AID TO EDUCATION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: HOW MUCH, TO WHOM, FOR WHAT? WHAT HAS COMPARATIVE EDUCATION TO SAY?

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ABSTRACT: The Sustainable Development Goals commit all countries to make rights to education realities for all children. Most of those out of school, and in school but not learning, are in Low Income Countries. Poor countries allocate 3%-4% of GDP to education. 6% is needed to finance universal primary and secondary school. Aid can help. However, aid to education in poor countries has stagnated since 2010 at USD 12 Billion annually. Aid can accelerate development that is self-sustaining through investment in human capitals and the promotion of public goods. Over the last three decades national investment has helped some countries transform their education systems. In other countries progress has been disappointing. The challenge for old and new donors to education is how should future aid be provided to promote sustainable development aid and how can Comparative Education help?

Keywords: Sustainable Development Goals. International Aid to Education. Global Partnership for Education. Education Finance. Gender.

1 INTRODUCTION

Over 250 million children fail to complete nine years of education successfully. The Sustainable Development Goals commit all countries to make rights to education realities for all school age children. Most of those out of school, and in school but not learning are in Low and Low Middle Income countries. Despite the evidence of unmet needs to finance and deliver educational services globally aid to education in poor countries has stagnated since 2010 at about USD 12 Billion annually. Though new donors have committed additional funds this has only just compensated for a diminished appetite amongst conventional donors to allocate funds to education.

One of the main purposes of aid is to accelerate development that is self-sustaining. Theoretically investment in education can enhance the formation of human capitals and aid can compensate for market failures that may result in under-investment in education with negative consequences for economic growth and social equity (UNICEF 2015). Large scale data sets are now available over time that allow analysis of trends in aid and associations of development indicators with levels of external assistance. Patterns of allocation of aid can be linked to indicators of poverty, under enrolment, fragility, and economic growth.

Over the last three decades national investment has partnered with external assistance to help some countries transform their education systems. In other countries progress has been disappointing raising the question as to whether more aid of the same kind will make a difference in future. The challenge of the SDGs, and for new donors to education for development, is to decide how future investment in education in low and low middle income countries should be profiled.

The purpose of this paper is to answer three questions.

- First, how has international aid to education developed and what are the patterns of allocation?
- Second, how much additional finance is needed to meet the goals for educational development set by the Sustainable Development Goals?
- Third, what are likely to be the most effective forms of aid to education that will accelerate development without creating national dependence on external support?

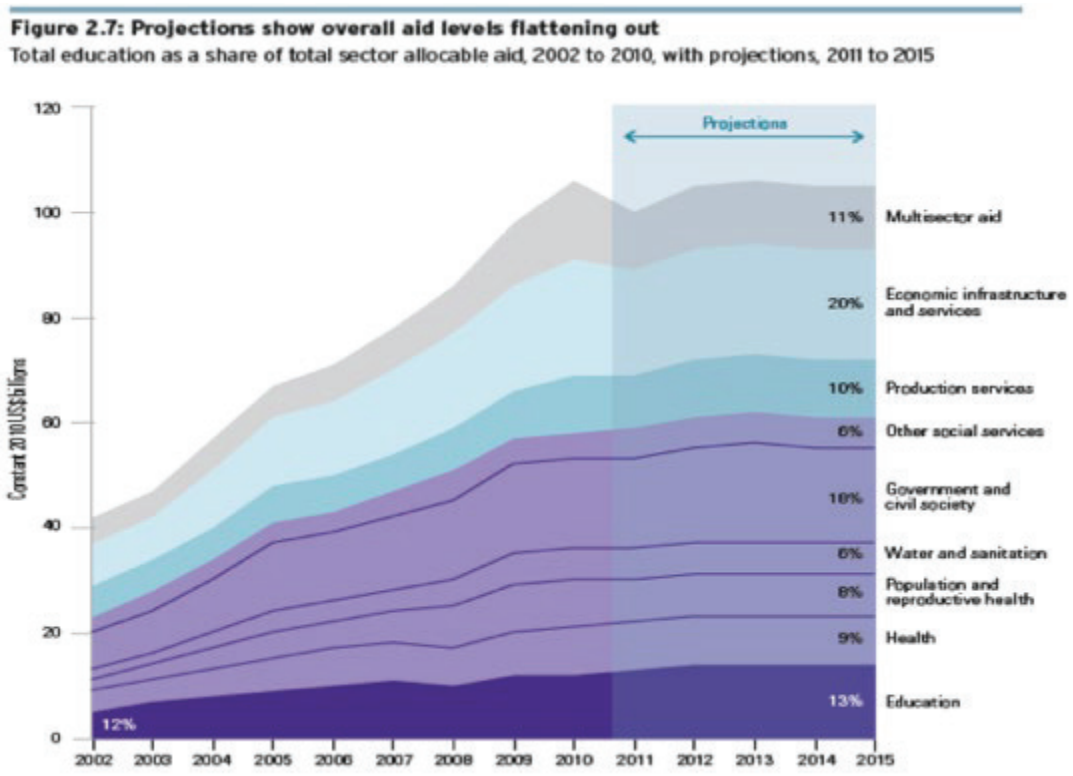
Comparative Education can provide illustrations of cases where aid has been transformational and cases where it has had little impact. It can explore and explore and explain the 3–Ds of Development - *Differences, Distributions and Desires*. *Differences* arise when countries develop at different rates in different directions. Describing the differences and linking these to educational investment can illuminate cause and effect. Uneven *Distribution* – of educational opportunity, participation and outcomes - is characteristic of development. When the unevenness increases rather than diminishes equity will deteriorate with consequences for efficiency and effectiveness. Understanding changing patterns of inequality is essential to judging how aid may affect equity (WIDE 2017). Lastly, *Desire* determines whether *Differences and Distributions* are regarded as fair and appropriate, or unfair and problematic. Social cohesion depends on the legitimacy given to patterns of difference and distribution of desired outcomes. Comparative education can shed light on how each of these dimensions are managed and may suggest where aid may be most effective.

2 INTERNATIONAL AID TO EDUCATION

Aid to education from member States of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC, 2017) rose from the year 2000 to reach about USD 16 Billion per year by 2010. Since then flows of aid have stagnated and may have slightly declined. Other sectors have received a growing proportion of international aid. Notably Health has grown rapidly to account for nearly 10% of total aid. Support to improve governance has also grown rapidly and is the second largest component (GMR, 2015). Investment in infrastructure remains the largest single commitment at about 20% of the total.

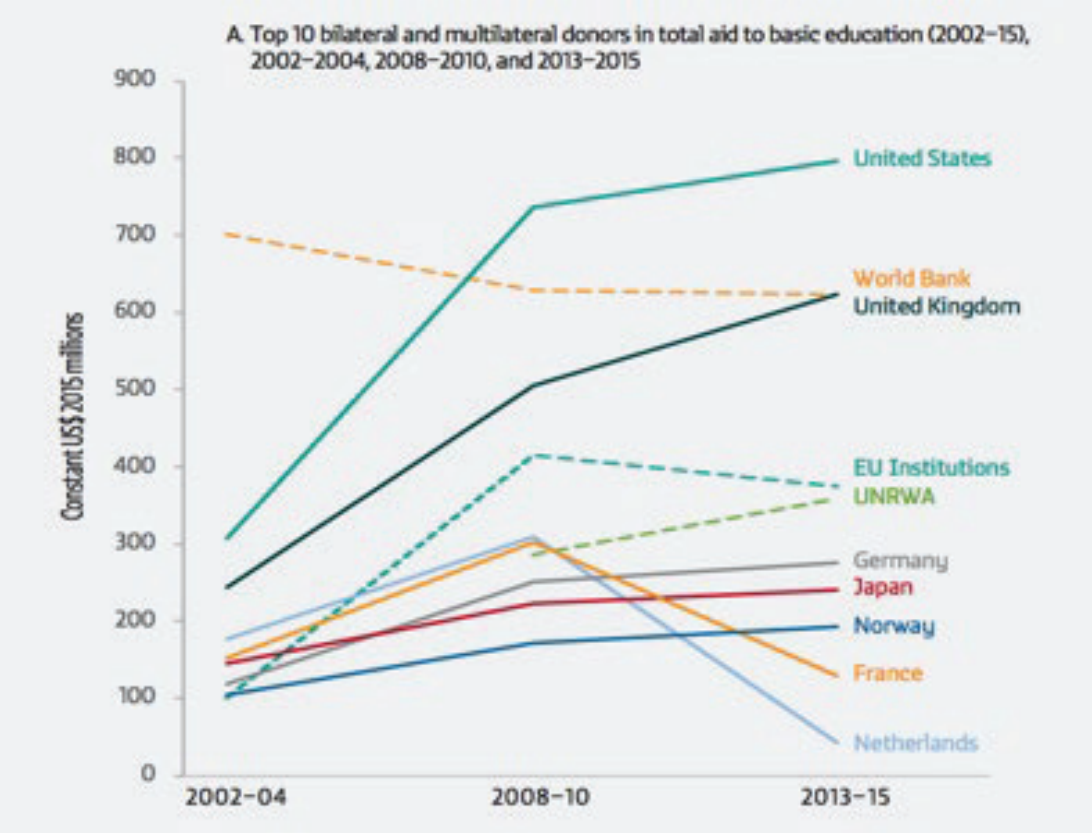
Most aid to education is provided by the USA, the World Bank and the United Kingdom each contributing between USD 600 and USD 800 Million. EU institutions and UNRWA are also big donors with about USD 400 million. The World Bank, EU Institutions, France and the Netherlands have seen the steepest declines in commitments to aid to education (GEMR, 2017). Recent development (IFCE, 2016) suggest that attempts will be made to reverse the decline in aid to education.

Figure 1 Aid to Education and other Sectors 2002-2015



Source: GMR (2015).

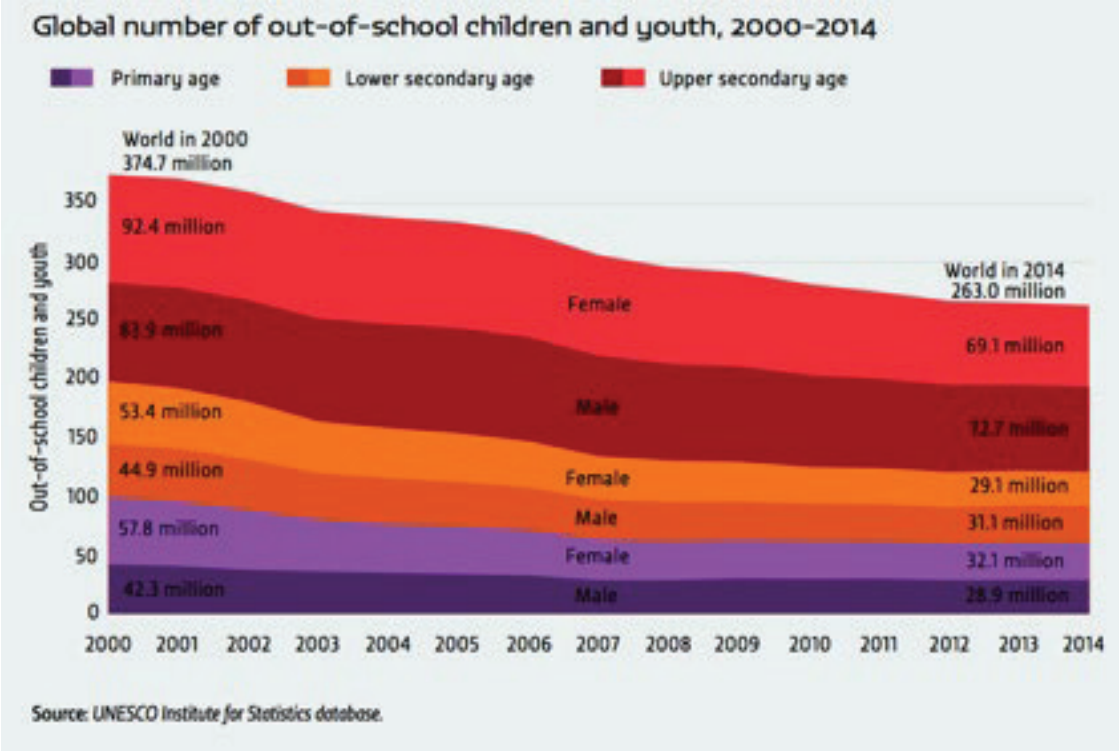
Figure 2 - Top 10 Aid Donors to Education



Source: GEMR (2017).

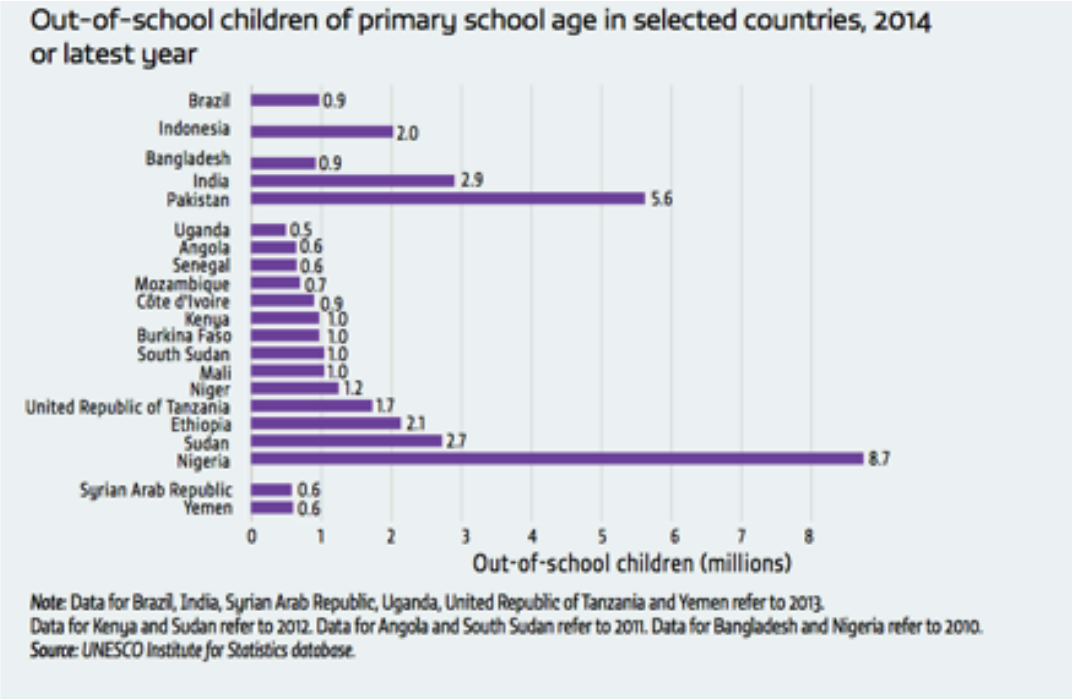
At the same time aid has stalled and in some cases declined, the number of children out of school has also stopped declining after a decade of progress up until 2010 (UIS, 2017). Over 370 million children and young adults were not in school in 2000. By 2014 this had fallen to about 260 million. The largest numbers not attending school were of high school age. More males were out of school at every level except primary school. Most of these children were in Sub-Saharan Africa and in South Asia. Nigeria and Pakistan have more out of school children that other countries.

Figure 3 - Out of School Children



Source: Database, UNESCO, Institute of Statistics.

Figure 4 - Out of School Children by Country

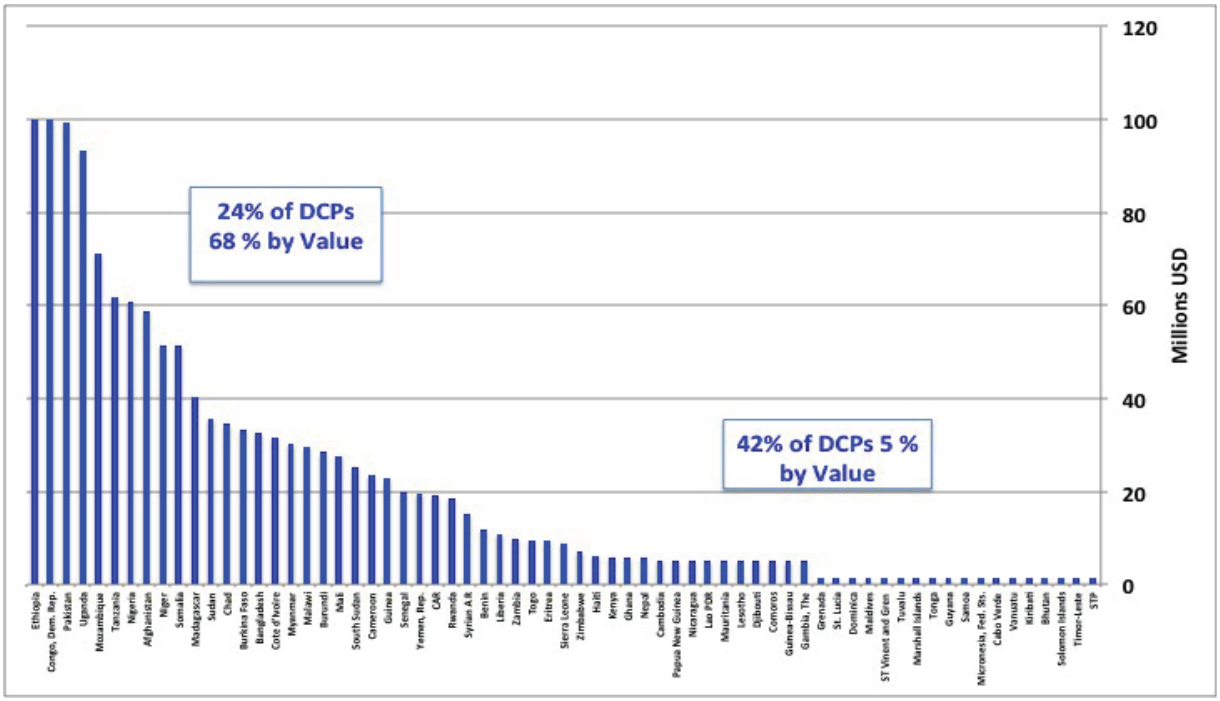


Source: GEMR (2017).

Aid to education from DAC countries is concentrated on the poorest states. Low Income Countries (LICs – GDP/capita below USD 1045) and Low Middle Income Countries (LMICs – GDP/capita below USD 4025) receive most concessional aid to education most of which is in grant form with no repayments. The pattern of aid allocations by the Global Partnership for Education (GPE), the largest single source of aid to basic education, is shown below.

About 24% of countries receiving this aid account for 68% of all aid by value. Some large countries like Ethiopia, Pakistan and DR Congo are major beneficiaries. On the other hand 42% of aid recipients receive less than 5% of all aid. Most of these countries are either small or richer or both, and they include many small island states.

Figure 5 - Aid to GPE Countries



Source: GPE (2017).

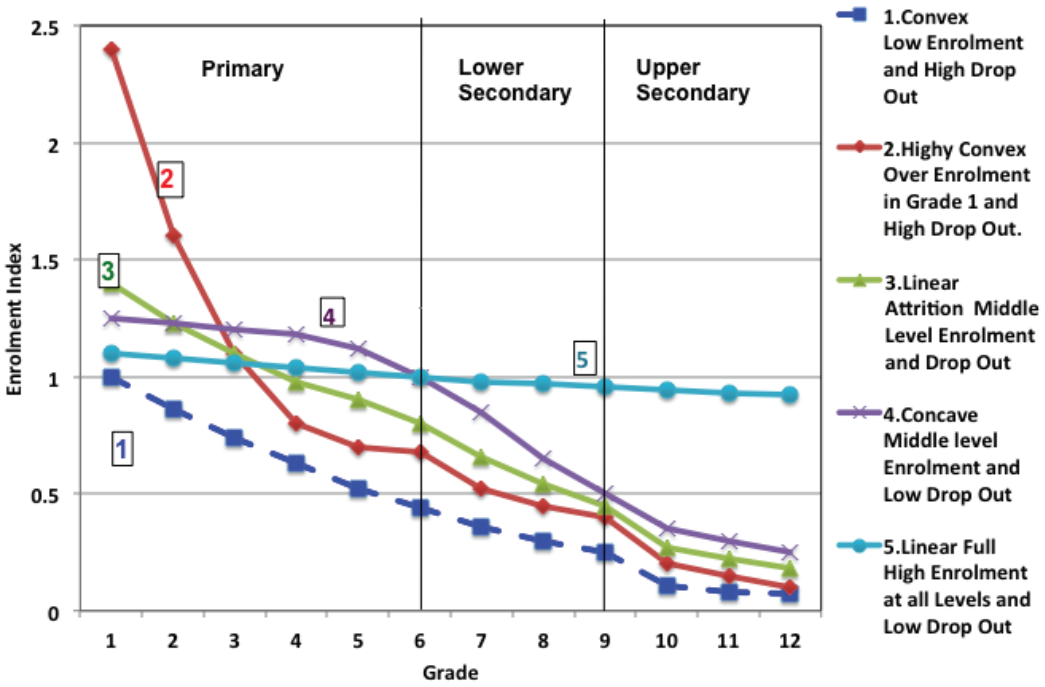
The recipients of educational aid vary greatly in how much they receive in total and how much they receive per capita. Flows are not stable over time and there is considerable volatility.

3 PATTERNS OF PARTICIPATION IN COUNTRIES RECEIVING AID

The pattern of enrolments by grade is an indicator of the level of system development and draws attention to how many children complete different levels of education. It also shows where many children are over age in lower grades, and where there are bottlenecks in the flow of students that lead to drop out.

Since the 1990s enrolment in LICs and LMICs has developed and into five characteristic types (LEWIN, 2008). Data on enrolments from more than 60 low and low middle income countries have been charted to show patterns of enrolment from grades 1 to grade 12 (LEWIN, 2017). The method uses an Index that compares enrolments in each grade with the population in the relevant age group. The five patterns are *(1) convex, (2) highly convex, (3) linear attrition, (4) concave, and (5) linear full*. Countries falling into each pattern are listed in Annex 1.

Figure 6 - Types of Enrolment by Grade in LICs and LMICs



Source Derived from Lewin (2008, 2015).

Table 1 - LICs and LMICs Classified by Enrolment Types

Pattern	LICs	LMICs	Comment
1. Convex: Low Enrolment High Drop Out Concave Curve	Burkina Faso, Eritrea, Gambia, Guinea, Haiti, Liberia, Mali, Niger, South Sudan, Sierra Leone	Cote D'Ivoire, Mauritania, Pakistan, Senegal	Intake rate and enrolment to grade 1 low and likely to include over-age children; low primary completion rates and very low lower secondary completion; progression strongly associated with household wealth
2. Highly Convex: Over Enrolment in Grade 1 and High Drop Out	Benin, Burundi, Chad,CAR, Comoros, Congo, DRC, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Timor Leste, Togo, Uganda,	Cameroon	Intake and enrolment to grade 1 very high with double the number of children in lower grades than in the age group; high drop out with less than 75% completing primary; less than 50% completing lower secondary; progression strongly associated with household wealth
3. Linear Attrition: Middle Level Enrolment and Drop Out	Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Nepal,	Lao PDR, Yemen, Nigeria	Intake and enrolment to grade 1 up to 40% more than in the age group; most but not all complete primary but less than 50% reach the end of lower secondary; children from richer households survive longer
4. Concave: Middle Level Enrolment and Low Drop Out	Tanzania	Bhutan, Ghana, Kenya, Honduras, Lesotho, Nicaragua, STP, Tanzania, Vietnam, Zambia, Zimbabwe	Intake and enrolment rates in grade 1 up to 10% more than in the age group; low drop out through primary with high completion rates; drop out accelerates through lower to upper secondary; children from richer households survive longer
5. Linear Full: High Enrolment and Low Drop Out	Tajikistan	Albania, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Mongolia, Uzbekistan,	Full intake and enrolment in primary grades though to grade 9 with little drop out.

Source: Derived from Lewin (2008, 2015).

- Type 1 countries have convex enrolment curves through to grade 12. Intake levels into grade 1 are similar to the number of children in the entry age group. The participation index (number enrolled / number in age group for grade) is close to 1 for grade 1. The tipping point, where there are as many children in the age group than are enrolled in school, is in grade 1 or grade 2. Drop out starts in grade 1 and results in fewer than 50% completing grade 6. Completion rates may be below 40% at primary, and are less than 20% for lower secondary. Development at secondary level is strongly constrained by the output from primary.
- Type 2 countries have very convex enrolment curves with high rates of over enrolment in the early grades of primary. Tipping points are typically around grade 3. Enrolment in grade 1 may exceed 200% of the number of children in the age group. High drop out means that less than 70% of the age group complete grade 6 and less than 50% reach grade 9. Over-enrolment arises from many children entering who are over age, and from high rates of repetition. In some countries this pattern has persisted for more than two decades. The implication is that one equilibrium with low enrolment, low drop out and low completion (Type 1), has been replaced by another with a very high intake, high enrolments, and a higher rate of drop out leading to low completion rates.
- Type 3 countries have enrolments that decline linearly with increasing grade, and the tipping point is around grade 4. It includes countries where the intake rate to grade 1 is high, but is less than 50% greater than the number of six year olds. No more than 75% of children in an age group reach the end of primary school. There may be serious issues with over-age children and repetition, and with persistent drop out such that fewer than 50% complete lower secondary. Primary completion rates constrain expansion of secondary school.
- Type 4 countries have concave enrolments and includes countries that are close to achieving universal completion of grade 6 but have less than 50% completing grade 9. Tipping points are around grade 6 or higher. These countries are more likely to have regularised intake into grade 1 so that all children are within a year of the appropriate age. Most of those who start primary finish at the right age. The biggest attrition occurs in lower secondary and less than half of all children succeed in entering upper secondary.
- Type 5 countries have full enrolment with similar numbers of children enrolled in each grade as there are in the relevant age cohort. Enrolment curves are linear and track the population growth of single age cohorts of children. There is no tipping point. These systems have achieved universal enrolment up to the end of lower secondary.

All the systems are likely to have quality, achievement and equity issues not evident from enrolment flow data. LICs are concentrated in Types 1, 2 and 3. LMICs are predominantly Type 4 and Type 5 systems. Time series analysis suggests that many Type 1 LMICs will graduate to become Type 2 or Type 3 within the next decade. It is also probable that Type 1 LICs will become Type 2 systems, and Type 2 become Type 3. Wherever there is significant drop out there will be inequalities of attainment. Large inequalities are likely to remain in all except Type 5 countries. The most significant correlates of exclusion across LICs and LMICs are household wealth, followed by location and then by gender (Lewin 2017).

PATTERNS OF PARTICIPATION AND GENDER

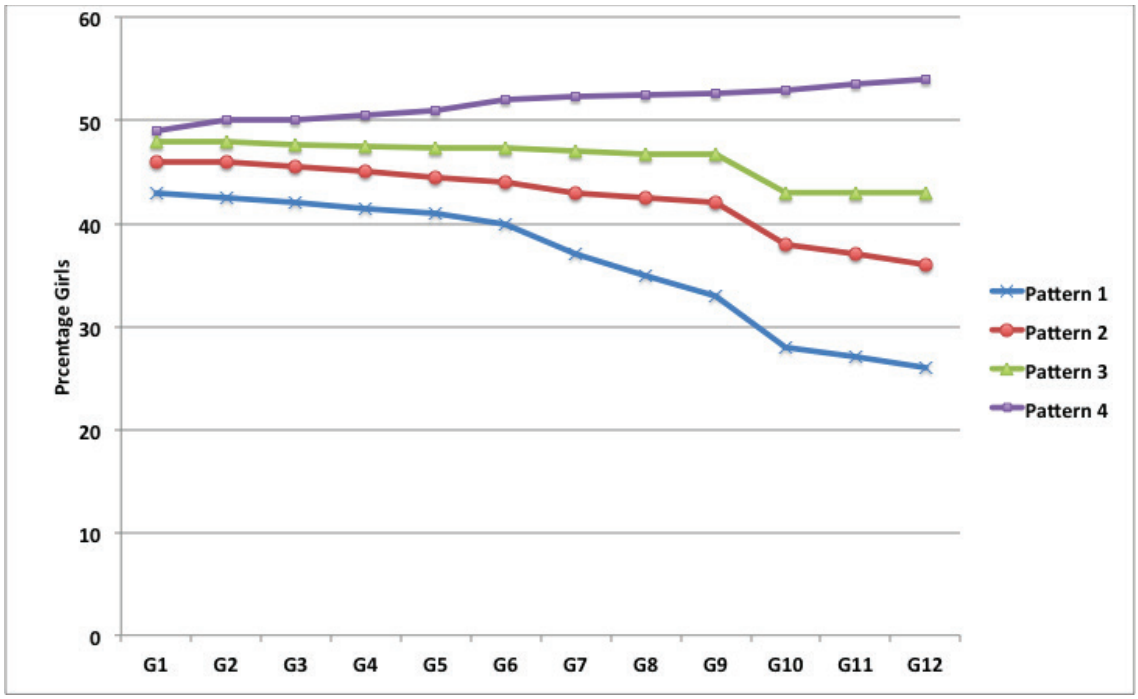
There was a consistent improvement in the balance of enrolments between girls and boys between 1980 and 1997 despite this including a period of falling enrolment rates as a result of widespread recession (Colclough, Al-Samarrai, Rose, and Tembon, 2003). The detailed patterns are complex. Overall in 1990 the Gender Parity Index (GPI) for all developing countries for primary enrolment was 0.86 and for SSA 0.79. By 2015 the value was 0.99 and for SSA 0.94. At secondary the GPI had reached 0.96 globally and 0.88 in SSA. In all regions girls out-enrolled boys at tertiary level except in South Asia and SSA.

A key issue is that the exclusion of boys has become much more visible especially amongst older age groups at higher educational levels (GEMR 2018b). Few would have predicted that by 2015 girls would out enrol boys in higher education in Europe, North and South America and the Caribbean by more 130 to 100, suggesting boys suffer from new kinds of social exclusion. In most LICs and LMICs it is the poor who appear to discriminate most against their girls rather than the rich in terms of enrolment in school.

Patterns of enrolment of girls and boys can also be synthesised from 60 LICs and LMICs into a single chart to profile participation by grade. A parity index indicates the percentage of girls enrolled by grade. The results illustrate the need for different strategies to accelerate progress towards gender equitable enrolments at each level.

There are four different patterns of gendered exclusion in LICs and LMICs. These can be described as *(1) strong exclusion of girls in all grades; (2), weak exclusion of girls in primary, strong exclusion at secondary; (3) near equity in primary and weak exclusion of girls at secondary; and (4) gender equity or enrolment of more girls than boys in most grades*.

Figure 7 - LICs and LMICs Classified by Percentage of Girls Enrolled by Grade



Source: Derived from Lewin (2008, 2015).

Table 2 - LICs and LMICs Classified by Patterns of Participation by Gender

Pattern	LICs	LMICs	Comment
Pattern 1 High Inequality	Afghanistan, CAR, Chad		40%-45% girls in grade 1 falling to less than 35% by grade 9
Pattern 2 Middle Inequality	Benin, DRC, Eritrea, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Togo,	Cote d'Ivoire, Pakistan, Yemen	45-47% girls in grade 1 falling to below 45% by grade 6 and below 40% by grade 9
Pattern 3 Low Inequality	Burkina Faso, Burundi, Congo, Guinea Bisau, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Tanzania	Cameroon Lao PDR, Nigeria	47% to 50% of girls in grade 1 with at least 45% up to grade 6. Grade 9 averages about 45%
Pattern 4 Equal Enrolment	Bangladesh, Bhutan, Cambodia, Gambia, Myanmar, Madagascar, Malawi, Nepal, Rwanda, STP, Timor Leste, Uganda, Vietnam,	Ghana, Guyana, Honduras, Kenya, Lesotho, Nicaragua, Senegal, Vietnam, Zambia	Average of 49% of girls in grade 1 and 50% in grade 6 and grade 9; more girls than boys in high enrolment countries; girls increase with grade level.

Source: Derived from Lewin (2008, 2015).

- DCPs with Pattern 1 have differential enrolment by gender throughout their education systems. They also are likely to have low level of participation for both boys and girls. It must be a priority to invest in interventions that increase participation of both girls and boys to much higher levels.

- Countries with Pattern 2 have fewer than 45% girls enrolled through primary and an important question is whether this kind of exclusion is concentrated amongst particular sub-populations e.g. the poorest households, specific social groups and geographic areas.
- Pattern 3 countries have equal enrolments of girls and boys up to the end of primary if equity is defined as 40% +/- 2%. The problem in these DCPs is that at secondary level girl's participation falls off. The common reasons are over-age progression, early marriage, under-achievement, low returns for household investment, and social prejudices against the education of girls. Which factors are most important are country specific.
- Pattern 4 exists where there is full enrolment. There is a tendency for girls to out enrol boys in some higher enrolment countries. In Pattern 4 DCPs there are no strong and systematic gender differences at an aggregate national level. This may or may not conceal differences within particular groups and regions that are country specific.

Analysis of the data sets indicates that in LICs and LMICs gendered enrolment patterns tend to diminish as enrolment rates increase and patterns 3 and 4 become the most common. Gender differences in enrolments are larger for secondary schools than for primary. Where enrolment rates at secondary are above 50% girls tend to out enrol boys. In SSA in most countries girls tend to enrol younger and leave school earlier than boys who repeat more often and remain until greater ages. Time sequence data shows that most LICs and LMICs have made substantial progress towards gender equity and 75% of LICs and LMICs are now either Type 3 or type 4. Strikingly data on wealth inequalities shows much greater discrimination than in chances of enrolment at different grade levels and less change or consistency in the direction of travel than gender differences (WIDE, 2017).

In Pattern 1 80% of girls and boys have similar enrolment status but only 5% of countries are in Type 1. In Pattern 2, 90% girls and boys have the same participation rates. The problem of more equitable enrolment is concentrated amongst the 10% of children that have different enrolment status suggesting sharply targeted interventions are much most likely to have an impact on the differences. In Pattern 3 and 4 the great majority of girls and boys have the same enrolment status. This does not mean that gender equity is achieved. Critically indicators other than enrolment and completion rates are needed to identify, monitor, and reduce forms of gendered preference and differential exclusions of girls or boys.

Aid in Transitioning Countries

Development is happening in many low income countries. The current threshold of the World Bank for Low Income Country status is $1045 and for Low Middle Income $4125. Just over 50% of the 64 countries receiving concessional aid fall into the LIC group[1].

Table 2 - LICs and LMICs and GDP/Capita

	LICs	GDP/Cap		LMICs	GDP/Cap
1	Burundi	260	32	Senegal	1050
2	Malawi	270	33	Mauritania	1060
3	CAR	320	34	Kenya	1160
4	Niger	400	35	Kyrgyzstan	1210
5	Liberia	410	36	Cameroon	1290
6	DRC	430	37	Yemen	1330
7	Madagascar	440	38	Pakistan	1360
8	Guinea	460	39	Côte d'Ivoire	1450
9	Ethiopia	470	40	Lao PDR	1450
10	Eritrea	490	41	STP	1470
11	Gambia	500	42	Lesotho	1500
12	Togo	530	43	Sudan	1550
13	Guinea-Bissau	590	44	Viet Nam	1740
14	Uganda	600	45	Ghana	1770
15	Mozambique	610	46	Nicaragua	1790
16	Rwanda	630	47	Zambia	1810
17	Sierra Leone	660	48	Uzbekistan	1880
18	Mali	670	49	PNG	2020
19	Afghanistan	690	50	Honduras	2180
20	Nepal	730	51	Bhutan	2330
21	Burkina Faso	750	52	R Moldova	2470
22	Benin	790	53	Congo	2590
23	Haiti	810	54	Nigeria	2710
24	Comoros	840	55	FSMicronesia	3280
25	URTanzania	860	56	Georgia	3560
26	Zimbabwe	860	57	Guyana	3750
27	Cambodia	950	58	Mongolia	3770
28	South Sudan	950	59	Marshall Is	4310
29	Tajikistan	990	60	Albania	4510
30	Bangladesh	1010			
31	Chad	1030			

Source: World Development Indicators (2016).

[1] GNP per capita, GDP per capita and GNI per capita have different meanings and need to be interpreted in the light of an understanding of how they are measured.

Economic growth will move some LICs into the Lower Middle Income Category (LMIC) and some to the Upper Middle Income category (UMIC). These transitions might make some countries DCPs ineligible for aid. Growth in GDP amongst DCPs is anticipated to average nearly 5% p.a. based on the most recent five year projections of the IMF (2014-2018). The range is wide from less than 2% p.a. to over 8%. At 4% growth GDP will increase by 50% in ten years. At 7% it will double in ten years.

GDP per capita will grow more slowly depending on the rate of population growth and whether demographic transition occurs. Annex 1 shows that demographic transition to low growth has occurred in China, is underway in India, but has yet to happen in Africa. Population growth rates in DCPs average about 2.1% for the population as a whole. The age group of 1-4 years olds is growing much more slowly at about 1.3% on average. There are wide variations between DCPs from below 1% to well over 3% p.a.. Within countries it is clear that in about half the cases the school age population is growing at less than 50% of the rate of the population as a whole. The reasons differ for different DCPs and include increased longevity, declining fertility, and differential migration. This means fewer children per adult of working age and should make it easier to finance universal participation.

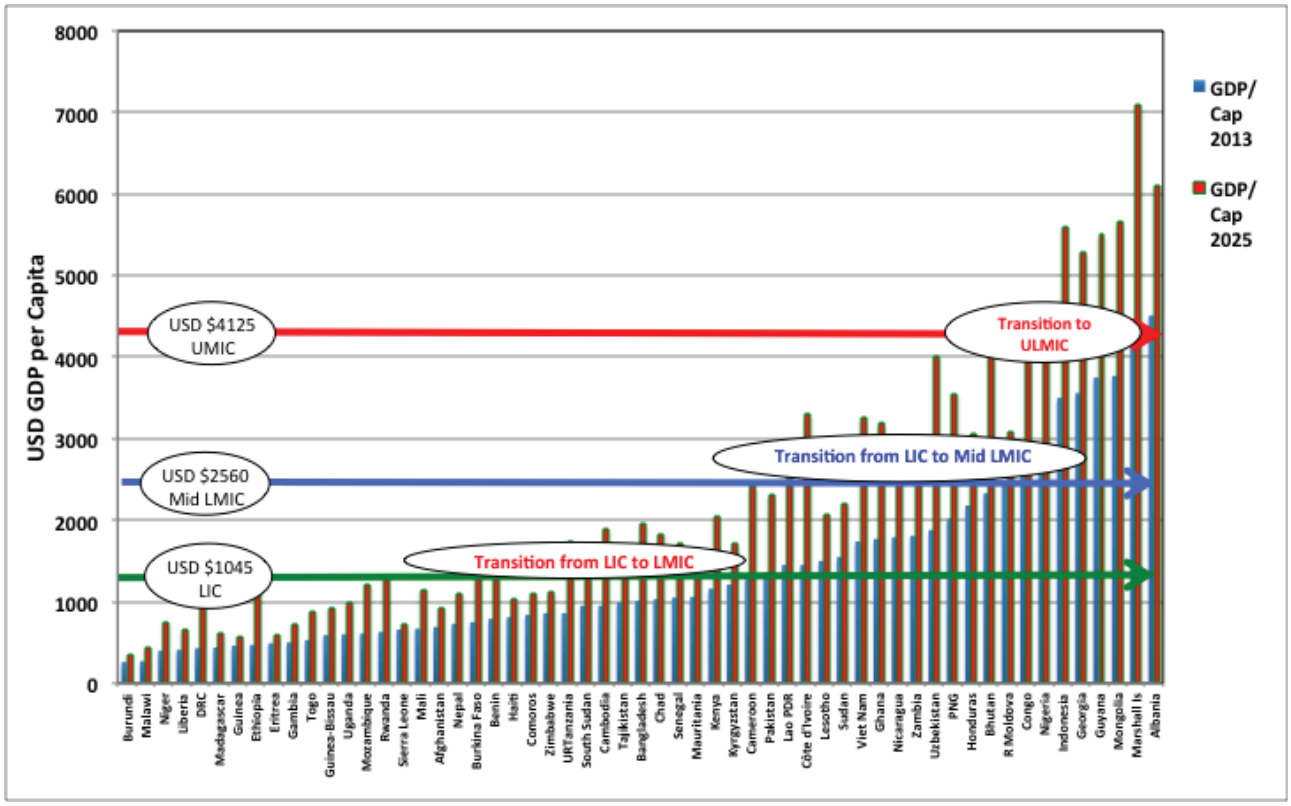
Six DCPs have declining populations of school age children – Moldova, Georgia, Vietnam, Micronesia, Nepal, and Afghanistan. Some other DCPs have very high rates of growth above 3% per annum e.g. Kyrgyzstan, Cote d'Ivoire, and Tajikistan, Tanzania, Eritrea, Mali, Burundi, Gambia, Zambia, South Sudan, Uganda, and Niger. In these GNI per capita will be reduced by high rates of population growth. Conversely growth out of LIC status will be enhanced if demographic transition begins to take place. Since fertility is related to educational attainment GPE support that increases participation, especially of girls, may increase the rate at which GNI per capita increases towards eligibility thresholds.

The consequences of growth in the economy and population will be to cause some DCPs change their status in relation to gross national income (GNI) related eligibility for implementation grants assuming the criteria remain constant (GPE 2017).

The likely transitions can be anticipated by taking the real and projected growth rates for the economy and population over the five year period from 2013 -2018 as anticipated by the World Bank and UN Population estimates, and overlaying these onto current GNP per capita for the next decade. It is assumed the thresholds for defining LMICs and UMICS do not change in real terms and are therefore adjusted appropriately if measured in current prices.

This then allows a new profile of countries to be constructed showing which DCPs will have transited across the two national per capita income thresholds by 2025 if the projections turn out to be reliable.

Figure 8 - Transition from LICs to LMICs by 2025 as a Result of Economic Growth



Source: Authors Infographic from World Bank Data

The result of the projections country by country is that some DCPs that are LICs, or are borderline cases become LMICs. Thus Tanzania, Mauritania, Tajikistan, Chad, Kyrgyzstan, Cambodia and Bangladesh cross the threshold from LIC to LMIC. Senegal and Kenya are confirmed as LMICs. Benin, Rwanda, Burkina Faso, Nepal, Ethiopia, and Mozambique approach transition to LMICs. Georgia, Guyana, Mongolia, Albania become UMICS with Bhutan approaching the threshold. Despite these transitions about 50% of existing DCPs that are LICs remain LICs. They would therefore retain poverty related eligibility.

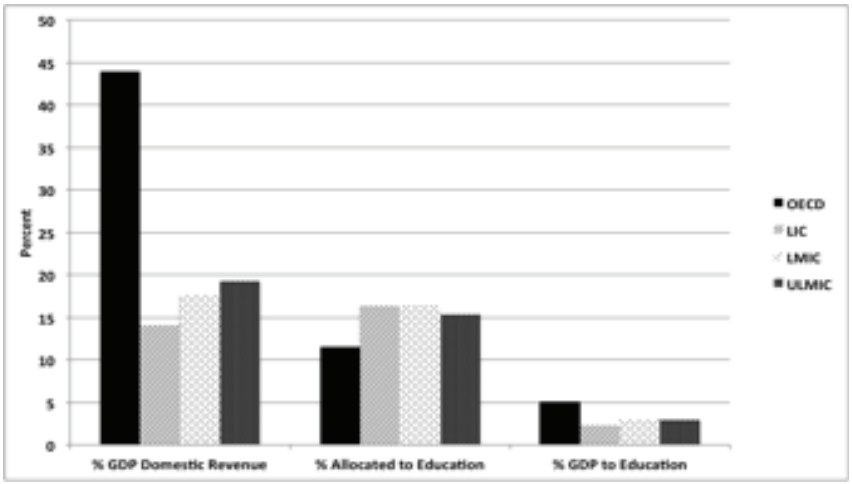
4 FINANCING GAPS

The financing dilemma facing the DCPs can be described simply and have not changed dramatically since the early 200s (LEWIN 2008, UNESCO 2013). Europe and North American (ENA) countries raise 43% of GDP in domestic revenue on average. This finances all their government services including education. In LICs domestic revenue only averages 14% of GDP, and in LMICs about

18% (International Finance Commission (2016:118). This is what supports the public budget. Public educational spending in ENA averages about 12% of the government budget, or about 5% of GDP (12% of 43%). In contrast DCPs that are LICs and LMICs allocate about 16% of public spending to education (UIS 2016). This is well below the normative benchmark of 20% suggested by the SDGs and GPE but well above the allocations in high income countries (UNESCO 2016). An allocation of 16% of the public budget coupled with domestic revenue between 14%nd 18% translates into less than 3% of GDP (i.e. 16% of 14% = 2.24% and 16% of 18% = 2.88%). UIS statistics indicate that spending on education in DCPs averages about 4%. The difference between this and the amount generated by domestic revenue is made up from external resources. Thus as much as a third of all spending on education in DCPs may already be aid related.

The dilemma and the challenge for financing and for aid can be explained graphically. Figure 14 shows domestic revenue and amounts allocated to education based on typical values for OECD, LICs, LMICs and ULMICs. The parameters together determine the percentage of GDP allocated to education. Using these average values OECD countries spend about 5% of GDP and LICs, LMIC, and UMICs only about 3% (excluding aid).

Figure 9 - Domestic Revenue, Education Budget and Education as 3% of GDP

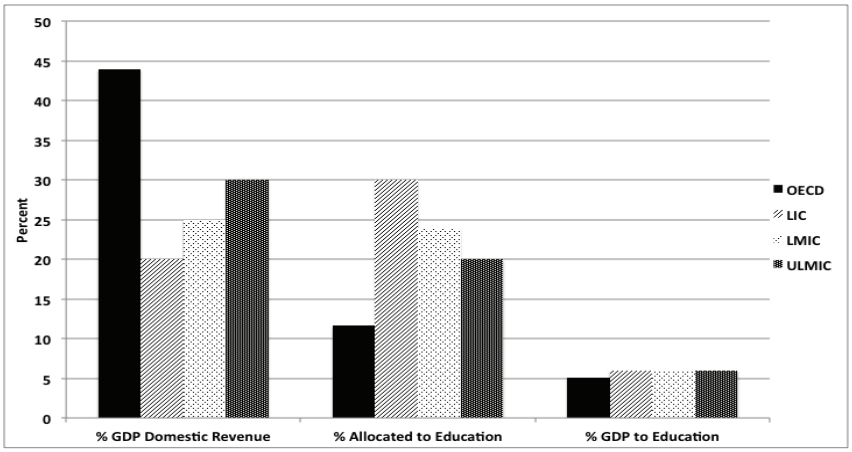


Source: Authors Infographic (2016).

DPCs that are LICs and LMICs currently allocate about 3.8% and 4.5% of GDP to education respectively according to UIS data. This is considerably more than is generated by allocating 15% of the government budget to education since this could only produce less than 3% of GDP as shown. The difference between these levels and the 3.8% and 4.5% shown by UIS data LICs and LMICs is a result of aid grants and loans to education.

Financial modelling in this report shows that at least 6% of GDP would need to be allocated to education to achieve the goals set by the SDGs. To achieve this LICs and LMICs would have to increase domestic revenue substantially to between 20% and 30% of GDP as shown in Figure 32.

Figure 10 - Domestic Revenue, Education Budget and Education as 5% of GDP



Source: Authors Infographic (2016).

Large increases in domestic revenue will not be easy and require a large increase in taxation. It would also require governments to allocate between 20% and 30% of the public budget to education. This is as much as double current spending. To generate more resources from domestic revenue beyond 30% of GDP, or increase the proportion of the budget to education beyond 30%, would seem fanciful in all but the long term. Aid has a role to play in ameliorating the gaps between domestic resources and the investment needed to ensure learning for all but it needs to be configured so that it does not create financial dependence. This is a long standing issue in the political economy of aid (Easterly 2013, Lensick and White 1999).

There is now a need for criteria for eligibility and balanced investment programmes that reflect the dynamic aspects of system growth that determine sustainable growth in participation and learning. Theories of change need to be based on empirical insights from the past about how systems actually behave, rather than how in an ideal world they should or could behave. The basis for generating these theories is provided by this analysis of existing patterns of growth which is a topic of interest to Comparative Education.

In summary demand for aid depends on national goals, starting points, demographic transitions, and political will. At least 6% of GDP is needed to finance universal access to education to grade 12: poor countries currently allocate about 4% of GDP. About 10% of DCPs receive more than 20% of GDP from external finance and half receive more than 5%; too much aid may increase dependence. Sustainable financing education depends on public funding

which can be complemented by aid. However, alternative sources of finance are insufficient to support recurrent costs. Effective aid is catalytic, time limited, linked to purpose, and adapted to context for countries with different dynamics. The number of countries receiving aid should fall as effective aid reduces the number needing external support.

If the purpose of aid to LMICs is to accelerate development towards sustainable outcomes in education then two things are essential. Aid must be focussed on areas where there is a comparative advantage and long term benefits, and aid must be configured so that it is no longer needed at some point in the foreseeable future. This means that medium term sector plans should locate external assistance within a framework of sustainable development. It also implies that aid to education is not primarily about meeting short term targets defined by cross-sectional indicators, but it is about whether the achievements it supports can be sustained for the next generation of children, and the next. Comparative Education can enhance aid effectiveness and explore and explain how aid can best contribute to development without generating national dependence. The need is for historical analysis, comparative case studies, and theoretical reflection on different political economies of educational development.

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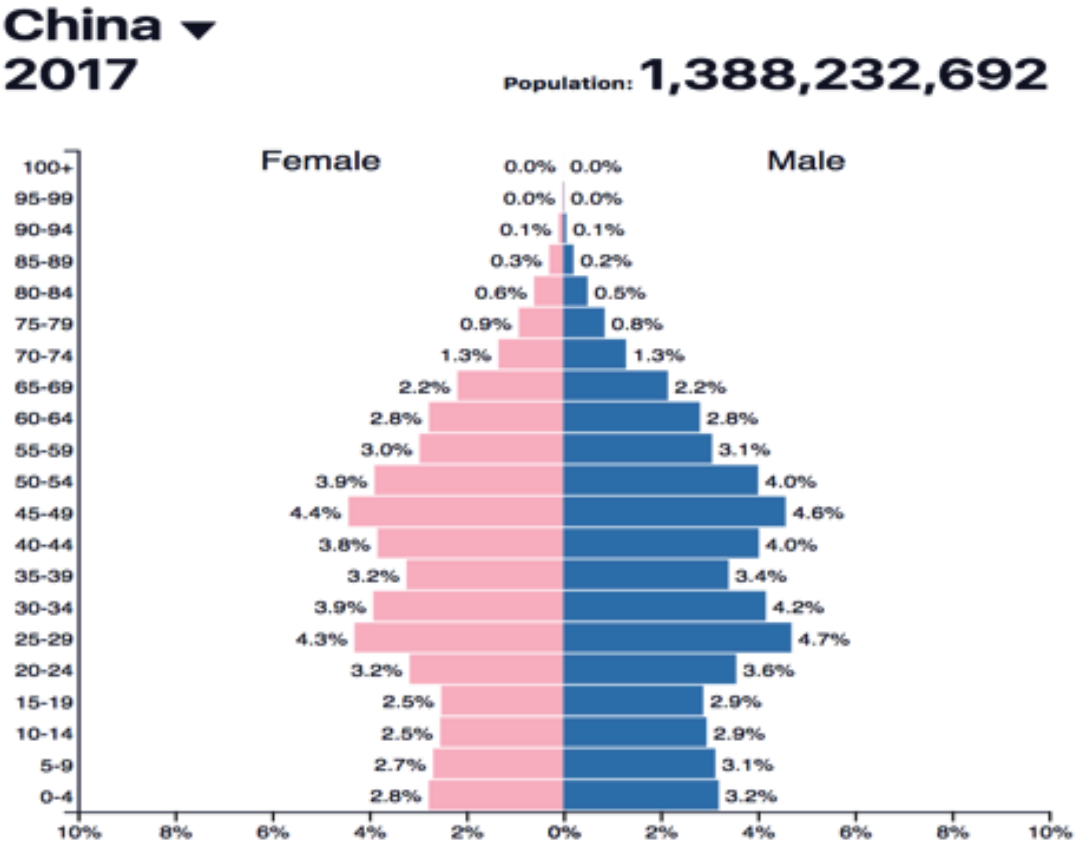
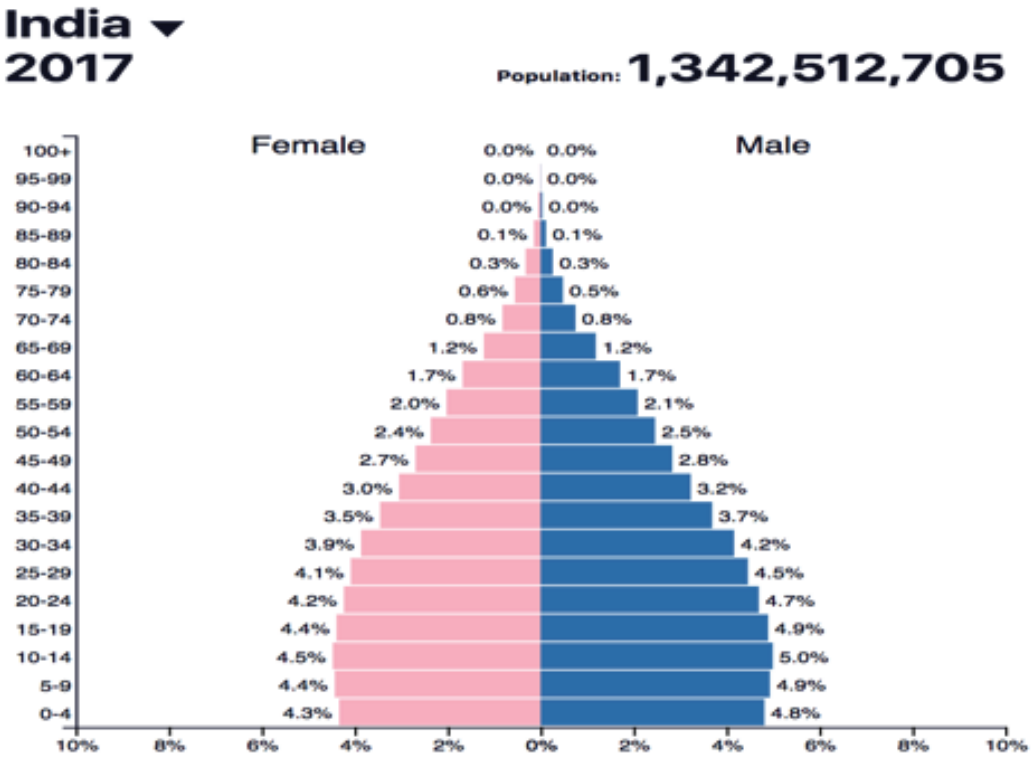
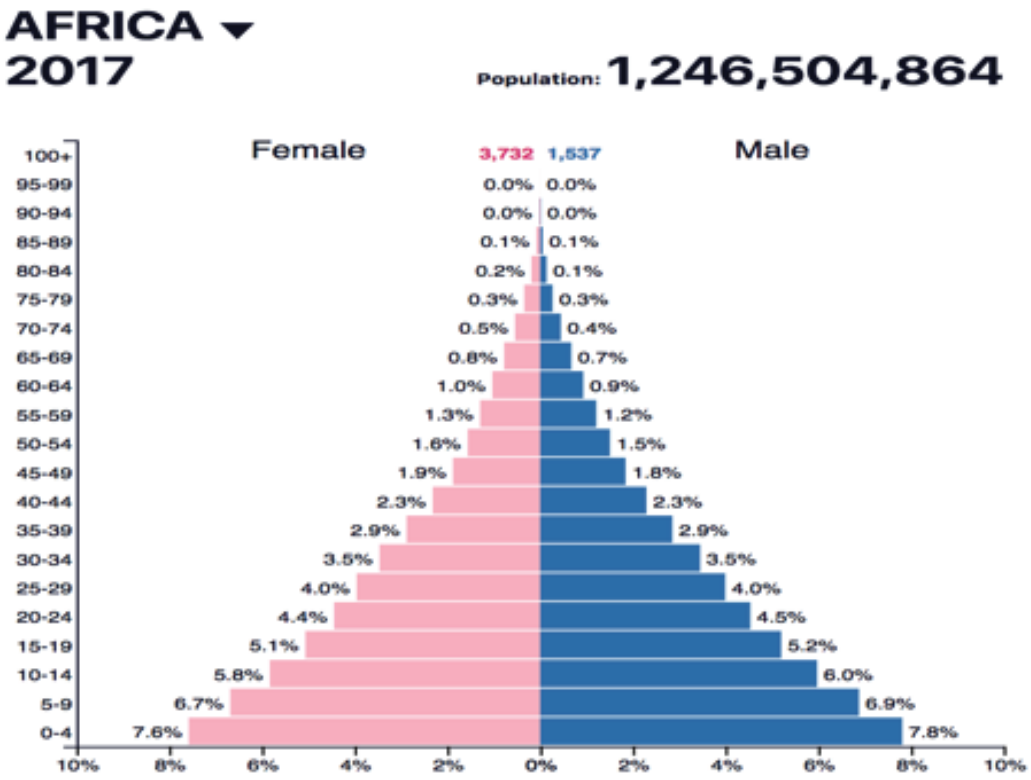
ANNEX 1 POPULATION PYRAMIDS IN CHINA INDIA AND AFRICA.






AFRICA
2017
Population: 1,246,504,864
Female
Male
3,732
1,537
100+
95-99
90-94
85-89
80-84
75-79
70-74
65-69
60-64
55-59
50-54
45-49
40-44
35-39
30-34
25-29
20-24
15-19
10-14
5-9
0-4
0.0% 0.0%
0.0% 0.0%
0.1% 0.1%
0.2% 0.1%
0.3% 0.3%
0.5% 0.4%
0.8% 0.7%
1.0% 0.9%
1.3% 1.2%
1.6% 1.5%
1.9% 1.8%
2.3% 2.3%
2.9% 2.9%
3.5% 3.5%
4.0% 4.0%
4.4% 4.5%
5.1% 5.2%
5.8% 6.0%
6.7% 6.9%
7.6% 7.8%
10% 8% 6% 4% 2% 0% 2% 4% 6% 8% 10%