-help) concept, which will provide ICT-based resources when and where needed for those who do not already possess ICT skills and basic skills needed for ready access and use.
7. Collaboration is not just lip-service in the addressing digital divide problems for the poorest sectors. Programs with staying power are likely to have to reinforce existing government structures (rather than replace them), and enhance as a priority mainly those areas of public education that are most in need of assistance (e.g., teacher training).
8. Private sector involvement in Digital Divide efforts is essential in order to take advantage of latest ICT tools, and more so than in other educational projects. The private sector can offer advanced knowledge concerning ICT tools which will be coming down the road, and which will be able to 'pass down' large numbers of newly-obsolete PCs which can be quite serviceable among the poor.
9. In development work, there is much talk about 'sustainability,' which usually refers to the question of how recurrent costs will be covered (for example, by government, external agencies, user fees, etc.). In today's environment, and especially when dealing with the very poor, the concern over sustainability can bias projects in directions that are not necessarily most effective for the end users. There is no single answer to this question, but there is little doubt that the poorest of the poor are unlikely to be able to pay user fees in the same way that the Grameen Bank model of cell phones was able to achieve over the past decade. Commercially viable ICT-based projects -- such as fee-driven Internet kiosks -- will have some benefits in very poor sectors, but it is unclear whether the poorest people will derive much benefit in the near-term.
10. Finally, in order to achieve effective impact in using ICT for the poorest, a dedicated focus will be required on the bottom half of the digital divide population (the top half will take care of itself!). At present, it is not unusual to find digital divide initiatives that provide better access to ICTs in universities, secondary school, and primary schools. However, in a great many of these cases, the recipients are those who are already in the middle or upper classes of their respective societies -- this is especially true in developing countries where it is assumed that only middle class communities can make appropriate use of ICT. The challenge, of course, is to stay focused on the poor -- otherwise the digital gap will simply increase further.

In sum, working on ICT to enhance the reduce illiteracy and increase the economic welfare of poor people is a tremendously challenging area of development efforts today. To be effective in this complex and ever-changing domain is more difficult than meets the eye. Yet, with a set of sound principles, and a reasonable level of support, a great deal can be achieved -- indeed more than has ever been thought possible before.

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GLOBALISATION AND DIGITAL EMPOWERMENT IN INDIA –
CHALLENGES TO EDUCATION

Yazali Josephine
NIEPA, New Delhi, India
Email: Y_Josephine@hotmail.com

India started its globalisation in 1991. The sweeping reforms made by Dr. Manmohan Singh (at that time Finance Minister) made India slowly enter the global market. As a result, Information Technology has progressively changed India's image from a country of snake charmers to hi-tech-mouse movers. Indians are able to enter the world labour market successfully. There are literally hundreds of Indians in key executive positions in almost every hi-tech company in the Silicon Valley.

Last decade, economic reform in India touched different sectors, ranging from Agriculture to International Trade. The reforms have created many innovations in these sectors. The changes has yielded better results and led to the digital empowerment of the country.

IT has played a prominent role in laying a foundation for the Indian software and service industry. The Indian 'e-masters' in India had managed to create their own Silicon Valley in Bangalore at first and many have followed its example. The new stars on the IT horizon are Hyderabad, Chennai, Mumbai, Pune, Kolkatta, Delhi-Noida-Gurgoan belt, Gandhi Nagar and Trivandrum.

The IT magic after globalisation has not only made the software sector one of the high value-added and net foreign exchange earning industries, but has created a history of sorts on the Indian stock exchanges. The strengths of the capacity to generate, foreign exchange and employment has caught the imagination of Indian businessmen, citizens, economists, educationists and politicians. India is enjoying the competitive knowledge led business, due to its very large pool of scientific and engineering manpower. This digital empowerment has created an unprecedented demand for IT related education.

As a result many private e-learning centres, corporate universities, computer coaching institutions, technical institutions and engineering institutions have mushroomed tremendously in many parts of India. On balance, there has been a greater growth in the private sector. But even the functioning of the government sectors like agriculture, education, industry and business has also changed drastically.

Globally networked computers and the people who use them are completely transforming the global economy. An e-revolution has set the ball rolling in India from shopping and trading to banking and education. The impact of the electronic revolution and emergence of IT have changed the colour of India, for example, on line education, e-governance, GIS, electronic marketing, on line shopping, Direct Database marketing, personal e-mail, online market research and payment by credit cards. There is potentially e-everything.

The employment opportunities for the IT professionals are also greater than before both on the home ground and abroad. Ever since liberalisation and globalisation have gone hand in hand with the spread of information technology, the employment trend also has changed and the demand for more technical persons and education facilities has been raised.

According to the official report, the country requires 7.77 lakh (1 lakh = 100,000) professionals in the hard-core IT sector by 2008. It is expected that it will also become the single largest contributor to the GDP of the country. In addition to national demand, there would be international demand in view of intrinsic quality of Indian software. (IT manpower-Challenges to Response interim Report of the Task force on HRD in IT, MHRD Govt of India, 2001.)

The demand for Indian IT professionals from USA under HIB Visa has been increased (Govt of India Report, 2001) to around 200,000 from the present level of 114,000. Similarly Germany, UK, Ireland, Japan, are likely to permit immigration at level between 20,000 to 30,000 per annum for IT professionals.

The supply of the required manpower depends upon the changes in the current education system and the rate at which these can take place. To meet such huge manpower demand, India needs to extend the infrastructure of IT education.

A change in the present education system is therefore imperative. If these reforms are put in place at a rapid rate, in few years from now, we will find new educational and employment opportunities through these human mediated inter/internet access projects. To cope with the demand, training and development in the IT education sector needs immense attention.

Since the IT revolution has created immense employment opportunities, the demand for various types of IT-related education fields like marketing education, biotechnology, commerce, library etc has grown.

The demand for IT education is also in various ways like for the use of technological tools, qualitative education, use of internet in libraries for sharing of information, research exploration, and data transferring etc. Thus IT education became more of an enabler, having relevance in all fields of human activity.

Strategies are needed for turning India into a knowledge-based society through education, both through primary and higher levels, and through wider use of IT, enhanced training skills development, strengthening and maintenance of the service network developments.

We visualise the coming next 10 years should be the years of consolidation, leadership and development, leading to the creation of wealth, jobs, and the good life. Undoubtedly the road ahead is full of opportunities and challenges. Such challenges can be only fulfilled if we can quickly implement educational reforms, a second round of economic reforms and build infrastructure to globalise the new e-economy. India will transform back into its Golden Age status by that year when it has 100% literacy, high values and a great economy.

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KNOWLEDGE, CULTURE AND POWER

THE SPECTRE OF A NEO-PRAGMATIC VOCABULARY
FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

GLOBALISATION OF DEVELOPMENT KNOWLEDGE AND CULTURAL
IDIOMS: A NEW DEFINITION OF MODERNITY AND ISSUES OF
INTERPRETATION

POWER DYNAMICS IN GLOBAL-LOCAL AID RELATIONSHIPS

THE SPECTRE OF A NEO-PRAGMATIC VOCABULARY FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

Maria Célia M. de Moraes & Olinda Evangelista, Federal Univ. of Santa Catarina, Brazil
Email: mcmm@uol.com.br, olinda@brasilnet.net

This paper deals with aspects of recent educational proposals recommended by international agencies for Latin America and Caribbean countries: the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), UNESCO, and CEPAL (Commission for Economic Studies for Latin America and Caribbean). These agencies, through official documents and financial support, have been suggesting key policies with important consequences on the educational system of these countries, in particular concerning the training of teachers.

In fact those agencies have been extremely active in organising meetings and Conferences, producing documents as well as recommending and sometimes supervising local policies for Education. Coraggio (1999) informs us that there has been a coincidence of interests between the World Bank – its team of researchers in Washington, its operators, advisers, its various departments, and proposals, etc. – and different levels of local government and even important organised sectors of civil society in different countries. In Brazil, these policies have been generated and put into practice by both the Ministries of Education and of Labour, as well as through other official government initiatives. Their aim is quite ambitious: (1) to establish references for new curricula for the education and training of teachers, (2) to redefine the school for the new times, and – as they say – (3) even to build a pedagogy that would progressively prepare people for the productive process in general.

The official documents are quite explicit about the strategic importance of Education. Nowadays, so goes the discourse, it is not enough to learn but it is necessary to know how to apply correctly what has been learned. What is now demanded is the development of communication capacities, logical reasoning, creativity, the ability to articulate multiple and different kinds of knowledge in order to prepare the student to face always new and challenging problems. But not only that, the student must be ready for re-qualifications, always perceptive to market demands. Of course, to develop such bodies of competence and skills higher levels of learning are necessary which suppose theoretical and methodological reasoning difficult to obtain from sheer empirical experience.

The acknowledgement of the importance of Education perhaps explains the plurality of educational policies we have witnessed in the last decade. All these policies in one way or another refer to the importance of teachers training for the world 'order' or, as some might think, 'disorder'. This has been a recurrent theme in international agencies' documents, government proposals, and in discussions promoted by some organised sectors of civil society. The teacher is viewed as the principal actor of the new educational play. His role is to understand and to develop the 'educational society' as well as to make sure that the consequent social cohesion would finally be achieved.

However, it seems evident that the crude reality of social relations in Latin American countries in general, and particularly in Brazil, should make us cautious about these high expectations. In these countries the vast majority of the population is excluded from a labour market that demands sophisticated skills and higher levels of learning. Within this framework, the paper questions the proposals of the optimist picture of such a «Salvationist Education».

There is, of course, an urgent need as well as high political national interests to reduce the dramatic numbers of exclusion, which is not a problem unique to Brazil. Considering the fact that changes on social relations are not foreseeable in a near future

the official documents argue that a new conception of school and teaching might help to solve the problem. The old practices should be abandoned and a 'school of results' put in its place. To achieve this school of results it is desirable that there occurs a shift of responsibilities from the government to the school itself. If children repeat years, if there are failures, if there are financial problems, all there is to blame is the incompetence of teachers – and their 'culture of excuses', as Mr. Blair defined a short while ago –, the incompetence of head teachers, school directors, of bureaucracy and so on. Poverty, has been pointed out, is not an excuse for not being successful in the educational process.

With those set of questions in view the paper recalls Foucault's neologism, 'gouvernementalite'. This concept was thought as the disciplinarian feature of government management and combines external and internal domination techniques that Foucault called 'govern' of the self: a strategy aiming to obtain the best results with a minimum exercise of power. Or, in less glamorous, but perhaps more precise terms, domination based less on outright repression than on diverse forms of ideological co-optation and political disempowerment.

This approach is very promising for the understanding of the educational issues we are dealing with. Nowadays we might be facing a similar phenomenon of getting the best results with a minimum exercise of power, and not only within the realm of the new educational policies but in that of broader social practices in general. A good manner of reaching this purpose could be the subtle linguistic exercise put into practice lately. Terms and concepts have been absorbed by the current neo-pragmatic rhetoric. Some of them have been naturalised – as capitalism, for example – others have been constructed, re-signified or replaced by less antagonistic ones. Designed to instil obedience and public resignation the pragmatic new vocabulary is necessary to eradicate what is considered obsolete and create new forms of control, regulation and management regimes.

Just to mention a few examples, 'equity' has substituted 'equality', 'development' put in the place of 'poverty'. Equity, as we know, supposes a structural adjustment to the forces of the market that supposedly would offer 'equal opportunities', or at the best, equitable distribution of opportunities. On the other hand, development is possible regardless of poverty. Certainly, this is not casual. Before struggle for equality and fight against poverty was part of a general understanding of unequal and antagonistic social structures, now equity and development belong exclusively to individual responsibility. External pressures will foster the idea that if the individual fails, then he or she will be convinced that it is his or her fault, his or her lack of qualification, his or her lack of the necessary attributes to face competitiveness. They are the only ones to blame for their own poverty and exclusion.

Against this account it could be argued that much of this change is rhetorical rather than substantive. It is possible that some educators would simply clothe their action in new rhetoric while continuing their traditional practices. However, one does not need to agree with post-structuralism or neopragmatism to acknowledge, as Fizesimons (1999) reminds us, that 'rhetoric also has its own discursive force in that it encourages people to define the world differently'. If the problem is essentially a struggle about practices, proposals, politics as well as language, what people say and do within institutions matter. Because it matters what people do and say within institutions should not to be trapped by voluntarism, or a nihilist bewilderment, or an impotent and conformed vision of the hegemonic system.

To conclude, the paper suggests that this is the set of questions that educators must urgently deal with today. In the struggle for a renewed civic sphere – and our schools are an essential component of this sphere –, the real strategic importance of the training and education of teachers should be preserved. In the new system the teachers would have to act within a hostile and ideological civil society that likes to think of itself as pragmatic, avoiding conflicts and accommodated as an 'educational society'. In any

case, these questions go far beyond the simple empirical description of educational practices. On the contrary, it demands a constant and intense dialogue with contemporary Philosophy and Social Sciences. This is one of the most interesting challenges that educators have to face.

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GLOBALISATION OF DEVELOPMENT KNOWLEDGE AND CULTURAL IDIOMS: A NEW DEFINITION OF MODERNITY AND ISSUES OF INTERPRETATION

Suzuki Shin'ichi, Waseda University, Japan

E-mail: sshiw902@mn.waseda.ac.jp

Introduction

The new century faces us with various challenges to human societies, some of which are familiar to us and some others of which are new to us all. All of the issues, however, should be solved as quickly as possible so that all human beings may live together in peace and in progress. Among these many issues, high rate of population growth, reservation of pure water, ample supply of foods, shelters for immigrants, medical and welfare-services for the deprived, the oppressed, the weak, the disabled and the younger generations are the most urgent ones with which all of us have to cope without delay.

In solving issues whichever they may be, we often need and use some models of problem-solving. Such models are in one sense the examples of solution and the ideal types of problem-settings in another. Against the generalised backgrounds of expected and accepted modernity, useful models of problem-solving have often been borrowed by many who have to struggle with the issues of overtly similar contexts. Successful models in a given region tend to be exported to others. However, not all successful models can be applied to all issues regardless of the regionally different contexts of regional issues.

Section 1: Critical Assessment of Model-Borrowing

Assuming a set of knowledge related to development of natural, human, cultural and social resources, assuming the relevance of such knowledge for all human groups to solve issues of economic growth and of political stability, and arguing for application of such knowledge to any types of «development» in a given human community, there might remain a kind of uncertainty in interpretation of knowledge and skills made by both the human groups of exporting and those importing. It is more than three decades since we first heard warning voices about the dangers of cultural-borrowing in 1960s. Why do we

still hear the same opinion about the same difficulty in the early 21st century? Several comparative analyses may deserve attention here:

- (1) Critical analysis of recent travellers' notes and books on foreign cultures,
- (2) Critical analysis of older travellers' notes and books on foreign cultures.

Section 2: Multi-Modernity and General Issues of Interpretation

Assuming that there may always happen what we may define as «modernity» every time when different cultures encounter each other, we may postulate completely new paradigmatic schemes or frameworks relating to so-called modernisation. The new notion is «multi-modernity».

Multi-modernity can be a new notion but it may enable us to think of the issues of misinterpretation between different cultures when many cultural groups have to cope with some urgent issues of solving common problems within their inter- and intra-groups relations. Here come the fundamental issues of cultural idioms, which once Edmund. King referred to. Some illustrations will be discussed with a new approach:

- (1) idioms of time,
- (2) idioms of space,
- (3) idioms of rhythm

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POWER DYNAMICS IN GLOBAL-LOCAL AID RELATIONSHIPS

Jeanette L. Kuder

Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol

Email: kuwaite@compuserve.com

This paper looks at the globalisation of development practice and knowledge, and explores the ways in which this affects the balance of power in relationships between local and global partners. Specifically, it will look at the relationships created when international development assistance or co-operation is extended to national education systems. It will examine the knowledge that derived from or inherent in both national and international practice and policy, and ask whose views carry most weight in negotiations and decisions about educational aid packages.

The central argument of this paper is that current aid structures create an environment that shapes and increasingly homogenises agents' actions on both the international and national sides of the aid relationship. At the moment, such actions tend to favour global views. Unless global views about appropriate practice, knowledge and policy for the development of education in developing countries are restructured, international players such as the World Bank and some of the largest bilateral aid agencies will continue to gain power and an imbalanced share in the making of local education decisions and actions. At the same time, however, little is known about ways in which practice, knowledge and policy structures might be changed to redress the current power imbalances.

In exploring this theme, I first examine the nature of the relationship among international players and their increasingly globalised practice, knowledge and policy regarding education in developing countries. Does practice inform knowledge? Does such knowledge inform policy? Does policy have any relationship with practice? What are the mechanisms of co-ordination amongst the global agencies, and their practice, knowledge and policies? What are their mechanisms of delivery?

In a similar way, then I explore the relationship amongst localised education practice, knowledge and policy, with the primary focus on what generally happens at the national level of administration and management. The national level is selected because it tends to be the pivotal structure in the relationship between the global and local, in that the state's education representatives have the responsibility for negotiating in one direction with aid agencies, and for implementing the aid package in the other direction throughout the state's territory. Before analysing the relationship between the two main players in an aid relationship, it is important to have an idea of the nature of the professional tools available to each side.

Following this introduction of the main global and local players and their respective set of negotiation tools, I then describe the general sort of relationship engendered between the two parties in an aid transaction. Despite much rhetoric about "partnership" and "co-operation", there is no getting around the fact that an aid package implies a very deep imbalance on a fundamental level of power- that associated with money. Clearly, the donor has more money than the recipient. But does it follow that other aspects of the relationship also have such inherent imbalances?

The next section will attempt to classify various dimensions that could be identified within a typical aid relationship, and attempt to analyse what kind of power, if any, is associated with each, and how it would be manifest. The example of money has already been suggested, but a more detailed analysis of the money-power aspect would examine the real financial contributions or commitments of both sides, and assess whether or not the power each side holds along this dimension is commensurate with the level of its financial contribution. Other examples of dimensions might include: the holding of facts upon which to base decisions; the presence of knowledge with which to inform decisions; and non-financial means by which to operationalise decisions.

This analysis will finally be used to try to identify specific points in these dimensions where power is unnecessarily imbalanced. The question will be asked of each such point whether the imbalance is an immutable characteristic of current global aid structures, or whether scope exists within the power dimension for individuals to take different actions which might tweak those structures in ways that helps equalise power in the global-local aid relationship.

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DEVELOPMENT KNOWLEDGE, AID AND KNOWLEDGE SOCIETIES

WHOSE KNOWLEDGE COUNTS?: RE-EXAMINING THE ROLE OF THE
WORLD BANK AS A BROKER OF DEVELOPMENT KNOWLEDGE FROM
A SOUTHERN PERSPECTIVE

KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY, EDUCATION AND AID

21ST CENTURY HIGHER EDUCATION INGREDIENTS FOR
DEVELOPMENT

WHOSE KNOWLEDGE COUNTS? RE-EXAMINING THE ROLE OF THE WORLD BANK AS A BROKER OF DEVELOPMENT KNOWLEDGE FROM A SOUTHERN PERSPECTIVE

Johnson M. Ishengoma, State University of New York at Buffalo
email: ji4@acsu.buffalo.edu

"The World Bank has outlined its role in development as a kind of honest knowledge broker, taking knowledge from one place, delivering it where it is needed. However, the World Bank's vast reservoir of knowledge generally represents its own understanding of issues. No matter how expert, valid, and well researched, this understanding cannot be objectively 'correct'. It reflects a set of values and experiences which may or may not reflect the values of its partners and those it is trying to assist." (Panos, 1998).

The quotation above sums up the major thesis of the proposed paper. The World Bank's 1998 World Development Report focused on Knowledge-for-Development where the Bank apart from its legitimate role as an agent of global markets declared itself the "knowledge bank" "as if it were the Encyclopedia Britannica and the Yellow Pages all rolled into one. A kind of modern version of that optimistic Victorian institution, The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge" (Cross, 1998 as cited in Panos, 1998).

While the Bank's commitment to becoming a knowledge bank is welcome, a couple of critical questions ought to be raised at this point.

- Authority and mandate. Are we to assume that because something is labelled 'knowledge' by the Bank and posted on the website then it is the unvarnished truth, and absolutely given that it is relevant to development?
- What about other forms of knowledge e.g. indigenous knowledge, local language knowledge labelled "backward or primitive" because they fall outside the Bank's framework of what is knowledge? What is knowledge standard and who has the mandate to define development knowledge? Should it be poor from the South or the World Bank through its corporate-centred Knowledge Management Program?
- How does the World Bank reconcile knowledge gap between North and South and the inevitable question of different knowledge systems in the world?

As King and McGrath (2000) correctly argue, radically different visions of knowledge for development exist and there is a large gap between theory and practice. In its quest as a broker of knowledge, how does the Bank resolve this issue?

"Knowledge" according to the Bank's framework is data and facts that have been written in some sort of formal framework. This, as Ilon observes, differs substantially from a growing body of literature that defines knowledge within active, often collective framework. Knowledge is never passively received, but creatively created. It is almost always contextual, and a major source of knowledge is tacit rather than explicit. In the context of the above what is the validity and legitimacy of the Bank's assumed role of "taking knowledge from one place and delivering it where it is needed?" Who should determine that a certain kind of knowledge is needed somewhere and by using what criteria?

As the World Bank continues to celebrate its achievement for receiving The Most Admired Knowledge Enterprise 2000 Award, the above pertinent questions needs answers. It is in the above context, that this paper seeks to re-examine the Bank's role as a global knowledge broker. The focus of this paper is on Sub-Saharan Africa.

The Fallacies of the World Bank as a Global Broker of Knowledge: An African Perspective

The first fallacy is inherent in its narrow categorisation of knowledge into technical and knowledge about attributes and its overall approach to knowledge as a commodity. Such categorisation and approach to knowledge largely excludes abundant indigenous knowledge that has been crucial in the development of Sub-Saharan African societies for many decades but ignored development experts in the North.

The second fallacy lies in the Bank's assumption of a new role as a "knowledge bank". This implies that the Bank has already set a standard for development knowledge, that means the huge amount of local/indigenous knowledge outside its scientific and technocratic community will be excluded from the Bank's standard knowledge website. This exclusion will consequently make the World Bank irrelevant to Africa and many other Least Developed Countries.

As correctly observed in *Indigenous Knowledge Pages*, the rural nature, oral and powerless nature of indigenous knowledge has made it largely invisible to the world development community and to global science. Indigenous knowledge has often been dismissed as unsystematic and incapable of meeting productivity needs of a "modern world".

Consequently, indigenous knowledge has not been captured and stored in systematic way with the implicit danger of being extinct. Yet this is the knowledge that counts as sustainable development of Sub-Saharan Africa is concerned.

To be relevant to African development the "Knowledge Bank" must focus on knowledge that is generated within communities and is location and culture specific addressing critical African issues and problems. Poor African countries will achieve sustainable development when their citizens will apply local knowledge to address their *own* development problems and when knowledge of local people-the real experts- is taken into consideration.

The Bank boasts of being an unparalleled reservoir of knowledge accumulated over the past 50 years in more than 100 countries. But what has been the relevance of this knowledge in solving Sub-Saharan Africa's long-standing social, political and economic problems such as poverty and age-old inequalities? There are serious development problems in many Sub-Saharan African countries where the Bank has been providing technical and scientific and knowledge. Evidences also show that Sub-Saharan Africa's decline in agricultural production beginning in the 1970,s can be attributed to the adoption by farmers of the imported agricultural knowledge, models and technology often promoted by the Bank and other bilateral donors through bribe-like incentives in the form of credits and free agricultural inputs (Ashley, 2000).

Although the Bank created a \$ 250,000 Indigenous Knowledge Programme for Sub-Saharan Africa in 1998, the program information content is unlikely to have an impact because of the limitations in what the Bank considers "useful traditional knowledge and practices" in development. This program might be a replica of the Bank's Education, Knowledge and Management Systems (EKMS) that creates, captures, *distils* and disseminates information *relevant* knowledge on education to client countries. We are also aware that the Bank embraced Knowledge Management (KM) as a short-term tactic in response to criticisms. Drawing from its precedent in global corporations, KM is central to the Bank's public relations (Samoff and Stromquist, 2000; Khanna, 2000; Denning, 1998; Haas, 1990).

As O'Neil (2000) argues, people and researchers in poor developing countries must take the lead in producing knowledge for the benefit of their own communities. The World Bank as a knowledge broker cannot successfully evaluate information and knowledge on behalf of those whose lives the knowledge is designed to benefit.

To achieve people-centred and sustainable development in Sub-Saharan Africa, the World Bank and other development experts must build on local knowledge and resources in order

to reduce the likelihood that a development intervention will “de-skill” people or increase their dependence on external experts and knowledge (Korten, 1980). Building on local knowledge will empower people by increasing their self-reliance (Van Vlaenderen, 2000).

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Knowledge Society, Education, and Aid

Jandhyala Tilak, National Institute of Educational Planning & Administration
New Delhi
E-mail: jtilak@vsnl.com

The paper describes the salient features of the emerging knowledge society, its relationship with education, and the role of the international organisations in knowledge development and knowledge management, and specifically the need for knowledge-based aid policies.

Knowledge can be classified typically into popular knowledge and erudite knowledge. The former one is commonsense knowledge of the everyday world, acquired through experience. When one is discussing nowadays about knowledge societies, certainly, it is not the popular or the commonsense knowledge that is being discussed, though it is very important. It is the erudite knowledge, which is generally produced traditionally in the universities and research institutions, that is of prime concern. The concept of knowledge society is being given a wider interpretation in nature and scope than the traditional concepts of 'literate society,' 'learning society' and 'educated society', though they are very closely related, so closely related that there is a danger of their being treated as synonymous. Ideally, knowledge society presupposes not just a literate, or a computer literate society, not even a just educated society, but a highly educated society, not just with skilled workers, but 'knowledge workers'. In addition, a knowledge society is characterised by three important attributes, viz., creative capacity, innovative talent and ability to determine relevance. All this can be created and nourished by a good and vibrant education system.

Knowledge societies have always existed; what is new is the speed at which knowledge is growing. The sheer volume of knowledge and the pace at which it is exploding is remarkable particularly during the last 1-2 decades. Socioeconomic developments on the one hand, and technological development on the other – both have been responsible for the knowledge explosion. Not only the pace of production of knowledge, but also the pace at which it becomes obsolescent is indeed a remarkable feature of the 21st century society. So it is not just production of knowledge, and access to knowledge that is important, but also the speed at which access to *marginal additions* to knowledge can be obtained becomes critical in a sound knowledge society.

Some of the emerging trends of a knowledge society may be new, and some disturbing. The nature and trends in the growth of knowledge society are also closely linked to the wider context of globalisation and explosion in technology. 'Knowledge society,' 'globalisation' and 'technology society' are closely related to each other; they interact with and reinforce each other, producing different kinds of effects.

The most important aspect of 'knowledge society' lies in its education system, more particularly the higher education system. Education and research are regarded as public goods, so is knowledge. Knowledge is in fact, an *international public good* or *global public good*. Hence a careful plan is required on progressing towards a modern knowledge society. The creation and development of a knowledge base takes time. Systematic, long term and sustained efforts are necessary for the creation and development of knowledge. Holistic planning of education, giving due importance to all layers of education is critical in this context. It has to be underscored that knowledge societies cannot be created overnight, nor can they be created by ignoring education systems. Further, even in interdependent globalised world economy, building up of knowledge societies requires strong national systems of education.

International aid organisations have been active in the development of education directly, and thereby in the knowledge development indirectly in developing countries. The recent interest in 'knowledge-based aid' presupposes that most aid policies until now have been not necessarily knowledge-based. One may get rightly such a feeling, noting the adoption of same kind of methodologies, framework, terms, conditions, aid memoirs, reviews, appraisals, reappraisals, pre-determined policy prescriptions, etc., in the aid programmes, whether the programmes are in Sub-Saharan Africa, or in South East Asia or South Asia or Latin America and whether they refer to energy, power, infrastructure or education, health or poverty. . So while aid is not new, *knowledge based aid* may sound new.

The base of the knowledge of various aid organisations is highly uneven. Some of the international aid organisations are not necessarily knowledge-building or learning institutions. Developing countries might view that many of these aid (more particularly lending) organisations rarely learn from their experiences; they know very little about developing countries; and refuse to learn anything from developing countries. This may be because of the familiar arrogance of the aid organisations that knowledge transfer is necessarily a one-way transaction – from the aid organisations or developed countries to developing countries. The aid organisations are viewed as “anti-learning” in nature and culture. Similarly aid organisations may think that there is no knowledge base existing in developing countries, or if there is, it is insignificant and not much use.

A good and sound knowledge base is important not just for aid organisations, but also for the aid receiving developing countries. It is critically important for both. The costs of having no strong knowledge base could be serious for aid organisations in terms of inefficient, uneconomic or unviable investments of monetary resources. But the costs for the developing countries could be far more serious in terms of social, economic and political dimensions. Hence developing countries should be more concerned about building up a knowledge base on aid policies, mechanisms and their impact.

Therefore, governments may have to assume a more important role in building a critical, sound and sustainable knowledge base, as the risks involved are higher for them. International organisations may supplement, only supplement, the efforts of the domestic governments. Developing countries may be in better position to develop critical, useful and relevant knowledge base than foreign countries or international aid organisations. As the World Bank also admitted in the *World Development Report* (1999), “it is knowledge created in developing countries themselves that usually is most important.”

International co-operation in the area of research takes several forms, important ones of which can be noted as: (a) research by the international organisations, (b) funding of research to be conducted by native researchers and research organisations; and (c) joint or collaborative research. Research of type (a) is largely conducted by the international organisations themselves, and/or through consultants hired by the international organisations. International co-operation in research, particularly in the area education development and policy, which largely takes the form of research of the consultants, if not consultancy, may displace public funding of research; it also sets new research agenda; the short term needs and compulsions of international research also contribute to negating the value of long-term research on the one hand, and building of sustainable capacities of the universities and research institutions; and as a corollary to research conducted or sponsored by international organisations, domestic research generally gets devalued. The devaluation of local research is made not only by the international organisations, but also by the local governments and research community in the country. There can also be a great shift in the research paradigm: research may mean no more the creation of knowledge or a search for absolute truths, as espoused by long traditions in research in sciences --social and physical sciences; it may be more concerned with pragmatic aspects of feasibility. Research on how to do (know-how) replaces

intellectual and academic research. Distinction between information and research becomes very thin. A large part of research conducted under the framework evaluations has contributed to this phenomenon. Despite all of this, international organisations can play an important and positive role in helping developing countries in building strong and sustainable knowledge bases in developing countries.

While international co-operation is very important, developing countries should make serious efforts at developing and strengthening their own research. They can stimulate more critical, objective and socially relevant research, promoting research in universities and institutions of higher education, developing networks of universities and research institutions within countries and outside, and through sound and meaningful policies of funding research. In short, based on the principle of comparative advantage, it can be suggested that knowledge development should be the main responsibility of governments in developing countries, while knowledge management could be the task of the international aid organisations.

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*21ST CENTURY HIGHER EDUCATION INGREDIENTS FOR DEVELOPMENT
THE TRIPLE HELIX (TH) VIEWPOINT*

Lawrence Ben EFANA, University of Tampere, Finland
E-mail: lolaef@uta.fi

The desire to look into “knowledge paradigms and world development has come at a good time. There have been radical policies, institutional and managerial approaches to knowledge production and utilisation on the one hand. Development at the global, national and local levels has also witnessed radical value changes on the other hand. The fundamentals defining these changes, especially in development are many and varied. A common obvious trend is to couple the knowledge production sector involving the education sector, to development. The coupling socialises especially the processes of knowledge infrastructures and production by making them more society and development centered. Looking back critically, this is a clear deviation from the “classical” values and approach to issues of knowledge in development. In my paper, an effort has been made to present the TH viewpoint in the process, and why it rightly falls into the class of the knowledge paradigms active in world development at present.

The intention is not to treat the entire sector of education and its role in development. That would be too broad a task for a single research and analysis, and more-so this abstract is from a project plan on the TH’s “Tripartite Relationships” (TRs) sub-models, designed for a comparative study of university organisation types and outputs. The project objective is partly to confirm the status of TH as knowledge paradigm in development and examine its consequences for higher education. Since the education sector is large and its challenges and functions in development are multiple, the plan concentrates on the higher level sub-sector and not lower levels.

For educational research and other researches relating to its structures, functions, problems and prospects, specification of the level is essential. Each level is rated differently and it is a common belief that its development values are different but binary. Similarly the expectation or burden of each level is explained by the enormous variations in the values and practical policies driving them. The good thing about it is the tendency to globalise discourses on changes in the sector and the impacts on development. It reflects the need for general comparative picture of the situation and information. Nevertheless,

the general information could be misleading because often too many issues are subsumed or not stated as a part of the working assumptions, which is characteristic of many global studies, some of which bypass academic strictures and methods of comparison. For some reason this may unwittingly create a misnomer process by 'flooding' concepts and paradigms. General and common experiences should not subsume the 'particulars' without some restraint when study foundations are weak.

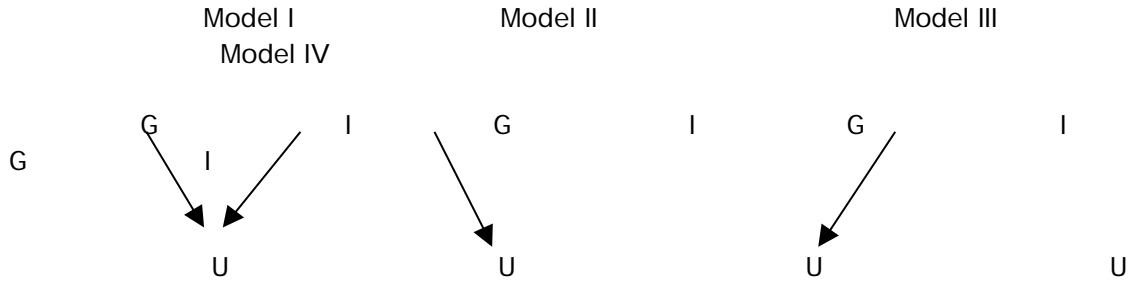
One problem is the radical change observed in higher education sub-sector and its coupling to development is not global. There is a divide in enjoyment of the fruits of this radical change as observed between the "North" and "South". The mention of this point is not to amplify the problem implied, but to learn from the new paradigm. One obvious fact is that the education sector generally and its higher level sub-sector in particular have seen paradigms come and go. In the contemporary context the evolution of learning, development and analytical efforts, including critiques and revisions always engineer new paradigms as a tool for those who care to move ahead instead of stagnation. It would take the sector's history and that of national development to outline how this has been happening. They will not be rehearsed in the abstract, but move on to the immediate question: what is the scope of TH as knowledge paradigm in world development, and how does it help us comprehend and approach the problems of higher education and development disparity globally, nationally and regionally?

Development and the effects of changes in global values and the constraints of high cost empirically rationalise the grounds to reassess modern higher education to find new roles, priorities and management culture for it. The result is the amalgam of learning and development. Its events carry along value conflicts. In other-words, the roles and functions of higher education are a potential source of conflict pitting the old and new philosophical values of cognitive learning and enlightenment classics against non-such. That problem is about what higher education can and cannot do in development, which is "a holly field" in academic discourses. What the era of new knowledge paradigm in world development leads to is never final. TH captures the trend. In theory it is about the relationship between the university, industry and government. This is the base for the TRs and it is important for the process of knowledge production and utilisation in development as a way of approaching knowledge paradigms in (world) development. The society places demands on knowledge due to changing development niches and technology. TH values are real for higher educational structures, organisations and human needs in varied and ideal TRs theoretical contexts. Knorr-Cetina (1982), Latour (1983) and Bijker (1987) interpret its network ideas as the "seamless web" and "binary" marks of progress and interdependence involving organisational processes, knowledge production and utilisation dynamics, society, science and technologies. Academic structures are central in TH normative values. They aim at changing the structures and organisational settings of higher education culture and outputs. Financing strategies play a key role rendering therefore TRs consequences relatively extensive for the sub-sector, society and development.

When Gibbons, et al (1994) wrote about "The New Knowledge Production..." it was about the TH; and when he set out in the 1998 article in NORRAG to apply its arguments to the experience in the South, he was weighing failures against the background of the success in the North. In higher education TH is involved with the double act of promoting learning and development simultaneously (Mitra & Matlay 2000). It suggests that organisational values and art of producing and utilising knowledge in development has changed radically in recent years' global classroom and market-place (Gibbons et al 1994); and that the tertiary organisations turning to the entrepreneur culture are overtaken by the evolution of their development and the forces of change

(Clark et al 1998). In the project plan the new knowledge paradigm is constructed as below in figure 1 for critical analysis, comparison and search for the best practice model in it.

Figure 1: The structure of TRs in a TH theory



Key: U - University / I - Industry / G - Government (TRs)

Public university structures are involved in I. 'Financiation' makes them relatively highly dependent. II is the same but emphasises on the central, regional and state government-owned university structures; III mostly for private university structures; and IV for the relatively free university structures without major TRs. The figure is ideal. It shows that the TRs vary in the degrees indicated by the arrows, and that its models are able to explain types of higher education structures, their histories and outputs theoretically and empirically in different or similar contexts and environments. TH gained a paradigm status at the advent of post neo-liberal development studies of the past few decades. The international conferences: Amsterdam 1996; Purchase in New York 1998 and Rio de Janeiro 2000 have added to its status (De Mello & Etzkowitz 2000). Materials are now available on its paradigm contents clustered by the norms and dynamics of new technologies, innovations, new knowledge production and utilisation, markets and global competition; matched also by new and exotic organisational breakthroughs with the indicators: incubator centres, strategic alliance centres, technology transfer centres, science parks, centres of excellence, and industrial research centres. TH supplies the base to search for the "best practice" amalgam model for knowledge in development and the North is exploiting it. Innovation is a significant concept in the fold of the new paradigm.

Coleman and David Court (1993:297) explained in their study that in higher education universities are a high cost structure. In the poorer regions of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), Asia and Latin America the burden it raises is self-evident. Researchers generally show that even relatively wealthy regions also experience the high cost problem. The experience is relative but common to generalise about the crisis of higher education and university organisations (Clark 1998). The crisis is severer in the poorer regions albeit the World Bank and UNESCO describe it as a global problem. To conclude, let me state that we now operate a new higher education paradigm. Aid agencies will be more satisfied with the results of their inputs in the South by critically reassessing the need for behavioural change process and capacity-building there. There is still empirical evidence of prejudices rooted in academics and non-academic public and private agents that hamper work with TH and TRs in the South. Lack of supportive policy to reinforce higher education-society relationship in the latter sense, will keep them 'followers' and not 'producers', which is altogether unhealthy for knowledge values, utilisation, and world development.

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- Latour B. (19983). Give me the laboratory and I will raise the world in *Science Observed*. London. SAGE.
- Mitra Jay & Harry Matlay (2000): Entrepreneurship and learning: the double act in *the triple helix*. Enterprise Research & Development Centre. UCE Business School, UK.

MEETINGS

MEETINGS

Thank you once again for sending in listings of meetings that are to take place in the next six months or thereabouts. As previously:

O = Open; I = By invitation

Date	Title of Meeting	Venue	Sponsor	Contact	O or I
Feb 5-8	Learntec 2000 10 th European Congress and Specialist Trade Fair for Educational and Information Technology	Karlsruhe Germany	Karlsruhe Congress and Ausstellungs- GmbH	LEARNTEC Karlsruhe P O Box 12 08 D-76002 Karlsruhe Germany	O
May 17th	Partnership and Inter-organisational learning: Issues for research	Warwick England	International Centre for Education in Development (INCED)	Celine Moore Dept of Continuing Education University of Warwick Coventry CV4 7AL England Conted@warwick.ac.uk	O
Mar 19	The global higher education market: shifting roles, changing rules	The Hague The Netherlands	NUFFIC	www.nuffic50years.com	O
May 22 - 23	A new approach to African development: internal and external visions	Edinburgh Scotland	Centre of African Studies University of Edinburgh	Centre of African Studies University of Edinburgh 21 George Square Edinburgh EH8 9LD Scotland P.King@ed.ac.uk +44 131 6503878	O
24- 25	Fourth International Conference on Education	Athens Greece	Athens Institute of for Education and Research (AT.IN.E.R.)	G T Papanikos AT.IN.E.R. 14 Solomou Street 10683 Athens Greece Atiner@otenet.gr	O

July 29 – Aug 2	Transforming education for development	Durban South Africa	The Commonwealth of Learning/The National Department of Education of South Africa (NADEOSA)	2 ND Pan- Commonwealth Forum on Open Learning c/o Event Dynamics P O Box 98009 Sloane Park 2152 South Africa Helene@eventdynamics.co.za	O
Sept 6-8	Lifelong learning and the building of human and social capital	Nottingham UK	British Association of International and Comparative Education (BAICE)	W J Morgan Centre for Comparative Education Research School of Continuing Education University of Nottingham Jubilee Campus Nottingham NG8 1BB John.morgan@nottingham.ac.uk	
Sept 9-11	What can we learn from Africa?	Birmingham UK	African Studies Association of UK (ASAUK)	Karin Barber Centre of West African Studies University of Birmingham Edgbaston Birmingham B15 2TT England	O
11- 14	14 th Annual conference of the European Association for International Education (EAIE)	Porto Portugal	EAIE	EAIE Secretariat P O Box 11189 1001 GD Amsterdam The Netherlands Eaie@eaie.nl	O
19- 21	10 th General Conference of EADI. EU enlargement in a changing world: challenges for development co- operation in the 21 st century	Ljubljana Slovenia	European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI)	EADI Secretariat Kaiser-Friedrich strasse 11 D-53113 Bonn Germany	O

You will notice that only a few meetings have been mentioned in this issue. Please ensure you send information on meetings you know about so these can be circulated as widely as possible.

BOOKS AND CONFERENCES

A NEW BOOK FROM THE NORRAG STABLE

DFID'S EDUCATION RESEARCH STRATEGY

**A NEW APPROACH TO AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT?
INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL VISIONS**

A NEW BOOK FROM THE NORRAG STABLE!

[NORRAG members who enjoyed the short pieces in NN28 may find it valuable to look at the full-length chapters in this book which was launched in September 2002 in the Oxford Conference.]

Development Knowledge, National Research and International Co-operation

Edited by Wolfgang Gmelin, Kenneth King and Simon McGrath

CONTENTS

Knowledge-based Aid and Learning-based Development

By Wolfgang Gmelin, Kenneth King and Simon McGrath

«Knowledge Agencies»: Making the Globalisation of Development
Knowledge Work for the North and the South?

By Kenneth King

The Rise of the Knowledge Management Fashion: A Consequence of the
Decline of the Development Ideology?

By Michel Carton

The Social Theory of Knowledge and Knowledge for Development: is
Mutual Understanding Possible?

By Simon McGrath

Knowledge Management in the Corporate Sector: Implications for Education

By Noel McGinn

«Knowledge-Based International Aid»: Do we Want it, do we Need it?

By Rosa-Maria Torres

Reversing the Process of Development: Initiating the Discussion

By Aklilu Habte

Knowledge Sharing in the North and South

By Stephen Denning

Knowledge Sharing: Inside In, Inside Out, Outside In, Outside Out

By Charles Clift

Knowledge Management in a Development Agency: The Case of GTZ

By Herbert Bergmann

Sharing Knowledge away from the Core: The Potential for Knowledge
Partnerships

By Anderson Shankanga and Phyllis Johnson

Inside out and Upside down: a Case Study on the Harsh Realities of Going
Virtual

By Louk Box

Education Decision-Making and Knowledge Sharing: Some Lessons from
the Eastern and Southern Africa Region

By Kilemi Mwiria

Knowledge Perspectives in JICA

By Keiichi Kato

Universities and National Knowledge-based Development: An Alternative to
a Global Knowledge Bank

By José-Luis Coraggio

Building North-South Knowledge Capacity

By Ingemar Gustafsson

Learning in Development Co-operation as Part of the Development of
Knowledge

By Lennart Wohlgemuth

Knowledge Development and International Aid

By Jandhyala Tilak

Knowledge Capacity Building in South Africa: both Global and Local
Strategies

By Adrienne Bird

Knowledge, Skills, Craft and Art: North - South Symmetry and Difference

By Pravina Khilnani King

Managing Which and Whose Knowledge for Development

By Wolfgang Gmelin

[ISBN 0 95279 17 65 September 2001 pp 306 Price £15 + p&p. Orders to
P.King@ed.ac.uk, or to The CAS Bookshop, CAS, 21 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9LD.]

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UK FORUM FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING (UKFIET)

in association with

THE DEPARTMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT [DFID]

[The following is an early version of an invitation which will be going out to the UK
international education and training constituency in February. It is anticipated that many
NORRAG members within the UK will be interested, and there may be others in continental
Europe who would find this day of discussion of interest.]

Dear Colleague,

DFID's Education Research Strategy: Impact, Dissemination and New Priorities

We would like to invite you to a colloquium on DFID's Education Research Strategy, which is being organised by UKFIET in association with the Department for International Development. It will take place from 10.30-16.30 on **Tuesday 12 March, 2002**, at the Department for International Development, now located at 1 Palace Street, London SW1E 5HE. Coffee will be available from 10.00 and a buffet lunch will be served.

The purpose of the colloquium is to discuss the priorities, modalities, products and influence of DFID's growing knowledge base on Education and Training. Over the last 20 years, but particularly in the 1990s, ODA/DFID commissioned one of the more substantial bodies of education research of any of the bilateral agencies. By the year 2000, more than 40 titles had been published in the Education Research Paper series, not to mention earlier commissioned research, and studies issued as reports, or published outside the Education Research Paper series. Since 2000, more than 30 new research projects have been commissioned. And during 2001 and early 2002 a new education research policy is being developed on a draft of which DFID is expecting comment during this Colloquium.

At this transition point between the corpus of published work and the completion of a large body of new work, UKFIET, whose members are in many cases both the producers and consumers of this research, feel it would be valuable to react to what has been funded, and to discuss how it has fed into the policy process as well as into teaching and further research.

In this respect, the Colloquium is timely since the Education Division of DFID has very recently put the 42 existing titles onto a freely available CD-Rom, and it has been carrying out its own assessment of the dissemination and impact of this series within the UK, in selected countries and with other agencies. Early results of this evaluation will be available at this Colloquium.

The Colloquium will cover, in four sessions: DFID's new education research priorities; its research modalities; the research products; and the dissemination and impact of the research.

It will be chaired by Professor Kenneth King, University of Edinburgh, and by Alison Girdwood, Commonwealth Secretariat. Each of the four topics will be addressed by a speaker from DFID and a speaker from an affiliate of UKFIET or the NFER. The proceedings will end with a panel discussion of wider issues related to the Colloquium's theme, which will be chaired by Professor Lalage Bown.

The meeting will be of interest to a variety of groups concerned with international education and training, in particular to those involved in teaching and research, university links and exchanges, research funding, and involvement in reform and development overseas. Participants will be drawn from a range of institutions and organizations such as the British Council, the Commonwealth Secretariat, DFID, NFER, higher and further education institutions, and NGOs.

We hope you will be able to accept this invitation to take part in the discussion. An application form follows. We anticipate a lively interest in the subject. Please would you circulate this information to colleagues and let me know as soon as possible, and at the latest, by **Tuesday, 5 March, 2002**, whether you are able to attend. An application form follows.

With best wishes,

Thelma Henderson
UKFIET Colloquium Organiser

DFID'S Education Research Strategy

Application Form

Name.....Title.....

Address.....

.....

.....

Tel.....Fax.....Email.....

I would like to attend this Colloquium on Tuesday 12 March, at the Department for International Development, 1 Palace Street, London SW1E 5HE. Please find attached a cheque for £.....

Fees. Attendance at the Colloquium, including, subsequently, a volume of published papers: (a) £45, non-UKFIET members; (b) £35, UKFIET members; (c) £20, postgraduate students.

Cheques to be made out to UKFIET. Please return this slip, and accompanying cheque, to Thelma Henderson, UKFIET Colloquium Organiser, 4 Spring Court, Spring Hill, Bubbenhall, Coventry CV8 3BD by Tuesday, 5 March 2002.

Enquiries:

Colloquium enquiries to Thelma Henderson. Tel: +44 (0)24 7663 9841. Email:

Thson349@aol.com

UKFIET membership enquiries to Caroline Nursey, (UKFIET Membership Secretary), WUS (UK), 14 Dufferin Street, London EC1Y 8PD. Tel: 020 7426 5820. Email:

caroline@wusuk.org or visit the website www.ukfiet.fsnet.co.uk where you will find more information and an application form.

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A NEW APPROACH TO AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT?

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL VISIONS

**The Edinburgh International Conference on African Studies 2002
May 22-3, Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh**

Forty years on from the start of African political liberation, the pursuit of economic development remains a major challenge across the continent. The beginning of the millennium, however, has seen attempts to construct a new vision and strategy for African development from within Africa, most closely linked to the New Partnership for Africa's Development. Concurrently, Northern agencies for development cooperation have also begun to cooperate on a new strategy for African development, centred on the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers. This conference will seek to examine both

approaches and their intended interactions. In so doing, it will also address current thinking on issues of partnership, conditionality and the role of knowledge in development. However, it is important to note that the historical fascination with state-based development needs to be tempered by a consideration of the roles of other actors: civil society, private sector, NGOs and the transnational philanthropic foundations.

The conference will seek to bring together government and agency officials, North and South, with NGO staff and researchers. The concern will be with ensuring a discussion of modalities and strategies for development, but at the same time maintaining a concern with broader philosophical issues and an understanding of historical experiences. The latter is particularly pertinent as this conference also celebrates the fortieth anniversary of the Centre of African Studies.

Conference themes:

- Assessing African development 40 years after independence
- New approaches to African development: initiatives of African states
- New approaches to African development: initiatives of donors
- Beyond the state: civil society and private sector
- Ownership, partnership or domination: the future of African development

The conference will also include a keynote Royal African Society lecture on Wednesday evening by a leading African academic and a final session on «Edinburgh, Africa and Development» with contributions from past and present CAS staff.

Enquiries: Further information on the conference, including a detailed programme, is available from Pravina King at +44 131 6503878; fax: +44 131 650 6535; email: p.king@ed.ac.uk and by mail to Pravina King, Centre of African Studies, 21 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9LD, Scotland, UK.
