Philanthropy in Education

NORRAG SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

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Philanthropy in Education

Diverse Perspectives and Global Trends

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Series preface

This is the second volume in the *NORRAG Series on International Education and Development*. The series aims to serve as a knowledge broker at the interface between research, analysis, policy and practice within the comparative, development and international education community. The books in the series intend to generate an international debate on emerging trends in education and provide space for authors that represent diverse perspectives and knowledge communities. The first volume opened new horizons on the debate about public–private partnerships in education as they diversify, expand and increasingly blur the distinction between the public and private sectors.

For the second volume, Natasha Y. Ridge and Arushi Terway have gathered an impressive range of authors with diverse viewpoints and experiences on the topic. They discuss trends, controversial issues and new forms of philanthropy in education. Taken together, the contributions make it abundantly clear: philanthropy takes on a multitude of forms. It means 'something' entirely different in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and North America. The forms of giving vary widely, ranging from scholarship programmes in primary school to alumni giving in higher education. Finally, the conditions for giving differ considerably, depending on whether there is an expectation of return and whether the giving is administered by institutions, non-profit foundations or the private sector. The different types of philanthropies call for different methods of inquiry as well as nuanced reflections on how philanthropy in education is evolving over time, for the better or the worse.

Gita Steiner-Khamsi
Series Editor, New York and Geneva

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1. Introduction to *Philanthropy in Education: Diverse Perspectives and Global Trends*

Arushi Terway

In recent years, the changing landscape of philanthropic actors engaging in the development sector and the call for their active involvement in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals have prompted renewed discussions on the role of philanthropy. The topic has gained prominence in the education community at large, but also within international cooperation and development agencies. Philanthropy is being called upon to solve some of the world's most complex social development challenges (see Cohen, 2014; Dean, 2013). This has included initiatives by prominent philanthropists, such as the Giving Pledge that was launched by Warren Buffet and Bill Gates in 2010, to secure commitments from billionaires to give at least half of their wealth to charity. By 2019, 188 billionaires in 22 countries (The Giving Pledge, n.d.) had signed the pledge which could amount to USD 600 billion by the year 2020 (Kotecki, 2018). Given the substantial gap in government and donor funds for education reform in developing countries, many actors in the education community have made the case for finding a philanthropist champion, like Bill Gates, to catalyse discussions and mobilise substantial investments for global education (Brown, 2012; The Global Partnership for Education, 2017; Haslebacher & van Fleet, 2011). Yet, the role of philanthropies in education reform, especially in developing countries, is severely understudied.

The growth of philanthropic engagement in international development over the past two to three decades has not only demonstrated an increase in the level of philanthropic funding but also a diversity in the location, types of institutions, ideas and approaches to giving (Johnson, 2018; Phillips & Jung, 2016; Srivastava & Oh, 2010). This has generated critical debates on the role and approaches of philanthropic engagement in global education between those who support greater involvement of philanthropic organisations in meeting the funding and innovation challenges in the education sector and those who caution us to examine how philanthropies, as private actors, change the landscape of education as a global public good. These debates, especially from a range of perspectives, have not been well-published.

This volume seeks to contribute to this emerging debate, taking a unique perspective by bringing together authors from a range of backgrounds: international and national level researchers, staff of philanthropic organisations and staff from coordinating bodies. The chapters in this volume explore some of the most pressing issues facing those working in and engaging in philanthropy and education today.

In this Introduction, I present the trends that can be examined through existing data on the explosion of philanthropy globally and as it impacts education financing. I also explore the complexity in defining what constitutes philanthropy and philanthropic activity and the challenges this presents for conducting comparative research. The rest of the chapters in this book present multiple perspectives on the issues raised in the Introduction. The first set of chapters explores cross-cutting issues related to typologies of philanthropy, global networks and the increasing use of social finance. The second set of chapters looks at regional patterns and trends in philanthropic activity in the Middle East, Africa and global fundraising networks linked to North American universities. And finally, the remaining chapters focus on specific organisations in the following countries: Peru, Brazil, Argentina and Nigeria.

RISING GLOBAL WEALTH AND INCREASE IN PHILANTHROPIC GIVING

Philanthropy is increasingly gaining attention as a vital additional source of funding, supplementing official development assistance (ODA) for international development (Adelman, 2009; Kharas, 2007; Marten & Witte, 2008). Decline in ODA for education and the large funding gaps to reach the ambitious aims of the Sustainable Development Goal 4 on education have prompted further discussions on the role of the private sector and philanthropy in education (The International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity, 2016; Patrinos & Sosale, 2007; Steer & Smith, 2015). The calls for increased philanthropic funds in education are spurred by the consensus that over the last several decades, philanthropic giving to development has increased substantially and has been a game changer at least in the health sector, especially with the engagement of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (Brown, 2012; Haslebacher & van Fleet, 2011; Phillips & Jung, 2016; Schäferhoff & Burnett, 2016).

In the early twentieth century, with increasing wealth in industrialised nations, Western philanthropists, primarily from the United States, established foundations ostensibly for the improvement of mankind. There was a proliferation of foundations in the United States with 27 foundations in 1915 growing to over 200 by 1930 (Zunz, 2011). Carnegie, Rockefeller, Edward Harkness and Russell Sage Foundations, to name a few, were amongst these early twentieth-century foundations. Overall, these foundations used a 'wholesale' approach rather than a 'retail' approach by tackling the issue of eradicating diseases or improving agricultural yield rather than dealing with individual poverty. Their donations went to universities and research institutes rather than directly to the poor (Cunningham, 2016). These philanthropists were interested in applying rational business methods and principles to charitable giving (McGoey, 2014).

In recent years, the size of philanthropic actors and spending has reached an unprecedented scale. In the United States alone, 75,000 private foundations have been established since the late 1990s, and each year more than 5,000 more philanthropic foundations are started (McGoey, 2014). The most recent report on global philanthropy shows that nearly three-quarters of 260,000 foundations in 39 countries were established only in the last 25 years (Johnson, 2018).

The proliferation of foundations has been linked to the substantial lowering of corporate tax rates since the 1980s in the United States (Hungerford, 2013), Silicon Valley or the dot.com boom and as a result an increase in the number of High-Net-Worth Individuals (HNWI).[1] The number of HNWI globally has increased from 10.9 million in 2010 to 18.1 million in 2017, estimated to be worth more than USD 70 trillion in assets (Capgemini, 2018). The Asia-Pacific region experienced the highest increase (12.1 per cent) in the population of HNWI (Capgemini, 2018); in India alone, HNWI's wealth grew at six per cent per year, from USD 477 billion in 2009 to USD 612 billion in 2013 (Sheth, Ayilavarapu & Bhagwati, 2015).

Foundations started by these HNWI, corporations and other private actors hold assets greater than USD 1.5 trillion with annual expenditures exceeding USD 150 billion per year (Johnson, 2018). The financial flows from these actors are starting to account for a significant portion of global development funding. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) estimated that financial flow from 143 major foundations, working in developing countries around the globe, was USD 24 billion between the years 2013 and 2015, which was equivalent to five per

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[1] High-Net-Worth Individuals are defined as those who hold at least USD 1 million in assets excluding primary residence.

cent of the ODA for the same period. Foundations are therefore emerging as significant players in key social sectors like health and education as they appear to dedicate a higher proportion of their funding to the social sector (73 per cent) when compared to ODA flows (37 per cent) (OECD, 2018).

North America and Europe still remain the primary regions where philanthropic institutions are located; however, the sector is starting to flourish in other regions of the world as well. While the availability of data on philanthropic institutions is reasonably comprehensive in North America and Europe, the latest surveys have been able to identify at least 13,170 philanthropic institutions in Asia, 859 in Latin America, 161 in the Middle East and 47 in Africa, with an estimation that many more institutions are not yet captured in these data sets (Johnson, 2018). There is also indication that in many countries, the number of foundations and other philanthropic institutions is increasing rapidly. For example, the number of Chinese foundations increased from less than 200 in 2012 to 5,454 in 2016 (OECD, 2018). Moreover, philanthropies in countries outside of North America and Europe, like China, India, and Turkey are primarily operating and giving within their own borders, with the exception being foundations located in the Gulf that are also investing in projects in other countries. Cross-border or global flows of philanthropic funds are still concentrated towards stable middle-income countries like India, Nigeria, Mexico, China, Ethiopia, South Africa, Kenya and Brazil (OECD, 2018).

Education has emerged as the most popular cause amongst philanthropic institutions (Johnson, 2018; OECD, 2018), but it does not necessarily receive the highest levels of funding as compared to health. Between 2013 and 2015, USD 2.1 billion went to education from 143 foundations globally, but the amount is dwarfed when compared to the USD 12.6 billion that went to health (OECD, 2018). During the same period, USD 25 billion of ODA was spent on education. Philanthropic giving, however, appears to be invested quite differently than the ODA funds. With the very limited available data, indications are that philanthropic giving is going towards challenges that are underinvested by ODA. Based on OECD Development Finance data,[2] only 0.5 per cent of the ODA funds were dedicated to early childhood education, as compared to five per cent of the philanthropic funds. Similarly, less than one per cent of ODA funds were dedicated to education research, but three per cent of the philanthropic funds were classified for education research. It also appears that philanthropies are spending considerably lower proportions of their funds (six per cent) in primary education when compared to ODA (22 per cent).

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2 Data was extracted from the OECD Development Finance Database (http://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-data/).

Philanthropies are playing an increasing role in global education, but there is still a dearth of data on philanthropies that are located outside of North America and Europe (Phillips & Jung, 2016; Srivastava & Oh, 2010). Compared to ODA, the number of philanthropic funds going to global education, that has been documented, are very small, representing about eight per cent of ODA. However, it is important to acknowledge that large philanthropies have the power to exert significant influence in the sector with millions or billions of dollars at their disposal. They can play a complementary role to government efforts; however, without critical and healthy debate over their motivation, approaches and practice, challenges in ensuring equitable distributions of quality education can be exasperated further.

Research is still lacking on not only the actual number of philanthropic actors or the flow of financing, but more importantly, on philosophy and approaches for philanthropic giving. In general, there is a trend that countries with higher GDP experience higher levels of philanthropic giving, but there are also cultural differences in priorities set by philanthropists (Bekkers, 2016). Phillips and Jung (2016) postulate that the 'shifting geography of philanthropy is likely to generate both new intra-regional and transborder patterns' (p. 15) that will be different from existing trends of development where financing moves from the Global North to the Global South. The chapter by Bird and Leon in this volume specifically examines the role of philanthropy in the education sector in Peru, a country experiencing a significant decrease in ODA.

Furthermore, philanthropic institutions are engaging in partnerships with public institutions and each other, where complex power relations shape the partnerships themselves in terms of structures, relationships and outcomes (Faul, 2016). Development initiatives globally, in recent years, have moved towards more collaborative and multi-stakeholder approaches for systemic reform rather than isolated one-off projects. These multi-stakeholder partnerships within the education sector have been the unit of analysis in many recent research studies (Chabbot, 2003; Menashy, 2016; Mundy, 1998; Verger, 2012). Few studies, however, have analysed the engagement of philanthropies in these complex partnership networks as the primary unit of analysis (Ball & Junemann, 2011; Ball & Olmedo, 2011). Two case studies in this volume, by Santos (Chapter 9) and also Jaumont and Moja (Chapter 7), delve into the dynamics of partnerships between global and local (regional and country level) actors. Additionally, a first of its kind chapter by Haggerty, Magrath and Kelava (Chapter 3) gives an insider view of the formation and operation of an affinity network of global philanthropies working in education.

WHAT CONSTITUTES ‘PHILANTHROPY’?

Philanthropy, as in donations from wealthy individuals for the welfare of others in society, has a long history in most societies around the globe. Alms giving has its roots in almost all world religions. It is either the responsibility of the rich to share wealth with the poor or give their wealth to the poor to relieve themselves, the rich, of their sins, and the poor in return offer their prayers to rid the rich of their sins (Cunningham, 2016).

Much of the literature on philanthropy focuses on Western conceptions of philanthropy rooted in Christian traditions (Adam, 2004; Arnove, 1980; Ball & Junemann, 2011; Soskis & Katz, 2016). During the Enlightenment era, Protestant belief perceived philanthropic activity as a primary duty of the citizen, and it was an avenue to promote public morality, lift the poor and enlighten them for the betterment of all society (Cunningham, 2016). This marked the distinguishing of ‘philanthropy’ from ‘charity’, with the view that ‘“indiscriminate charity” simply perpetuated charity. . .[and] helping the poor escape poverty through more comprehensive structural reforms. . .instilled a confidence in the ability of philanthropy to achieve this’ (Phillips & Jung, 2016, p. 8).

Modern, or at least the Western concept of philanthropy, separates itself from charitable giving, but detangling the two for research purposes still proves to be challenging. The general distinction commonly made is that ‘philanthropy’ focuses on solutions and aims to treat the root cause of social problems rather than the symptoms, whereas ‘charity’ involves individual giving directly to people who require services or assistance, so as to mitigate the symptoms (Gross, 2004; Hammack & Anheier, 2013). Separating the two for research purposes does not prove as simple. Perhaps the key challenge is that in most countries, ‘charity’ has a legal status whereas ‘philanthropy’ does not. Generally, ‘the legal concept of charity identifies a set of purposes deemed to be “charitable” under common or statutory law that are [*sic*] used to legitimize and award to qualifying nonprofits significant tax benefits’ (Phillips & Jung, 2016, p. 10).

Most individual research projects and publications provide a specific definition relevant for their study and draw boundaries around the institutions and activities that can be classified for the particular analysis. But conducting a comparative global analysis of philanthropic activities continues to be a challenge. The challenge is that a number of organisations identify themselves as philanthropies (Eikenberry & Nickel, 2009; Srivastava & Oh, 2010), when these organisations would be classified by their legal structures and by others as charities. There is often confusion about a non-profit organisation that receives funds from elsewhere to operate as opposed to a philanthropic organisation that has its own endowment or independent revenue stream. Additionally, philanthropies with independent sources of funding also vary considerably in the source of funding from private wealthy individuals, families, corporations, communities, individual citizens and even government entities (Leat, 2016; Srivastava & Oh, 2010). The chapter by Ridge, Kippels and Bruce (Chapter 5) in this volume examines the relationship between funding source and activities for the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region.

Beyond the source of funding, the mode of giving also creates a challenge in defining 'philanthropy' across the globe. The emergence of 'new' philanthropy, which does not necessarily refer to the recent establishment of a philanthropic organisation, has blurred the lines between grant-making for social development versus financial investment in social projects that are profit-seeking. 'New' philanthropies often use a variety of qualifiers like *strategic*, *venture*, *entrepreneurial*, *catalytic*, *high impact*, *social change*, *results-driven*, and so on, which are all borrowed from the business world. These terms are not necessarily new when compared to the philosophies adopted by early twentieth-century philanthropists. In an interview with McGoey (2014), William Schambra, director of the Washington, DC-based Hudson Institute's Bradley Center for Philanthropy and Civic Renewal, explained, 'The notion that we should organise our philanthropies the way we organise our corporations – that was John D. Rockefeller's original idea' (p. 111).

The shift here is more nuanced with the adoption of 'philanthrocapitalism' and the introduction of financial gains as a legitimate measure of effective philanthropy. The term 'philanthrocapitalism' was coined by Matthew Bishop and Michael Green (2008), and Bishop (2009) explained it as follows:

> Philanthrocapitalism is about combining the head and the heart, by bringing a businesslike approach to solving society's problems. . . Both Clinton and Blair pointed out that government tends to be hopeless at innovation, unlike the private sector, both for-profit and non-profit. If there is to be change we can believe in, government must embrace these changemakers in new partnerships, especially social entrepreneurs. . . money earned by harnessing the profit motive can help achieve change faster, and more sustainably than old-fashioned charity alone. . . [It is] about doing well by doing good. . . Old-fashioned capitalism is dead. Long live philanthrocapitalism. (para. 2-12)

This approach has conflated actors and modes of philanthropy—social enterprise, corporate social responsibility (CSR), venture philanthropy, impact investment, and so on (Edwards, 2009; Srivastava & Oh, 2010). Many philanthropic actors are now utilising social finance, the use of private capital for social projects, which aims to yield a social return along with a financial return. This approach has dissolved the separation between ‘grant-making’, the mode of giving funds to social projects, and ‘investment’, the mode of expanding the endowment, within foundations (Phillips & Jung, 2016). A sample of 699 foundations in 12 countries showed that 16 per cent of the foundations were making equity investments, 11 per cent were providing loans and eight per cent were engaged in impact investment (Johnson, 2018). Mixing profit-seeking goals within the education sector creates legitimate tensions and scepticism by many on the motives of the actors in ensuring equitable access to quality education.

In this volume, Srivastava and Read (Chapter 2) discuss the challenges with defining philanthropy within the education sector and work towards a typology in the emerging hybridity of actors. Ziswiler and Terway (Chapter 4) further explore the social finance approach and its applicability to the education sector. Additionally, case study research in this volume, on corporate philanthropy in Nigeria by Udo-Umoren (Chapter 10) and on Varkey Foundation’s entry into Argentina by Matovich and Cardini (Chapter 11), further elaborates on variation in the manifestation of ‘new’ philanthropy at the national level.

While much attention in literature has gone to the dynamics of institutional philanthropy, much of philanthropic giving is done by individuals. In the United States, 70 per cent of philanthropic giving in 2017 was by individuals (Giving USA, 2018). In fact, individuals are also exploring market-based social finance tools through pensions and other investment funds to channel funds towards social development (Phillips & Jung, 2016). However, little is known about motivation and modality of giving by individuals around the world. The chapter by Drezner specifically explores global growth in alumni giving to higher education as not purely a U.S. phenomenon.

Information on philanthropic actors in North America and Europe are fairly well documented through sources like the Council on Foundations, the Foundation Center, the European Foundation Centre and the Hudson Institute, which help distinguish or define philanthropies using financial and activity data. However, the availability of data on philanthropic actors in other regions of the world is still lacking. The chapter by Ridge, Kippels and Bruce (Chapter 5) takes on the challenge of collecting data and analysing patterns of education funding from philanthropies in the MENA region.

Many questions still remain unanswered, especially in the education sector: What are the regional and organisational differences in how philanthropies operate? How does the relationship between the public and private sector change as a result of philanthropic activities? How do philanthropies approach the issues of social responsibility, equity and sustainable development? What lessons can be learned from other sectors (e.g., health sector) or specific areas within the education sector (e.g., early childhood education and vocational-technical education) when looking back at the long history of collaboration between the public and private sector?

This volume begins to fill this gap by bringing in research and knowledge on philanthropic giving in the Global South. Authors in the volume represent varied affiliations. They are researchers from academic institutions in the Global South, philanthropic foundations, a consulting firm and a social finance investment firm and philanthropic network coordinators. The authors explore the many ways in which philanthropic actors are engaging not only with national education systems in a variety of countries, including Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Nigeria, but also larger trends in the sector such as new approaches to finance, the role of global policy partnerships and expanded possibilities for CSR through corporate foundations. Authors also examine and challenge the commonly held perceptions of actor relationships in philanthropic spaces and the need for greater collaboration and communication between national governments, international organisations, academia and philanthropic organisations.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

The first section of the book, comprising three chapters, takes a global view on cross-cutting issues such as terminology, networks and financing modalities.

Srivastava and Read in Chapter 2 explore challenges for the research community due to the lack of common terminology for private actors in education. In conducting a definitional exercise, they find that definitions used in conceptual literature, or by the actors themselves and regulatory structures, do not adequately capture the hybrid nature of private foundations and impact investors. Through an inductive exercise, the authors present a working typology of organisational forms of private foundations, impact investors and other actors that are developing the field.

In Chapter 3, Haggerty, Magrath and Kelava open up the black box of a philanthropic affinity network as a knowledge-sharing and collaboration project between very diverse philanthropic institutions working in global education. The International Education Funders Group (IEFG) includes over 100 large and small foundation members from across the globe that are wide-ranging types of institutions such as family philanthropies, corporate philanthropies, CSR arms of companies, banks with philanthropic funding from HNWIs or donor-advised funds. This chapter explains how these philanthropic actors came together to pursue learning within the philanthropic sector to improve effectiveness and efficiency of collective education grant-making by providing knowledge-sharing, coordination and networking opportunities for members.

Next, using the case of the UBS Optimus Foundation, Ziswiler and Terway explore the potential of the philanthropic sector in creating an ecosystem for social finance within the education sector. They argue that social finance has the potential to draw additional private capital to drive positive social change by catalysing innovative solutions to complex problems, striking the right balance between risk and reward while maximising social impact. The authors also consider pitfalls associated with using social finance in education and caution against perceiving social finance as a panacea to education sector funding challenges.

The second section of the volume, with its regional focus, looks at patterns and trends in philanthropic activity in the Middle East and Africa and the global rise of higher education fundraising efforts as not just a North American phenomenon.

In Chapter 5, Ridge, Kippels and Bruce identify and examine 65 philanthropic entities operating in the education sector across 11 countries in the MENA region. They identify three types of philanthropic organisations in the region: state-funded, corporate-funded and private individual/family funded and find that the source of funding in philanthropic organisations plays a significant role in the priorities of organisations. Their research also finds that philanthropic giving tends to go to programmatic work and scholarships and that there is less given to research on education.

Drezner's chapter examines possible explanations for the growth of philanthropic giving towards higher education expanding beyond North America. He identifies three primary reasons for this global growth: (1) a functional need for philanthropic support of higher education, (2) a form of isomorphism where institutions are striving for prestige and (3) a result of borrowing and lending of perceived best practices.

Last in this section, Jaumont and Moja research the longstanding partnerships between U.S. foundations and universities in Africa. They highlight the complex dynamics between the institutions and explain how U.S. foundations have positioned themselves strategically in the ecology of international developers and have succeeded in advocating the importance of higher education for African economic development. They also find that donor-to-recipient collaborations are not set on equal footing and examine the implications of this inequity.

The third section of the volume covers four specific country case studies highlighting philanthropic activities in education in Peru, Brazil, Nigeria and Argentina.

Bird and León, in Chapter 8, examine the role of philanthropic investment in the education sector in Peru in filling the development financing gap left by lower levels of ODA. Their research is based on data from a survey of 157 philanthropic and social investment organisations across 10 cities in Peru. Their research finds that organisations that demonstrate greater institutional quality, as measured by transparency, governance and operational mechanisms with a focus on improving educational quality, appeared to be best positioned to forge new pathways to generate impact at scale.

Exploring the universe of science fairs in Brazil, Santos examines the influence of Intel Corporation on the development of a diversified science curriculum. His research explores the tensions surrounding the use of corporate funding to promote education reform. This case study highlights how international philanthropic work in science education can contradict the basic principles of a country's education system, as well the need for a discussion about the influence of international programs of CSR in education.

Also tied to corporate responsibility, Udo-Umoren's study on Nigerian CSR initiatives finds that motivations influencing CSR initiatives range from altruism to strategic philanthropy. The research finds that the major form of CSR contributions to education by Nigerian companies is financial resources and that they are largely uncoordinated and fragmented. Udo-Umoren highlights the need for greater research on the topic to better understand how these contributions may be influencing quality and equity in education.

Chapter 11 presents Matovich and Cardini's research focusing on the Varkey Foundation's education influence in Argentina. They find that neoliberal discourses and practices have been reproduced and mobilised through the Varkey Foundation's operations. They also reflect on the possibility of considering this programme as a burgeoning case of new philanthropy penetration in Argentina and its influence on public policy-making.

The volume concludes with reflections from Ridge on persisting and growing challenges related to the North–South divide in the aid sector in general and philanthropic engagement in education more specifically. She draws on learning from the other chapters in the book to highlight the need for collaboration between different actors, the growing influence of the private sector through philanthropy and the critical concerns over accountability and transparency in the sector.

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2. Philanthropic and impact investors: private sector engagement, hybridity and the problem of definition

Prachi Srivastava and Robyn Read

PURPOSE

Private sector engagement in education is typically conceptualised as the provision of education or education services by non-state private actors. It is, however, broader than this and tends to occur in four main areas, that is, the provision, financing, management and regulation of education, and increasingly, of ancillary education services by non-state private actors. They may work with varying degrees of independence from government/public and/or other private/non-state actors. Non-state private actors in global education may be said to operate along a continuum of three main statuses. These include profit-oriented or commercially driven entities, of which some may be publicly listed while others may be privately held (Fielden & LaRocque, 2008). Others are oriented towards making a positive social impact without profit (e.g., may be registered as trusts or charities in their local contexts). Hybrid actors sit between the two, having both a profit and social impact motive.

Alongside the growth in the number and range of non-state private actors in global education, is a diversification of investment strategies (Bhanji, 2008; D. Capital Partners, 2013; Steer, Gillard, Gustafsson-Wright & Latham, 2015). Investors are increasingly orienting towards social impact and blended value investment strategies, resulting in intensified interest in hybrid actors and strategies. The range of such actors includes some with close connections to business and to corporate entities. Examples of non-state private actors considered to be hybrid or using hybrid strategies in education include: private foundations (e.g., independent, family, corporate and privately funded community foundations); corporate social responsibility (CSR) units; social innovation funders; impact investors; social enterprise organisations, etc.

Within this group, our interest was on private foundations and impact investors as financers in/of education. Our research shows that dichotomised conceptualisations of private foundations as 'pure-type' philanthropic actors, and of social impact and blended value investment as the exclusive purview of private-sector impact investors, are unhelpful and inaccurate. They do not consider the multiplicity of strategies such actors use or the forms through which they organise their work—in short, they do not account for the very nature of hybridity.

This is aggravated by the lack of consensus on terminology and definitions in the existing literature, posing significant challenges to conducting research (Marten & Witte, 2008; Steer et al., 2015; United Nations Economic and Social Council [ECOSOC], 2012; Thornley et al., 2016). Conceptual gaps can lead to data inaccuracies, which are likely to persist without a typological framework (Höchstädter & Scheck, 2015). This can have serious consequences in assessing the impact of specific types of actors in a number of areas, including accurately estimating their contributions to filling education funding gaps.

However, constructing a framework that is useful in categorising different types of organisations, yet is flexible to account for hybridity, is no easy task. This chapter provides a first step towards filling some of these conceptual gaps. It presents insights from background conceptualisations framing a larger regional-level project mapping the target geographies, education sector priorities and education initiatives of non-state private actors in education in South Asia and East Asia and the Pacific.[1] A sample of non-state private actors was extracted from five regional and global sources to develop a pilot database of active funders/investors in education in Asia.[2] Publicly accessible data were gathered on private foundations and impact investors in the sample. This empirical pursuit revealed serious definitional inconsistencies in the conceptual literature and in how terms are used and understood by organisations themselves.

First, the chapter considers the implications of hybridity on definitional exercises. This is followed by a discussion on methods employed. The bulk of the chapter focuses on two contributions: (1) pre-determined definitions of philanthropic and hybrid actors revealed in the conceptual work and (2) an inductively derived working typology on organisational forms. We developed the latter by drawing out characteristics from organisations in the database and progressively matching them against pre-determined

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[1] Operationalised using the World Bank typology of regions and countries.

[2] Organisations were extracted from: Asian Venture Philanthropy Network membership database, Center for Education Innovations programs database (tracing initiatives to funders), *Forbes Asia*'s 2017 Heroes of Philanthropy List (tracing individuals to philanthropic organisations), Global Impact Investing Network members list and The Asia Foundation donor list.

definitions. We contend that inductive characterisations are better-suited to respond to the demands of hybridity in classifying organisational forms.

BUILDING A CASE FOR ORGANISATIONAL SPECIFICATION IN THE CONTEXT OF HYBRIDITY

Given the range of data gaps, the development of a typology may seem less urgent than empirical analyses. For example, literature reviews informing this project revealed significant lacunae in: (1) scope of activities, range of actors and the relationships between them, magnitude and types of investment and sub-sectors of engagement (Daggers & Nicholls, 2016; Marten & Witte, 2008; Schölmerich, 2012; ECOSOC, 2012; van Fleet, 2012); (2) the contribution of Southern actors operating regionally and domestically (ECOSOC, 2012; Right to Education Project, 2015; Srivastava & Oh, 2010); (3) in-depth analyses on regions in the Global South (Srivastava & Oh, 2010); (4) systematically reported or shared data; (5) and comprehensive data gathering and tools to track and evaluate the evolution of private sector engagement in education (Moumné & Saudemont, 2015), including shared platforms for data collection and analysis (ECOSOC, 2012).

The disparate nature of the literature and scarcity of data, particularly on hybrid actors and forms of engagement, has led some researchers to conclude that focusing on empirical questions might be more fruitful (Dacin, Dacin & Matear, 2010). However, deficiencies in specification of terms obscure empirical analysis. Operationally, complications arise from the lack of accepted terminology on organisational forms and further inaccuracies on investment strategies and profit statuses. Without specification, one cannot, for example, compile data on which types of organisations finance education initiatives in the aggregate (or comparatively), where or to what magnitude. This is further aggravated in regional or comparative research, as regulatory frameworks governing non-state actors vary across countries—what may 'count' as a particular organisational form in one context may not in another.

Concurrently, there are emerging analyses on complex institutional processes, partnerships and networks through which a range of philanthropic and other non-state (and state) actors engage in education globally, some with competing motivations and interests (Ball & Olmedo, 2011; Menashy, 2016; Srivastava & Baur, 2016; Verger, 2012). These run alongside an increased focus on 'strategic impact' and social and blended value investment strategies (i.e., seeking financial and social return) (D. Capital Partners, 2013; Steer et al., 2015), of which arguably, impact investment is at the forefront. Impact investment is defined by the Global Impact

Investing Network (GIIN) as: 'investments made into companies, organizations, and funds with the intention to generate social and environmental impact alongside a financial return. Impact investments can be made in both emerging and developed markets, and target a range of returns from below market to market rate, depending on investors' strategic goals' (Global Impact Investing Network [GIIN], n.d.).

While impact investment is largely associated with newer hybrid actors, in fact, as a funding modality, it is not limited to specific organisational forms. Emerging data from this project show that philanthropic actors, for example, may employ impact investment as part of their portfolios. One example is the use of impact investment by the Michael & Susan Dell Foundation (MSDF) in India. Through equity investments and loans, MSDF made impact investments in 27 initiatives in India at the time of writing, a number of which were in education. The range of supported initiatives was broad, including but not limited to, assessment systems for low-fee private schools, exam coaching centres and mobile education technology applications.[3]

Furthermore, the use of these and other strategies broadly encompassed as 'impact-oriented' or as 'social entrepreneurship/innovation' is not limited to non-state private actors. For example, Jing and Gong (2012) provide a detailed account of the Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Civil Affairs' annual venture philanthropy programme, a government-led venture supporting service organisations for children and youth, among other target groups. The CDC, the UK's development finance institution, wholly owned by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), established the Impact Fund. The Impact Fund invests 'DFID's long term, "patient" capital in impact investment funds that invest in enterprises which serve the poor as consumers, suppliers or employees' (Impact Programme, 2018). It is targeted to low-income and lower middle-income countries in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia and includes investments in a number of sectors, including education.

These examples speak to the central premise of hybridity, or more precisely, 'hybrid organizing', defined by Battilana and Lee (2014) as: 'the activities, structures, processes and meanings by which organizations make sense of and combine aspects of multiple organizational forms' (p. 398). They further suggest considering hybridity as the combination of: (1) multiple organisational identities; (2) multiple organisational forms; and (3) multiple institutional logics (Battilana & Lee, 2014). As multiplicity

[3] MSDF also made impact investments in the United States. These are not discussed here given the focus of our study was Asia. Data from Michael & Susan Dell Foundation (n.d.) accurate as of 10 September 2018.

is inherent to hybridity, it is necessary to explicate the specifics of the hybrid, otherwise, discerning how organisations operate and their underlying strategies will be difficult. Doing so, however, necessitates a flexible approach.

Of the three dimensions highlighted above, the focus of our analysis was on defining organisational identities to determine organisational forms. We intended to come to an operational agreement for empirical data collection for the database. Our approach first relied on reviewing the literature to find suitable terms, which we then tested on a sub-sample of organisations from the larger database. However, the very nature of hybridity and the complexity of organisational processes and structures; opacity of organisational data; conflation of terms and disparate literature presented some problems. Thus, we later inductively applied pre-determined definitions to self-reported organisational characteristics in order to refine operational definitions and construct a working typology for analysis.

METHODS

The first phase of conceptualisation involved merging two literature reviews. The first broad review was on private sector engagement in education in the Global South conducted for a separate study. While larger in scope, that review was critical in directing the second, focused review and formed the basis for broad categorisations and range of actors. The second review was on specific organisational forms of philanthropic and other actors relevant to the study. We tested terms from both reviews, first on a sub-sample of organisations extracted from the Asian Venture Philanthropy Network (AVPN), a regional network service organisation used to extract sample organisations for the database. Relatively early on, it became clear that pre-determined definitions were insufficient. This was particularly true for newer hybrid forms. Thus, we refined pre-determined definitions using an inductive approach (see Thomas [2006] for a useful review) on the full sample of organisations in the database (see section entitled 'Testing pre-determined definitions and inductive categorisation').

Review 1: Private Sector Engagement (Broad Review)

A total of 246 individual search strings using combinations of 24 keywords/terms related to private sector engagement and various non-state actors in the Global South were employed. A time limitation was added (2005 to 2015, and later updated to 2017) to capture the most current literature. Google Scholar was used to maximise collecting working papers, reports and other grey literature from international agencies and private sector organisations that may otherwise be excluded, in addition to scholarly work. The first 10 pages of results (15, for very large results) were examined. In total, 250 resources were collected, examined and considered.

Abstracts were read and copied in a master document for the next step of screening. Duplicate results were removed. Screening at this stage removed material already in Srivastava's existing literature database. Remaining resources were reviewed, and any that were not directly related to areas of interest, were eliminated. Culled results were reviewed a second time more thoroughly, uploaded in Mendeley bibliographic reference manager and attributed content-specific keywords. Each reference was then read and annotated.

Review 2: Philanthropic and Hybrid Organisational Forms (Focused Review)

The second review focused on literature related to the search terms *(social+) impact invest** and *(venture +) philanthrop**, given the focus of this study. The search sought to identify pre-existing typologies and operationalisable definitions of organisational forms, to complement Review 1. Similar screening and review processes were employed as above. A preliminary search in ERIC, the main academic education database, was conducted. Given the limited education literature in this area, the time period and academic fields for the search were extended to capture academic literature in the areas of business and international development using EBSCO, JSTOR and SCOPUS (time limitation 1997–2016).[4]

Given the acknowledged contributions of development and private sector organisations to literature in this area, a further targeted search was conducted to examine publications from the websites of 18 key organisations identified in the literature and by expert informants as thought leaders or key players in philanthropy and in impact investing.[5] Working definitions for each organisational form were developed by combining the search results from this focused review with identified definitions from the larger review (Table 2.1 to be further discussed in 'Disentangling private

[4] No relevant literature was found prior to 1997. Following the results of the focused review (Review 2) at the end of 2016, we returned to Review 1 in early 2017 to double-check that there were no missing sources.

[5] These are: AVPN, Bellagio Initiative, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Brookings Institution, Consultative Group to Assist the Poor, GIIN, Ford Foundation, Foundation Center, Goldman Sachs, International Finance Corporation, MasterCard Foundation, OECD, Omidyar Network, Rockefeller Foundation, UNDP Istanbul International Center for Private Sector in Development (IICPSD), World Bank and World Economic Forum.

Table 2.1 Selected pre-determined definitions of frequently appearing actors in the literature

Organisational Form	Pre-determined Definitions from Literature
Philanthropic Foundations	Most references refer to philanthropic foundations as: ● Non-governmental ● Non-profit ● Possessing a principal fund of its own ● Managed by its own trustees and directors ● Promoting social, educational, charitable, religious or other activities serving the common welfare. Some distinguish between private foundations (i.e., with their own endowments provided by individual donors or families) and public foundations (funded by multiple sources, including public contributions) (Martens & Seitz, 2015). The Foundation Center distinguishes between four types of foundations (Foundation Center, 2013, p. 3): ● Independent Foundations: generally established by individual donors or donor families and engaged mainly in grant-making activities. ● Operating Foundations: run their own programmes, although some also make grants. They are generally established by individual donors or donor families. ● Corporate Foundations: established by businesses ranging from major corporations to family-owned shops but are legally separate entities. ● Community Foundations: raise funds from public and private sources and engage in grant-making primarily within a limited geographic area. The UN Development Cooperation Forum suggests identifying the type of foundation according to its funding source. This includes: ● Private endowment: foundations financed by large personal or family endowments. ● Corporate: foundations financed by large corporate endowments. ● Community-based: foundations financed through community fundraising.

Table 2.1 (continued)

Organisational Form	Pre-determined Definitions from Literature
	• Mixed-funding: foundations receiving funds from multiple sources including individuals, corporations, other private foundations and government agencies. Described as a common type for Southern private philanthropic organisations which receive financial support from northern donors and foundations in addition to contributions from wealthy individuals and corporations and public donations from the South. (ECOSOC, 2012, p. 2) Foundations can act as grant-makers to finance projects and programmes which are implemented by other actors (typically NGOs) or can finance and implement their own projects and programmes (Marten & Witte, 2008).
Strategic Philanthropic Organisations	Strategic philanthropic organisations seek greater impact by taking an approach that is guided by particular values and aims. They have clear goals and corresponding performance indicators, provide technical support (by sharing skills, abilities and experiences) and can also provide direct governance oversight to investees, in addition to providing monetary support (Chia, 2015).
Venture Philanthropies	Venture philanthropies provide financing for social enterprises. Much like traditional venture capitalism, venture philanthropies provide capital and value-added services to organisations in their investment portfolio, with the added dimension of maximising social return on the investment (Scarlata & Alemany, 2010). This combines financial and non-financial resources to identify and support self-sustaining, systemic and scalable solutions to development challenges, with the goal of achieving the greatest impact (OECD Development Centre, 2014; Scarlata & Alemany, 2010). Venture philanthropies identify social enterprises (for-profit and not-for-profit) that wish to expand but lack financial capital. As in traditional venture capital, venture philanthropies are meant to conduct due diligence before entering a formal agreement with a social venture. Generally, financial support (in the form of grants, loans or equity) is offered for a certain number of years. They take a performance-based approach to social investment. Investees' performance is monitored

	with defined goals, targets and timelines. Transparent reporting, clearly defined measures of social impact and exit strategies for the venture philanthropist are emphasised. At the end of the agreement, venture philanthropists collect their principal or dividends and exit (Chia, 2015).
Angel Investor	Angel investors are high-net-worth individuals that provide seed and early stage venture funding, often in exchange for equity in the firm. Angel investors can operate as individuals, in informal groups or as part of formal angel networks (John, 2014; World Economic Forum, 2016).
CSR unit	CSR units can be organisations unto themselves or sub-units of a corporation. CSR initiatives can include activities, projects, programmes and donations of a business to further a social good. CSR initiatives can be both internal programmes that target a firm's employees and their families or external programmes that focus on the larger community in which the firm operates. While CSR is not motivated by profit, CSR programmes bring benefits to the firm such as increasing financial performance, enhanced reputation and improved employee engagement and retention (Bhanji, 2008; United Nations Development Programme, 2014; Valor, 2005). These can engender increased market recognition, the by-product being increased profit for the corporation.
Incubators/ Accelerators	Business accelerators and incubators (also called seed or venture incubators/accelerators) help make early stage social ventures viable by offering support during the start-up phase (Omidyar Network, 2013; Schwab Foundation for Social Entrepreneurship, 2013). It is generally agreed that they are more effective if they 'focus on a limited number of companies to provide the "high-touch" support that entrepreneurs need to launch, find and serve new customers and scale' (Omidyar Network, 2013, p. 14). Start-ups are generally selected through a competitive process based on their proposals and backgrounds. Small teams of social entrepreneurs enter an intensive programme in a cohort for a defined period. During the programme, participants generally have access to programme founders and other mentors and receive educational and informational resources based on business and product advice. While incubators generally focus on mentorship and training, accelerators may also offer opportunities to access seed funding (Ackerman, 2015; Omidyar Network, 2013).

Table 2.1 (continued)

Organisational Form	Pre-determined Definitions from Literature
Micro-finance Investment Vehicles	Micro-finance is amongst the most developed. It is focused on helping economically active low-income families and small businesses access finance (Scola, Soursourian, Dominicé, Parashkevova & Narayanan, 2016; Steer et al., 2015). These may be considered a precursor to or a type of impact investing (Scola et al., 2016). Sub-sectors include micro-credit and micro-insurance providers or initiatives (Scola et al., 2016).
Networks	Formal networks support opportunities for learning, discussion and collaboration among actors in the field. They also serve to expand service delivery, improve information sharing, set performance standards and empower groups (International Finance Corporation, 2010; O'Flanagan, Harold & Brest, 2008).
Social Enterprise	A social enterprise (also known as a social purpose organisation [SPO]) is a commercial firm that pursues social and environmental objectives through entrepreneurial approaches and business principles (Asian Venture Philanthropy Network, 2016; OECD Development Centre, 2014; United Nations Development Programme, 2014).
(Social) Impact Investors	Social-impact investing, also known as impact investing, seeks both social and financial return. The investor provides loans or capital—not grants. Impact investors generally contribute to funds that focus on specific social impact. Like venture philanthropists, they tend to rely on business-like progress indicators. One definition states that unlike venture philanthropy, social impact funds are not managed by the investors but by profit-seeking organisations (Chia, 2015). Depending on the goals of investors, these funds may not consider projects that could address key social needs without a financial return. Motivation for investment differs from fund to fund. While in some cases the profit-motive may be the determining factor, in others, social objectives are paramount (Asian Development Bank, 2011; Chia, 2015; OECD Development Centre, 2014).

sector hybridity'). These were tested on a sub-sample of relevant organisations extracted for the database discussed immediately below.

Testing Pre-determined Definitions and Inductive Categorisation

A working typology for organisational forms was developed based on the literature reviews above. This was tested using AVPN's publicly accessible list of member organisations. A sub-sample of 87 organisations operating in education was extracted. Websites for each organisation were consulted to classify organisational form according to pre-determined definitions from the literature (Table 2.1).

Initially, this was done by organisational self-identification. In some cases, the identifications were explicit, in others they were determined by aligning the organisation's mission and status with pre-determined definitions. This was done by gathering further data on the vision, mission, portfolio, legal status and financial information, where available. As with the full sample and throughout the study, this process was highly dependent on the level of detail and documentation with which organisations publicly reported their operations. It was clear, early in this exercise, that pre-determined definitions were insufficient. These difficulties were partly due to a lack of clear and transparent organisational-level data, and partly, because the conglomeration of actors did not fit neatly into existing categories.

As the full sample for the database was compiled, inductive categorisation was used to classify organisational form and to develop a working typology. In simple terms, 'inductive analysis refers to approaches that primarily use detailed readings of raw data to derive concepts, themes, or a model through interpretations made from the raw data by an evaluator or researcher' (Thomas, 2006, p. 238). We extracted relevant data from organisational websites as above, but rather than shoehorning them into the pre-existing categories, we sought commonalities across them and developed new groupings emerging from the data. This consisted of developing criteria for inclusion and descriptive definitions by iterating between organisational self-identification data and the pre-determined definitions, refining and revising the latter to more accurately represent the organisational forms of actors in the sample. The result is presented in Table 2.2. As hybridity is inherently dynamic, we do not take a static view of the resulting definitions in the working typology. As analysis of the database evolves, we expect to make further refinements.

Table 2.2 Criteria for classification and inductively derived descriptions of relevant non-state private actors

Organisational Form	Criteria for Classification and Inductive Descriptions	Examples from Database
Charity/NGO	Not-for-profit; not part of the public sector but may receive public-sector funds; led by an independent board of trustees or CEO; rely primarily on external funding to operate (unlike private foundations).	Action Aid International, Educate Girls, Fred Hollows Foundation, Little Heroes' Dreams, Pratham Foundation
CSR Initiative/ Unit	Social responsibility programming/division or unit of a private corporation (not established as a corporate foundation). Uses own financial resources, contributes own funds and/or employee volunteers. May be legally mandated (e.g., India).	CSR initiatives/units of: Bharat Petroleum Corporation Ltd, Coca-Cola, Credit Suisse, Mahindra Group, Singtel, UBS
Impact Investor	**Ideal Type** (GIIN, n.d.) ● Intentionality: Aim to address issues of common good (social or environmental) ● Expectation of return on investments with a range of returns (at minimum a return of capital) ● Use a range of financial instruments (or made across 'asset classes') ● Commitment to measure impact Additional criteria: Must be organisations; use own financial resources (not a broker); can be not-for-profit oriented; exit strategy (intentional or actual); public actors excluded.	Accion, Acumen, Gray Matters Capital, Omidyar Network Services
Network Service Organisation or Platform	May be membership-based organisations, associations, fora; platforms or fora connecting donors or investors to causes or potential investees (can include crowdfunding platforms); networking spaces (includes physical and/or online spaces). May provide a range of support services (e.g., technical support, knowledge expertise, portfolio support, etc.) and/or a platform to connect actors. May be for-profit, hybrid or non-profit.	GlobalGiving, Indian Angel Network, SharingValueAsia, Vibha Trust

Private Foundation	**Ideal Type** (Marten & Witte, 2008) ● Not-for-profit oriented ● Not part of the public sector ● Uses own financial resources, usually from an endowment ● Led by an independent board of trustees or CEO ● Aim to face issues for common good ● Can be grant-making or operational (implement own programmes or in cooperation with others) Includes: independent private foundations (family and individual), corporate foundations and community foundations (not primarily publicly supported).	Azim Premji Foundation, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, DBS Foundation, Dr. Reddy's Foundation, EdelGive Foundation, Michael and Susan Dell Foundation, Tech Mahindra Foundation, ZeShan Foundation Hybrid Foundation*: Nippon Foundation
Social Investment Firm/ Fund Manager/ Fund Advisor or Investment Consultancy Service	May use own funds and make direct investments; manage investment funds for clients; serve as brokerage firms; provide investment advice or consultation. Include a range of expected rates of return on investment and use a variety of financial instruments. Clients of social investment firms, managers or advisors usually include philanthropic organisations, social entrepreneurs or hybrid organisations with a social purpose. Can be for-profit, hybrid or non-profit.	Asia Value Advisors, Calvert Impact Capital, WISE Philanthropic Advisors
Other	Includes a range of actors, such as: consultancy firms; multi-national corporations and local corporate entities; think tanks, education-oriented institutes (e.g., research centres, post-secondary institutions, etc.), incubators. May be for-profit, hybrid or non-profit.	Ayala, Boston Consulting Group, Chilasa, FHI 360, Indian School of Development Management

Notes:
Excludes 'state/government' and multilateral organisations. Although they appeared in the database, they are not relevant for the discussion here.
*: Hybrid foundation refers to a foundation with mixed public/private funding sources, although it is not part of the public sector.

DISENTANGLING PRIVATE SECTOR HYBRIDITY? LOCATING ORGANISATIONAL FORMS IN THE LITERATURE

Table 2.1 presents selected pre-determined definitions of the philanthropic and hybrid organisational forms that appeared most frequently in our reviews of the literature (Review 1 and Review 2 above). Given the complications outlined thus far and the analysis below, we do not imply that these definitions are authoritative, exhaustive, or free of contestation. They were selected, in the first instance, to provide guidance on operationalising organisations for this study, and later reframed inductively by drawing data from sample organisations.

As is clear from Table 2.1, explicating organisational forms is difficult and problematic. First, there are multiple organisational forms and multiple sources and definitions, sometimes for the same form. Some variations in definition are slight, but others are quite significant. Some may even have legal distinctions in a specific context. These variations may make it impossible to decipher the most appropriate 'standard' definition for an organisational form in the absence of specific regulatory or procedural contexts. Such issues are starkly apparent in the case of 'philanthropic foundations'.

Second, some terms may be commonly referred to or understood as strategies *and* organisational forms, e.g., strategic or venture philanthropy. This blurs the organisational identities, organisational forms and institutional logics of hybrid organising (Battilana & Lee, 2014). Third, certain characteristics suggested by a definition may not correspond to all organisations that operate as such. For example, a characteristic of impact investment funds in one definition was: 'social impact funds are not managed by the investors themselves, but rather by profit-seeking organizations' (Chia, 2015, p. 10). However, there are examples of organisations identifying as impact investors that also manage social impact funds themselves, and some of them are not profit-seeking. Fourth, some may be thought of more commonly as individuals (e.g., angel investors) or may operate informally or as groups through other organising bodies (e.g., network service organisations).

Finally, there is a further attempt in the literature to classify actors by profit motive. The three most typical classifications are: (1) for-profit (or motivated by profit); (2) not-for-profit (or motivated solely by social impact); and (3) hybrid or blended, motivated by profit and social impact (OECD Development Centre, 2014; Steer et al., 2015; Thornley et al., 2016). Traditionally, defining for-profit and non-profit actors involves ascertaining whether shareholders/owners draw profit out as dividends or whether shareholders/owners reinvest gains in the operation (and to what extent or for what purpose). While this distinction may seem relatively straightforward, it is often difficult to ascertain in practice, even in the case of philanthropic or other charitable organisations (Au & Lubienski, 2016; Olmedo, 2016).

Olmedo (2016) takes the example of an organisation in England that may be registered both as a charity and a 'company limited by guarantee', commonly referred to as a 'charitable company'. Such an organisation may own property and gain profit, but it must be reinvested in the organisation. He points out, however, that the purposes of reinvestment may not be defined. Thus, it 'does not exclude the alternative possibility of using their economic assets to trade and purchase services and goods' (Olmedo, 2016, p. 48), in lieu of reinvesting gains for the purposes of funding/implementing initiatives.

The data collection process for this project found that reporting on the mechanics, amounts and strategies of reinvesting projected gains on investments was opaque. This is particularly important to ascertain for actors officially classified as 'non-profit' (e.g., similar to 501(c) status in the United States), and who may simultaneously employ strategies seeking some financial return (e.g., impact investment). Similarly, there is an assumed continuum of economic returns on investment (i.e., above 5 per cent, 10 per cent, 15–20 per cent, etc.) along with social impact for hybrid or blended organisations. However, there is no consensus on the maximum threshold for economic returns beyond which investments/actors would be considered profit-oriented instead of hybrid.

AN ALTERNATIVE CLASSIFICATION: TOWARDS AN INDUCTIVE WORKING TYPOLOGY

Applying pre-determined definitions to organisations in the sample proved difficult. First, the sum of sample organisations did not correspond to those uncovered in the reviews. In some cases, they comprised other forms (e.g., charities and non-governmental organisations [NGOs], social investment funds/managers/advisory services) that required explication. In others, there were too few to warrant separate categorisation (e.g., accelerators and incubators). Second, in many instances, publicly available organisational data did not specify or provide sufficient detail on organisational operations required to match them to pre-determined definitions. In such instances, organisational forms were difficult to discern using external criteria. Third, different organisations operating similarly did not necessarily identify themselves in the same way. For example, one organisation may frame itself as a seed funder, while another organisation operating similarly (and providing seed funding) may identify itself as an impact investor. In these cases, we had to examine self-descriptions more closely and adapt pre-determined definitions to make them more broadly applicable. Finally, the lines between organisational forms and investment strategies can be blurry and inconsistently applied by organisations themselves. For example, a corporation's CSR initiative could be directly implemented, set up as a unit within the company or linked to the parent corporation but take the form of a corporate foundation. Furthermore, there may be no additional confirmatory data. In such cases, it was impossible to apply a static definition. These examples from our initial attempts at categorisation led us to reassess whether classifying organisations according to pre-determined definitions is useful or possible.

As a result, we developed a working typology (see Table 2.2 with examples from the data). Given the focus for this study, private foundations and impact investors were the most relevant forms, in addition to the following that were found to be the most prevalent in the sample: charity/NGO, CSR initiative/unit, network service organisation or platform, social investment firm/fund manager/fund advisor or investment consultancy service and other, incorporating a range of actors.

As far as possible, we attempted to inductively extract relevant criteria emerging from organisational-level data that could be applied across a variety of regulatory contexts. We deciphered *characteristics of organisational forms* by matching self-identification organisational data progressively against pre-determined definitions, *instead of relying on regulatory compulsions* that would apply only to a particular class of organisations in a specific domestic context. This was necessary because of the centrality of hybridity, but also to categorise actors that could later be aggregated and compared for this multi-country study. For example, in some countries in Asia, there is no formal distinction for a private foundation (e.g., India, Vietnam), whereas, in others there is (e.g., China, Indonesia, Japan).[6] Thus, extracting relevant organisational characteristics and adapting existing definitions was more useful for comparative analysis.

The working typology was useful in enabling a level of classification without which the sample could not be analysed. But, this was messy. A number of examples speak to the hybridity of institutional logics prevalent in this field of study, and that contributed to experienced difficulties. In these cases, we reverted to the main aims of the study to proceed.

[6] Based on the Council on Foundations Country Notes for China, India, Indonesia, Japan and Vietnam. Retrieved from https://www.cof.org/program-initiative/country-notes on 10 September 2018.

For example, since the focus of the project was on the private sector, public-sector actors were deliberately excluded from the working typology. We do not imply that public-sector actors cannot fall into some of the inductively derived classifications (but for their public status) or that they do not use some funding strategies similar to those of non-state private actors. Government agencies, like DFID as mentioned above, may be considered impact investors if they meet the four main criteria in Table 2.2 (i.e., intentionality; expectation of return on investments; using a range of financial instruments; commitment to measure impact). There are also publicly funded charities and foundations. However, given the focus of the study, they were excluded.

There were also private foundations that simultaneously met the four main criteria for impact investors (e.g., MSDF). In these cases, the classification of 'private foundation' took precedence if they met the main criteria on the organisational structure of private foundations, particularly if grants disbursement was the primary funding modality. Finally, as mentioned, regulatory distinction for the designation of 'private foundation' does not exist across countries. Thus, there were private-sector actors calling themselves 'foundations' but functioning largely by receiving funds from other grant-making donors (e.g., Fred Hollows Foundation, Pratham). In these cases, their main funding source and management structure took precedence.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS AND WAYS FORWARD?

This chapter developed from the need to operationalise non-state private actors that are 'hybrid organising' for the empirical purposes of data collection for a study mapping the target geographies, education sector priorities, and initiatives of private foundations and impact investors operating in Asia. It was tempting to apply discrete pre-determined categories to simplify analysis. However, applying existing definitions proved to be counterproductive. We faced a number of difficulties related to the lack of clarity in the literature and insufficient publicly reported information on the actors and their operations. More substantively, there were also complexities related to the multiple organisational forms and strategies of actors in our sample. This is inherent to the nature of hybridity.

Hybrid organising necessitates embracing a multiplicity of organisational identities, forms and logics. However, embracing hybridity presents challenges. These are aggravated when organisational data are either inconsistent or not fully transparent, and further, when researching comparatively across very different regulatory contexts.

Thus, we faced a conundrum. While a typology of organisational forms is necessary to push research forward, employing pre-determined definitions is not wholly appropriate. This led to the development of an inductively derived working typology that was specific to the aims of this study. The process centred on progressively refining existing definitions iteratively in line with organisational self-identification data to establish a more relevant framework. As hybridity intimates continuous evolution (OECD Development Centre, 2014), we submit that any categorisation must ultimately serve as a working typology, open to new types of actors and new definitions as the field develops. We argue towards adopting a flexible approach that can be inductively derived within a framework of characteristics (that are, ideally, observed), which should clearly articulate how particular organisational forms are defined within specific studies. While regulatory distinctions may exist for certain organisations in specific domestic contexts, they may be insufficient or inappropriate for comparative work.

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3. The IEFG: role of a philanthropic affinity network within global education

Megan Haggerty, Bronwen Magrath and Gordana Kelava

If you were lucky enough to have the funds, how would you start on your journey to good grant-making in education? How would you go about choosing a project on which to focus? How would you measure your achievements and those of your grantees? How would you keep up with new developments and research in the education field? How would you find a group of peers to share ideas with, knowing that when you open your mouth at an education conference, or to a non-governmental organisation (NGO), that the expectation of money looms in the background? How could you ensure your work is not done in isolation but serves to strengthen the education sector and move the field forward?

This chapter explores the International Education Funders Group (IEFG), an affinity network of over 100 foundations set up in 2010 by a group of foundations who sought to answer some of the above questions. This chapter will look at the history, organisation, composition and activities of the IEFG in order to shed some light on the role of funder affinity networks in strengthening the collective work of education grant-making. These sorts of networks are rarely put under the spotlight and are often a bit of a mystery to outsiders. Yet they serve a crucial purpose as fora for knowledge-sharing and networking, and, by encouraging coordination among private donors, have the potential to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of education grant-making.

In the last 50 years, international development has shifted from predominantly isolated interventions to a more collaborative and multi-stakeholder approach that aims for systemic rather than one-off change (Chabbott, 2003; Menashy, 2015; Mundy, 1998). Simultaneously, philanthropy has evolved from a mostly charity-based model towards giving as a catalyst for social change and policy influence, what has been termed 'muscular philanthropy' (Bishop & Green, 2010). These shifts, combined with the communications revolution of the internet, have led to greater cohesion among philanthropic actors, who are now more networked to each other—and to other global education actors—than ever before.

The IEFG provides an interesting case study of this new collaborative approach to global education and development.

AFFINITY NETWORKS VERSUS DONOR COLLABORATIVES

Philanthropic networks cover a vast range of types and engagements, beyond their binding thematic or geographic topic. The spectrum of engagement can range from simple information sharing and co-learning to strategic alliances—either formal or informal—all the way to more complex arrangements of pooled funding (The Philanthropy Initiative, 2009). As Grant Lewis (2011) notes, the complexity of collaboration increases as one moves up the pyramid (see Figure 3.1). Co-funding and pooled funding clearly demand more time and effort than information-sharing, but these 'higher order' forms of collaboration also require foundations to put aside some of their autonomy and brand recognition for the sake of increasing the size and efficiency of a particular grant.

At the loosest level of engagement are 'affinity networks' or 'affinity groups'. These are often formed as the first step in getting grant-makers together around an issue. Affinity networks are known for coordinating through information exchange, instead of coordinating through advocacy,

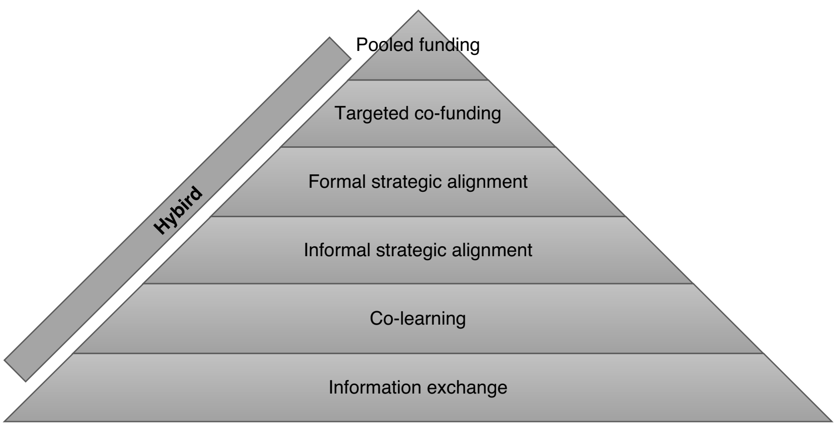


Figure 3.1 The spectrum of engagement, as described by Grant Lewis (2011)

pooling of funds or aligning of grant-making. As Kennette Benedict (2003) notes, in her work for the MacArthur Foundation, 'In the affinity group mode, donors exist in an ecology of grant-making, where each may develop a niche within a grant-making field, each niche adding to the whole community of activity' (para. 9). Much like the fable of touching the elephant, each grant-maker contributes to this amorphous field, and by interacting in a group like the IEFG, they are able to see more parts of the elephant.

Affinity groups are the easiest groups to form, as they can be formal or informal in nature, and the members can develop plans of action as the need arises. However, the loose nature of these groups can also mean affinity networks are difficult to maintain (Benedict, 2003). The variance in affinity group size and mandate is significant. For example, some are linked by a common theme, such as the Elevate Children Funders Group, which brings together roughly a dozen funders focused on child well-being in the lower- and middle-income countries (LMICs); or the 25-year-old Human Rights Funders Network, which has over 1,500 members. Some groups are based on the funders' location (e.g., Philanthropy New York), while others are based on the funders' regional interests (e.g., the Africa Grantmakers' Affinity Group).[1]

Another way to think of affinity networks is to see them as a convening space (virtual or real) for grant-makers to meet each other, share knowledge and information and encourage collaboration. Similar to Jason Beech and Marianne Larsen's conceptualisation of spatiality in education (2014), this space not only exists as a place/time but also as a mode of transferring ideas and knowledge. Indeed, the participants contribute to and are shaped by their interactions with the convening space that is the affinity network. In turn, affinity networks become supportive learning communities that can offer partnership, mentoring, collaboration and expertise.

As the level of commitment and collaboration increases, affinity networks (or subgroups of these networks) may decide to form donor collaboratives, usually with concrete goals to affect a certain sector. These could be related to advocacy or policy goals or could seek to improve research or practice in a specific area. For example, the idea of the Partnership to Strengthen Secondary Education came out of an IEFG subgroup meeting, where six members decided to align targeted co-funding to systematically affect the secondary education sector in the lower-income countries, pooling USD 47 million from 2012–2018. The new Moving Minds Alliance similarly

[1] Many affinity networks are managed by larger philanthropic support organisations, such as the Council on Foundations (https://www.cof.org/organization-type/affinity-group) and the European Foundation Centre (http://www.efc.be/thematic_network/).

came out of a series of informal meetings between early childhood educators, who recognised the vacuum of early childhood development in the education in emergencies' space. Donor collaboratives, however, tend to be smaller and are more prone to ebb in size and activity. This is because the ability to have a concerted focus on a particular issue is difficult as foundations' interests and boards shift over time. However, they are also able to demonstrate their successes and impact more concretely than affinity networks, though this too is dependent on the political environment in which they operate (Fine, Lawrence & Shultz Hafid, 2018). In contrast to affinity networks, much has been written about the lessons learned from donor collaboratives, both those thriving and those who have moved on.[2]

The IEFG could have chosen to become a donor collaborative in its early days; several of its subgroups may still choose to go this route, as trust develops and opportunities for collaboration emerge. However, overwhelmingly it has committed to a looser form of network that allows a wider umbrella of organisations to learn and benefit from the group, thereby hopefully impacting a larger number of grant-makers funding education in the LMICs.

HISTORY OF THE IEFG

The number and diversity of private philanthropic funders innovating and funding in education in the LMICs have increased significantly in the past decade, in step with new opportunities for these players on the global stage. From the invitation to foundations to have a seat on the board of the Global Partnership for Education (GPE, then known as the Fast Track Initiative) to the creation of the International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity (the Education Commission), space has been opening up for foundations to individually and collectively engage on the global stage.

Yet, until the formation of the IEFG, there was no independent space where private philanthropic funders working in education in the LMICs could learn from each other, share information and improve their grant-making. In this context of urgent need and significant opportunity, private grant-makers started to meet up in 2003 at side meetings during gatherings where foundations were likely to be present, such as the UN General

[2] The learning around donor collaboratives is captured in publications such as *Lessons from a ten-year funding collaborative: A case study for the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa* (Parker, 2010); *A handbook for funder collaborations* (Zisser, 2014); and *Lessons in funder Ccollaborations* (Huang & Seldon, 2014).

Assembly Week and the Comparative International Education Society conferences. Most of these meetings were voluntarily organised above and beyond the work responsibilities of several Program Officers at the Hewlett Foundation, which was at the time heavily involved in implementing its Quality Education in Developing Countries initiative. It was at this time that philanthropy in education was evolving from targeting charitable schools or experiments to beginning to look at systemic change and the role foundations could play in catalysing this change. It was recognised that the challenges faced would not be met with isolated, individually funded initiatives, but that sharing knowledge and intelligence on the field might help move the needle of change.

In 2010, six of these funders decided to pool funds and hire a consultant to figure out what a network could look like and who would be interested in participating. Out of this initial organising, in April 2011, representatives of 20 education funders agreed on the organisation and mission for the new International Education Funders Group (IEFG). The group grew to over 40 members in January 2012 and reached over 100 members in 2017, growing almost exclusively by word of mouth. The majority of new members are relatively new to the field of education (and sometimes new to philanthropy), which presents good opportunities for partnering and encouraging good practice in the field.

Since 2010, a wave of other groups targeting foundations in international development and/or global education have arisen. Most involve bilateral funders as well as grant-makers. Some have focused on specific initiatives in education, such as Building Evidence in Education (BE^2) or the Global Metric Task Force, which has fed into Brooking's Center for Universal Education Donor Network. Others have centred around grant-makers' engagement in and with organisations, such as OECD's netFWD and the World Bank's Foundation Advisory Council. Each of these is important in increasing foundation engagement in the education sector globally, as well as increasing the density of information flows and policy change. However, the IEFG stands apart from them for its independence and foundation-led focus, as well as for its size.

THE ORGANISATION

The main purpose of the IEFG is to help private grant-makers support basic education in the LMICs, have a stronger voice and be a catalytic force in the field of global development and education. This can be achieved by improving their strategic analysis and thinking, informing and assisting their grant-making and providing opportunities for collective learning

Table 3.1 IEFG sub-thematic groups

1.	Evidence, Evaluation and Learning Outcomes Measurement
2.	Influencing the Global Development and Education Agendas
3.	Early Childhood Development
4.	Post-Primary Ed and Girls' Education
5.	Funders of Early Stage Support (usually small/family foundations)
6.	Education and Resilience/Conflict
7.	Teacher Training and Professional Development
8.	Human Rights and Social Justice Approaches
9.	Technical and Vocational Education and Skills Training (TVET)
10.	Tertiary Education

and action. It is best thought of as a convening space where members bring forward ideas and energy to discuss, collaborate and build the field.

The group has defined its parameters as basic education—including early childhood through secondary—and touching upon adult education, non-formal learning and youth and skills. In total, there are 10 thematic subgroups within the IEFG, shown in Table 3.1, with new ones emerging regularly in response to global needs and development. These ebb and flow dependent on member inputs. In 2018, after calls from its members, the IEFG expanded its remit from basic education to the education continuum found in the Sustainable Development Goals and opened a tertiary education subgroup to reflect this change.

Two major principles that the group endeavours to abide by are (a) to be member-driven, not Secretariat-driven and (b) to let form follow function, meaning that organisational shape of the IEFG evolves as the activities and needs of the IEFG membership evolve. It is designed to be nimble and flexible. As such, there is no head-office, and the group runs on strictly voluntary membership contributions. Its Secretariat is small and limited, with a Coordinator, Program Officer and Program Administrator, all of whom work part-time. This limited staffing, in turn, necessitates the active participation of members to make the network function, which has an added benefit of building collaboration and trust in the group through interaction. However, as time is at a premium, it also restricts the Secretariat's ability to build the organisation to engage in new areas of activities (for example, supporting specific subgroups that want to move an initiative collectively forward).

A third major principle is that the group is a 'no-pitching' space. In principle, this means that neither members nor guest NGOs are permitted to solicit funds or partners during IEFG events. Indeed, if a member has a funding idea they want to share, they are requested to go through the IEFG Secretariat to help facilitate connections. This 'no pitching' principle has the effect of focusing the meetings on ideas, instead of money flows, and also helps build trust within the group, as IEFG members are free to speak their minds, without being targeted for certain projects. In practice, however, there is significant collaboration, co-funding and informal pitching that goes on during the side meetings around IEFG events. The impact of these side conversations and informal networking is unknown, but anecdotally, it is one of the features that IEFG members appreciate within the community. In the last year, the IEFG has freed up a limited number of spaces in its newsletter and online portal where members can present ideas for collaboration or co-funding; however, on the whole, it carefully guards its space for open ideas exchange and knowledge-building.

The IEFG is led by a voluntary Steering Committee of nine to 12 representatives of member organisations who teleconference once a month to direct the Secretariat, make decisions on new members and decide the strategic direction of the group. Each member commits to sitting on the Steering Committee for three years, with roughly one-third of the committee changing hands each year. This has ensured that new ideas always arise within the Steering Committee and has also spread responsibility for the well-being of the network beyond the original founding members. The Steering Committee purposely mimics the diversity of the IEFG in its composition, seeking new members to fill gaps in geography or type of engagement to reflect the needs of all different types of funders in the group.

SO, WHO IS IN THE IEFG?

The IEFG does not publicly publish the list of its members. This is not out of a will to be an 'insiders' group, but rather to respect the needs and limits of IEFG members. For example, some members who fund education as a human right opt to be anonymous, in order to help protect their grantees from persecution. Other foundations have a small staff and do not want to be inundated by requests for funds. Others, while open about their funding to education on their websites, simply do not want to be part of a list of education funders. As such, this section talks about the general trends within the IEFG membership and the breadth of its work.

The IEFG is an umbrella of philanthropic actors in the education sector space, who are diverse in size, geography and engagement. It grows, through word of mouth, at a rate of about one foundation per month.

Because it does not do advocacy and focuses on being a convening space for ideas, members are also more likely to come from a wider ideological stance than most groups.

In terms of size, the IEFG members range widely. The minimum criterium is to grant at least USD 50,000 per annum in education to an LMIC; however, these smaller members range from family foundations to charities who serve as intermediaries that re-grant funds to community-based organisations operating in-country. Some of these smaller organisations give upwards of 60 grants per annum, whereas others focus on contributing to three or four projects in total. Medium and large foundations are similarly diverse in their funding and range from private foundations to corporate foundations, and in a rare case reversing the trend, to a corporate foundation that owns the company. Most of these members either have been gifted an endowment, are given amounts by their live-benefactor as needed or receive a proportion of the profit from their related company. A few are banks that reach out to their high-net-worth individuals or donor-advised funds who work with anonymous funders on an education-focused programme. Also included in the group are some Corporate Social Responsibility arms of corporations, provided that the grant-making they do is philanthropic and not connected to the growth strategy of their company.

Not included in the IEFG are those with business interests in education, whether they are foundations, NGOs or companies. So, for example, corporate foundations whose education grant-making is closely connected to the financial interests of their corporation are generally not admitted to the IEFG. For those with business interests in education, the Global Business Coalition for Education (GBC-Ed) offers a different community for engagement.

Also, not included are organisations that primarily exist to solicit funds from foundations. Although some IEFG members do solicit funds as part of their work, they must also be grant-makers in their own right and accept the norms of the group to not use the IEFG space for pitching.

Although all IEFG members have a common goal of grant-making to education in the LMICs, there are trends that show diversity within the group. About a third of members are headquartered in Europe, another third in the United States, and a final third are spread throughout other parts of the world, including Australia, East Asia and Latin America, with a sizeable number of foundations based in the Middle East or in one of the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China or South Africa). Perhaps not surprisingly, this mapping of foundation headquarters mirrors the flow of capital in the current global system (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 2018). It also speaks to the fact that the

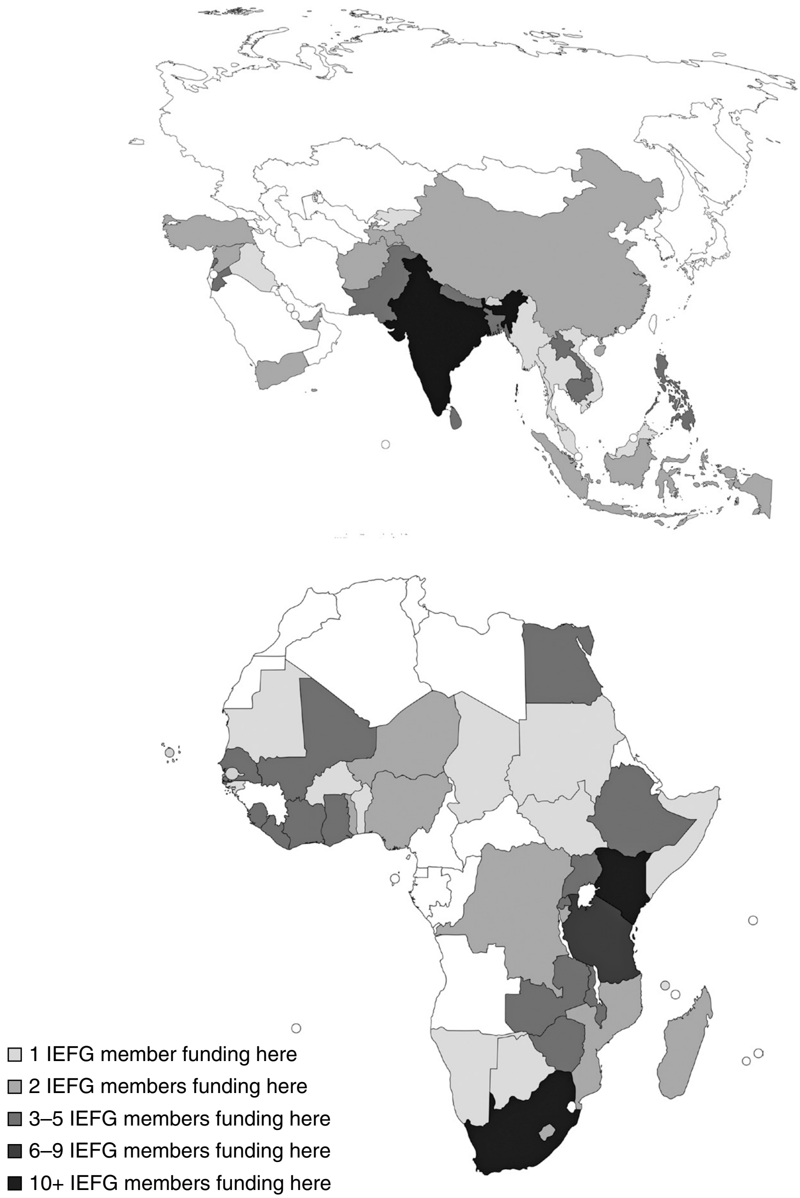
IEFG was started by U.S. and European foundations and has grown by word of mouth.

Local funders—funders who focus on grant-making in the country where they are headquartered—are a growing body within the IEFG, although most that fit this category tend to emerge in middle-income countries, not low-income countries. The local foundations bring their local expertise, which is useful to other IEFG members who engage in the region. In turn, their main reason for joining the IEFG is to learn about the international context and trends, touch on international research or engage in global policy dialogue.

The IEFG is aware of the need to ensure that its composition is aligned to its international aim. If it is to have the word *International* in its name, then surely more foundations from more countries should be included in the group, particularly those that are based in the LMICs and have a lived experience in the local context. But trust (as explored further down) appears to be an important ingredient in drawing new foundations to the group. If the IEFG Secretariat approaches a foundation who has not yet been recommended to it by one of its members, the relationship usually falters. However, if an interlocutor, such as another foundation or a known consultant, recommends that a foundation joins the group, it often becomes a strong, active member. The IEFG is actively looking for members based in the LMICs, in order to diversify and strengthen the group.

In terms of geography, about half of all IEFG members grant to Africa, with a clear focus on India and South Africa as well. The Syrian refugee crisis also tends to be a geographic hot-spot for grant-making in recent years. Beyond that generalisation, members' grant-making tends to be quite diffuse around the world, including grant-making to Asia, Latin America and the Middle East.

When the IEFG mapped where members were grant-making, a quick glance at the map showed the colonial influences of the flow of grant-making. It should not be surprising that the 'donor darlings' (for example, India, Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya) came out with the largest number of IEFG members funding in these countries (see Figure 3.2). Perhaps not surprisingly, Anglophone foundations tended to focus on Anglophone countries; Lusophone on Lusophone countries; Francophone on Francophone countries. However, this does raise the question of whether foundations are grant-making in the countries that are furthest from achieving education or whether we are part of a system that continues to privilege some countries over others.



Source: Maps generated using Minas (n.d.).

Figure 3.2 Maps of IEFG members granting to primary education in Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa

WHAT NEED DOES THE IEFG FILL FOR FOUNDATIONS?

As a member-led organisation that operates solely on voluntary contributions (where members decide individually how much to give), the IEFG's existence is due to the value it brings to its members. What does the IEFG give that its members cannot get elsewhere? In many ways, the IEFG responds to gaps it sees—and that members identify—in the field of global education philanthropy: a lack of opportunity for grant-makers to share information, collaborate or co-fund; and a perceived 'information overload' that makes it difficult for foundations to stay on top of the latest research and innovations.

Over the years, and through members' suggestions and feedback, the IEFG has identified three streams of work that provide insight not only on the value of the affinity network but also on the state of philanthropy in education at present. These streams of work include sharing information, providing depth and context to members' work and building a community of trust.

Sharing Information

First, the IEFG serves as an efficient way to share information for a group that needs timely information, but often finds it difficult to keep up. The art of grant-making requires a programme officer to keep up with the larger trends of the field, as well as the implementation challenges in the contexts in which they work. Balancing between the 'big picture' and 'nitty-gritty' allows grant-makers to assess whether the grants they are making contribute to the educational change they would like to see and whether a particular NGO/research centre/government agency is the right one for the job. This requires a huge amount of information and networking to do properly. The IEFG helps reduce this burden both through its information sharing and information networking.

In terms of information sharing, the IEFG puts out an e-Update/Newsletter twice a month. Information is both collated from the web, as well as contributed by IEFG members as they come across research, events, blogs and policy pieces of interest. This e-Update has an opening rate of 43 per cent, showing the need foundations have for this type of quick information sharing. (One can register for the public version of the e-Update on the IEFG website.) Information is also shared between members through a secure online chat-group where members can post questions, comments or information to the whole group or to smaller subgroups with a shared regional or thematic interest.

The IEFG Secretariat also plays a key role as a 'go-between' connecting like-minded foundations, as members often seek assistance linking with others in the network. This is particularly true for new members, new foundation staff or those moving into a new area of work. The IEFG works to encourage an informal buddy-system so that members are not left fumbling in the dark.

Providing Depth and Context to Members' Work

Second, the IEFG serves as one of the global spaces where foundations can try to frame the bigger issues they are dealing with. In small and medium-sized foundations, programme officers are often the only staff to work in this particular field or area of grant-making. This creates a challenge similar to that faced by academics, where their work is often strengthened by dialogue with peers outside their offices. Larger foundations often have a number of staff working on a theme, but in their case, they may want to influence the ideas of other grant-makers (e.g., to push for more attention on quality, not access) or find like-minded organisations and individuals to work with. The IEFG helps foundations frame these bigger issues through its bi-annual member meetings. Each meeting is focused on a different theme, which helps foundations grapple with that particular theme and build their knowledge. Themes of the past few meetings have included 'Equity', 'Social Emotional Learning', 'Education and Technology', 'Monitoring Evaluation and Learning', 'Education and Resilience', and so on. These two- or three-day member events only provide snapshots in time of these issues, but through networking with the speakers and other IEFG members, members are better able to map the knowledge that they need and understand some of the critical junctures that they should consider if they choose to improve their grant-making practice in that particular area.

While these IEFG bi-annual meetings sound very similar to roundtables or research symposia, and indeed they are modeled on that type of learning, there is a difference. IEFG meetings are non-competitive, closed spaces where only foundations and a few guests gather, no pitching is allowed and foundations can relax to be in learning mode, instead of posturing mode. This is an important distinction, as in meetings held by think tanks or at academic conferences, foundations have a tendency to remain silent. This reticence is for two reasons: fear that the question they ask will be seen as representative of a particular angle of their foundation's work or that their time during the coffee break will be spent with opportunistic, well-intentioned grant-seekers, instead of in discussions and debates on the ideas they have just encountered.

This role of framing the bigger picture has led the IEFG into the realm of global policy. The IEFG purposely does not directly influence education policy agendas. Practically speaking, this is because IEFG members are so diverse that there is little we could say with a unified voice. However, for many years, the IEFG has informally asked foundations to volunteer to attend global meetings on the community's behalf (such as the GPE Replenishment Campaign or the Humanitarian Summit in 2017) and report back to the group on the proceedings. Often these IEFG volunteers are already planning to attend the event, and the added value is making the connection to report back to the group, so a larger number of foundations may benefit from the knowledge. Individual IEFG members then take this knowledge to inform their own strategies in the education policy arenas.

The IEFG is also increasingly involved in generating and/or supporting the hosting of the foundation constituencies who have seats on governance bodies within various global organisations/mechanisms and passing on information from these organisations/mechanisms to the wider community of foundations. As global bodies such as the GPE, Education Cannot Wait and UNESCO's SDG4 Steering Committee have expanded their governance structures to include foundation representatives, the IEFG has been asked by its members to help organise constituencies so that elected or appointed foundation representatives can get input from their fellow foundations. These constituencies are not limited to IEFG members (as the foundation world is wider than the IEFG membership). In some instances, the representative reaches out informally and only when input is needed. In other instances, a formal democratic process is established to allow for input into specific governance decisions, especially those that may open up opportunities for, or otherwise impact, foundations. Form follows function in these cases.

Of the various bodies, the IEFG has been most involved in ensuring a foundation voice within the GPE. One IEFG member sits on the GPE board, while several others serve on various board committees within the GPE. All representatives feed back reports and outcomes from board and committee discussions and identify opportunities for input from the wider foundation constituency. They have been instrumental in the creation of the GPE's Private Foundation Engagement Strategy, the first such strategy between the GPE and one of its board constituencies. For the last few years they have been working with the GPE to find ways that foundations can align their work or directly partner with the GPE through its newly emerging Knowledge and Information Exchange (KIX) programme and Advocacy and Social Accountability (ASA) mechanisms at the global level or ways they can better activate their local NGO partners in the GPE Local Education Groups at the national level. The IEFG and the GPE Private

Foundations' Constituency, therefore, offer a way for foundations to offer their unique assets and approaches, such as co-creation and catalytic action, to the changing nature of humanitarian and development aid in education.

Building a Community of Trust

Third, and perhaps most crucially, the IEFG has created a friendly community of trust, where foundations can draw upon each other for advice in the actual grant-making world.

One of the key Hewlett Program Officers who shepherded the IEFG in its early days, Lynn Murphy, explains, 'Foundations are like migratory birds. They flock together and scare easily' (personal communication, 10 August 2018). Each foundation may go out alone to fly its own path, but it often wants to know where it is flying in relation to its peers. If it tries a new direction, it wants to know if anyone else is trying it and wants to flag its success or seek (troubleshooting) advice regarding the new path. However, most foundations will stick to the direction of the flock, creating the influx of funds around popular themes of work or well-known NGOs. The IEFG, in turn, creates a space where foundations can talk about those new journeys or explore a new or emerging area of grant-making. Its collegial atmosphere also simply builds relationships which over time increases that trust.

As far as the observation that foundations 'scare easily', this is not universally true for philanthropy, but one can see trends. Most foundations can relate to stories where a good programme was not taken up because the request for money was brought in too quickly. Whereas foundations may be sceptical about the claims of a particular project, they will be less sceptical if it comes recommended by a fellow foundation. On the whole, foundations are more likely to trust the recommendations of their foundation peers than those outside the network, and they use the informal relations with fellow grant-makers in the IEFG—often built up slowly over years—to scope out new projects and ideas.

The IEFG and its members recognise the value of encouraging collaboration between foundations in order to avoid replication and improve the efficiency and effectiveness of grant-making. At the same time, the sense of trust results in members feeling reassured that they are not being 'pitched to' by colleagues looking for collaboration or co-funding opportunities. To cater to these two needs, the IEFG has created some space for members to explore opportunities for collaboration during face-to-face meetings and in virtual communities.

The philanthropy world is often criticised as being quite changeable. There are many examples of foundations who have moved out of a field or switched the type of projects they are supporting. For the programme officers within those organisations, the IEFG offers a community to connect to and that sometimes offers advice on how to help advocate for their ideas within their boards or advisory councils. It also offers a pathway for those who are new to or considering grant-making in education, by connecting them to relevant peers in the same geographies or subgroups.

This trust also enables foundations to have difficult discussions on issues that members fundamentally disagree upon. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the issue of private sector involvement in education. The IEFG includes members that are fully supportive of active private sector engagement, including supporting the development of low-cost private school chains or financial literacy for mom-and-pop private school operators. On the other hand, some IEFG members actively fund advocacy against the privatisation of education. Over the years, the IEFG has tried to broker conversations that move past this perceived ideological binary, so that the two sides could better understand the rationale behind their work. This, it is hoped, helps bring a critical reflection to both sides of the work. The extent to which these dialogues have been helpful is unknown. Attribution is a sticky business, but IEFG members continue to push for similar conversations as time progresses, suggesting that this middle-of-the-road dialogue is helping to push the boundaries of members' thinking.

THE ROAD AHEAD: NEXT STEPS AND CHALLENGES FOR THE IEFG

The IEFG is a growing network, with over 100 member organisations and new members joining monthly. Will this growth change the dynamics of a group that has been built on trust and personal connections? The IEFG must ask itself to what extent it can grow and what limitations it may face as an affinity network. An ongoing challenge is—and will be—managing the wide diversity of members, each of whom is an autonomous foundation. As a member-led network, overcoming this challenge is critical to getting clarity and consensus on key issues, prioritising topics for co-learning and joint action and defining the grant-makers' value-add to the global effort to improve education access and quality.

Starting in 2017, the IEFG has become increasingly outward-facing, as we have been growing our relationships with other global education players such as the GPE, the Education Cannot Wait Fund, the SDG2030 Steering Committee and NORRAG. This raises a challenge of representation: When the IEFG co-sponsors events or provides input on an external strategy, are we representing our membership as a whole? Or are we speaking on behalf of the Secretariat and Steering Committee? Although our steering group is deliberately diverse, a growing network is increasingly difficult to represent. Yet, having the IEFG present at these fora is an important legitimising force for our network and for a collective philanthropic voice. In the coming years, we will need to grapple with the challenge of representation to ensure that our member-led focus is strengthened rather than splintered by our growing mandate.

A broader challenge faced by the IEFG (and other actors in the education sector) is that aid to education has stagnated in recent years and appears to be slipping off the priority list for many donors. The IEFG is concerned about these changes to the funding landscape. In response, we have decided to make it an organisational goal to help increase philanthropic attention to basic education in the LMICs within our sphere of influence. In the future, we hope to highlight how the IEFG can play a convening role by using its own networks, and the networks of its members, to help increase funding for education. Yet, we will need to tread carefully in this endeavour; as noted, the IEFG is not an advocacy organisation and it deliberately remains politically neutral because of our membership diversity.

The role of private funders in global education is not without controversy, and the IEFG has done little to engage in wider debates about the role of philanthropy in education. In part, this is due to our role as a 'safe space' enabling education grant-makers to network and share information, which precludes conversations happening outside our closed doors. The IEFG's involvement in the NORRAG Philanthropy in Education Symposium series is an opportunity to begin this conversation.

It is important that education grant-makers understand the critical debates in the field and are aware of the potentially negative consequences of their growing political influence. At the same time, critics should not dismiss philanthropy as a bit-player or—worse—as an arm of corporate marketing. The diversity of education philanthropy, as well as the real gains these actors have made in global education, deserves recognition as well as robust analysis. It is essential that genuine engagement is fostered between the philanthropy sceptics and the believers if we are to move the field forward together. The IEFG welcomes the opportunity for engagement and looks forward to continuing the conversation.

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4. Tackling the global education crisis: the UBS Optimus Foundation's use of social finance

Maya Ziswiler and Arushi Terway

INTRODUCTION

Around 264 million children and adolescents are not in school, and only one in 12 young people in low-income countries is on track to gain secondary level skills (UNESCO, 2017). Some progress in achieving gender equality has been made, but far more girls than boys still do not have access to an education (UNESCO, 2015). More alarmingly, estimates show that more than 617 million children and adolescents are not achieving minimum proficiency levels in reading and mathematics (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2017).

Warning of a learning crisis in global education, the recent World Development Report noted:

> This learning crisis is a moral crisis. When delivered well, education cures a host of societal ills. For individuals, it promotes employment, earnings, health, and poverty reduction. For societies, it spurs innovation, strengthens institutions, and fosters social cohesion. But these benefits depend largely on learning. Schooling without learning is a wasted opportunity. More than that, it is a great injustice: the children whom society is failing most are the ones who most need a good education to succeed in life. (World Bank, 2018, p. 3)

Especially of concern is the need for almost tripling the current education funding to meet the targets set out in the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 on Quality Education. The International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity (2016) estimates that low- and middle-income countries will be required to almost triple their domestic public expenditure on education from the current USD 1 trillion per year to USD 2.7 trillion by 2030 while also ensuring that the financial resources are utilised more effectively. Public spending on education by national governments falls short, with the global average of 14.1 per cent of total public expenditure allocated to education in 2015, which is lower than the global recommendation of 15 per cent to 20 per cent (UNESCO, 2017). Moreover, international aid to education has decreased over the last few years, from 10 per cent of overall development aid in 2009 to 6.9 per cent in 2015.

There is increasing recognition globally that achieving the SDGs cannot succeed without the involvement of private investment capital—the current value of global capital markets is estimated at USD 218 trillion (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2014). Social finance, an approach to mobilising private capital for social development, can contribute to increasing both financing and innovation in order to improve learning outcomes in the field of education. Social financing vehicles can help bridge the gap between the funding that is available and the funding that is required to reach the SDGs. Social finance, in combination with traditional funding flows, potentially offers a sustainable way of supporting progress and creating the conditions to affect the generational change needed to reframe the future for millions.

This chapter presents the UBS Optimus Foundation's approach to social finance in the education sector, along with existing initiatives and programmes that the Foundation is supporting. The UBS Optimus Foundation's social finance model aims to bring private capital funding into the education sector where it can potentially catalyse innovation and tackle some of its complex problems.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL FINANCE

In the last two decades, social finance has gained prominence, primarily in the form of micro-finance credits and environmental projects (like 'green bonds'). More recently, the number of actors, types of instruments and kinds of projects in the social finance space have expanded. At the moment, social finance includes diverse approaches, models, mechanisms and instruments. In Europe alone, the social finance market reached around USD 21 billion in 2013 with France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom representing the leading markets (Rizzi, Pellegrini & Battaglia, 2018).

Social finance can be generally defined as:

> Actively deploying private capital (whether investor or philanthropic funds), sometimes in combination with government funding, in business or funds that address a specified social need. The social finance investments primarily yield a positive social or environmental return and secondly a financial return (adapted from Fetherston, 2014; Geobey, Westley & Weber, 2012).

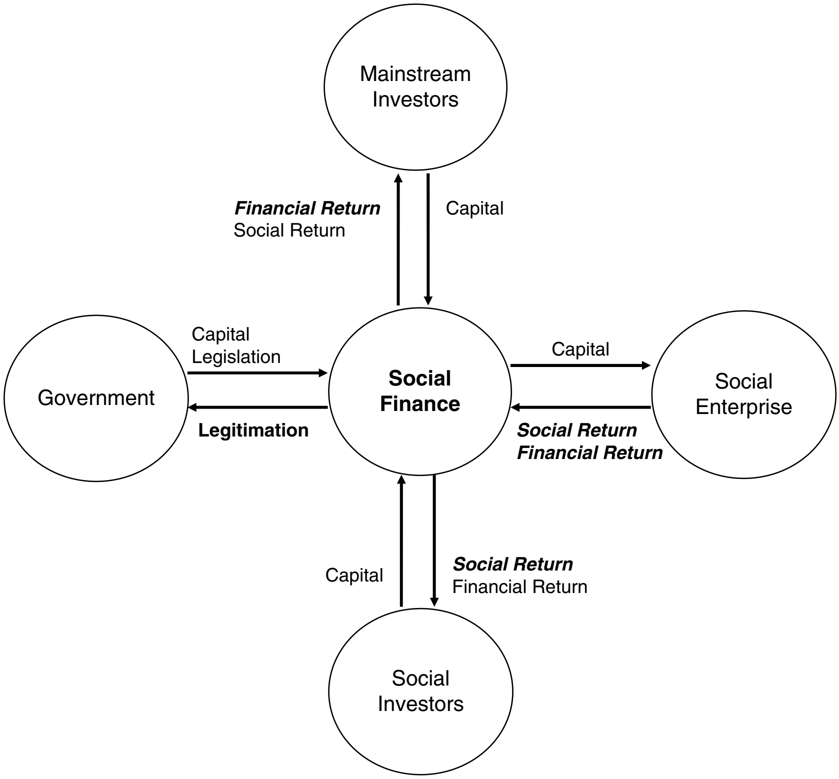
However, social finance is not just about the additional funding for social projects:

> It is conceived as an ethos about the way money is used. . . social finance can be seen as the discourse around such flows that is developing in concrete terms in the new institutions of supply, intermediation, and demand. This is a discourse in flux with competing perspectives driving the debate. (Nicholls & Pharoah, 2007 as cited in Moore, Westley & Nicholls, 2012, p. 116)

The benefits of social finance are perceived on at least two fronts: (1) stimulation of innovation as it creates the space for experimentation that challenges the existing institutional logics and financial flows that are born by the dominant social structures and (2) support for social entrepreneurship and innovation by financing the project life cycle of development, adoption, implementation and scaling up (Moore et al., 2012; Nicholls, 2010).

Most social finance approaches engage a diverse set of stakeholders, who are attracted to the mechanisms for varying reasons. Each stakeholder plays an interconnected role in operationalising social financing, as demonstrated in Figure 4.1. Social enterprises that generate both financial and social value are attracted to these financial instruments because they often face difficulties in accessing mainstream capital due to the risk and return characteristics related to their businesses. For social investors, charities and philanthropies, which are seeking innovative models that maximise social return on investment, social financing instruments often provide rigorously documented achievement against clearly defined metrics (Fetherston, 2014; Nicholls, 2010). Governments are attracted to social finance instruments as they have the potential to tackle the challenging social problems with new sources of funding, without unpopular increases in taxation (Fetherston, 2014). Finally, mainstream investors see the opportunity for new initiatives to include corporate social responsibility and diversify their portfolios (Rizzi et al., 2018).

What social finance mechanisms share is the use of private capital to invest in a social enterprise that would otherwise have difficulty obtaining funding. With the investment tied to outcomes (ideally monitored by an external party), investors can achieve social impact. In addition, with a government or philanthropic entity ultimately paying for the social outcomes, investors can also potentially receive a financial return, while the government or philanthropy is able to defer payment until specific outcomes are reached. More specific examples of social finance vehicles will be discussed in the next section.



Source: Adapted from Rizzi et al. (2018).

Figure 4.1 Main categories of actors in social finance

UBS OPTIMUS FOUNDATION'S APPROACH TO SOCIAL FINANCE

UBS Optimus Foundation is a philanthropic foundation funded by UBS,[1] its employees and its clients, focused on improving the lives of vulnerable children around the world. For over 15 years the Foundation has been finding and supporting innovative philanthropic programmes that can deliver

[1] UBS is a Swiss multinational investment bank and financial services company founded and based in Switzerland. UBS works with private clients, institutions and corporations around the world, providing wealth management advice, investment banking and asset management expertise or general banking advice in Switzerland.

bold social outcomes. With social finance approaches, the Foundation aims to rapidly accelerate the scale of successful programmes. Designed to utilise private capital to complement and supplement, rather than replace, existing funding from governments and NGOs, social finance offers a sustainable way of supporting progress and creating the conditions to affect the generational change needed to reframe the future for millions.

The Foundation sees three stages to the effective use of social finance: (1) building the proper ecosystem, (2) expanding programmes through the use of social finance mechanisms such as an impact loan or bond and (3) achieving long-term sustainable funding.

Stage 1: Building the Ecosystem

During the first stage of building the ecosystem for social finance, the Foundation uses philanthropic grant-making to support initiatives that have the potential to eventually attract private capital. Initial grant support includes things like building local capacity via technical assistance, enabling the sharing of market knowledge and best practices, promoting complementary business models and conditions needed to shape policy and regulatory reform and providing grant-making support to accelerator organisations. The following programme is an example of a first-stage education-related programme the Foundation is supporting.

Liberian Education Advancement Program (LEAP)

In Liberia, the global downturn in commodity prices, which hit investment in public services hard, together with the effects of civil war and the Ebola crisis has led to some of the worst education indicators in the world. According to the Liberian government, only 20 per cent of children complete grade 12, and UNICEF has found that 62 per cent of young women and 36 per cent of young men aged 15 to 24 are illiterate (UNICEF, 2013). The Liberian Government has a vision to change this through bold and progressive education reforms. However, in recognition of its limited capacity, the Ministry of Education is looking to the non-state sector to insource much needed school management expertise into the public system. Part of a wider set of education sector reforms set out in Liberia's Education Sector Plan, LEAP is a government-led public–private partnership pilot initiative targeting improvements for 50,000 children in 194 primary schools.

The Foundation is supporting this initiative with the idea that by getting learning outcomes right in a small number of schools, the lessons learned can be used to scale up. Separating the financing of education from its provision can improve learning outcomes by harnessing the entrepreneurial energy and expertise of non-state providers to focus on delivery, while the government focuses on regulation and quality assurance. Although these schools are now privately managed, all commissioning decisions, quality assurance and regulation remain the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, and all schools remain free of charge to the students.

The three-year randomised control trial, conducted by an independent entity, shows encouraging preliminary (year-one) results (Romero, Sandefur & Sandholtz, 2017). Students in LEAP schools learned 60 per cent more than the students in non-LEAP schools, student attendance improved by 10 per cent and teachers were 20 per cent more likely to be in school than their counterparts elsewhere. Teachers in LEAP schools were 16 percentage points more likely to be engaged in active classroom instruction than the teachers in non-LEAP schools. Also, equally as important, students were more likely to think school was useful and were more understanding of people from different backgrounds. However, the evaluation also showed that the costs for these schools were high and some flexibility in the intervention design may be skewing the results. Evaluation of the entirety of the programme is still needed to establish the programme results.

The goal is for the long-term cost of LEAP to be equal to what many governments in the region already spend on their schools while creating exceptional educational outcomes. Regulating private providers so they focus on equity is important, as is ensuring existing schools remain free and non-selective. Plus, mechanisms like LEAP incentivise operators to move into previously neglected, remote and disadvantaged communities.

In the end, the Foundation envisions LEAP operators' costs will be funded by larger donors or the government. To enable this transition, it is exploring (with Social Finance UK) social finance options such as development impact bonds (discussed in the next section), which could provide needed financing upfront, with the ultimate goal of having larger donors or government take over the cost for outcomes.

Stage 2: Scaling Up with Social Finance

At the second stage, social finance mechanisms are designed to attract new and much needed sources of funding, promote an impact-first mindset to deliver maximum social outcomes and contribute towards achieving the ambitious SDGs. Mechanisms currently being employed, and discussed here, include *impact loans* and *development impact bonds*. Both have the ability to bring in private capital, thereby multiplying the impact of philanthropic donations in certain situations where funding is needed as a bridge to longer-term sustainability.

Impact loans

Impact loans are for social businesses that can achieve impact targeting low-income beneficiaries who can pay for some products and services. Promising social enterprises that need loans to grow are encouraged to achieve impact targets by tying such targets to lower loan costs. Impact loans can reconcile the tensions between the financial requirements of investors and the impact motivations of social entrepreneurs: when a social enterprise needs a loan to grow, a social investor provides a concessionary loan, with interest rates that are lower than the market rates but linked to social impact targets. Independent verification confirms that targeted outcomes are achieved and the social enterprise then pays interest proportional to the impact achieved.

One kind of impact loan (see Figure 4.2) includes a philanthropic donor (the outcome payer) who pays an extra return to investors for every outcome achieved (outcomes that would not have been possible without the impact loan). For the social investors, achieving impact targets correspondingly results not only in higher social returns but also in a higher financial return.

Impact loans address a timing mismatch with respect to financing. They allow social enterprises to use social investment to fund immediate capital requirements to support, sustain and grow the enterprise—thus, in theory, creating more impact. The simple contracting structure aligns the interests of social investors, social enterprises and philanthropic outcome payers to

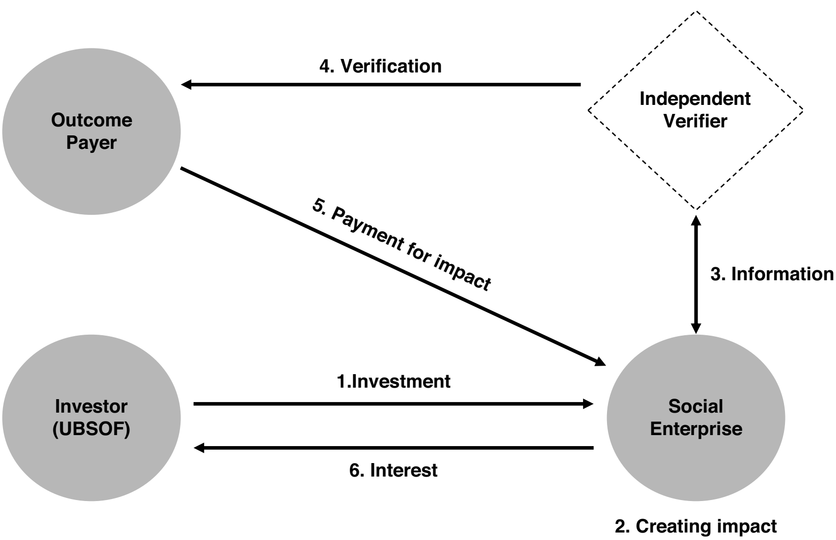


Figure 4.2 Impact loan structure

achieve a financial return with measurable social impact: investors receive a risk-adjusted return; social enterprises access low-cost capital, allowing them to focus on social impact without the pressure of offering market-rate financial returns; and the outcome payers achieve far greater leverage for their philanthropic dollars to achieve social impact. The following example illustrates how impact loans function.

Impact Water Uganda (IWU) impact loan According to UNICEF (2010), more than 40 per cent of diarrhoea cases in schoolchildren result from transmission in schools rather than homes. Clean drinking water in schools is essential if students are to stay healthy and be able to learn. One barrier to installation of clean water systems at schools is the need for financing, a problem that hinders access to clean drinking water globally (WHO & UN-Water, 2017).

IWU is a social business dedicated to scaling safe drinking water solutions for schools and health facilities in Uganda. IWU typically provides financing to private schools over a period of one to two years with five payment terms aligned with school terms, allowing schools to offer clean water while paying off their loan when they receive school fees. The Foundation is supporting the accelerated rollout of IWU's water systems with a USD 500,000 five-year loan. IWU aims to sell and install 3,600 systems in five years with an average of 400 beneficiaries per system, equalling over 1.4 million beneficiaries in total. The World Health Organization estimates such improvements can reduce absenteeism by three days per student (Hutton & Haller, 2004).

The Foundation will receive a return on its impact loan to IWU that could rise to approximately eight per cent if all targets are met, as the Rockefeller Foundation will pay an outcome payment depending on IWU's ability to meet impact targets. Any surplus created through this programme will be used to support future UBS Optimus Foundation programmes. Through this simple structure, IWU is incentivised to maximise its impact to obtain low-cost capital. At the same time, the UBS Optimus Foundation, as the investor, bears the risk and is motivated to ensure IWU achieves its targets. Finally, the Rockefeller Foundation is able to multiply the impact of its philanthropic funding by incentivising up-front investment and paying only based on results.

Development impact bonds (DIBs)

DIBs are another example of a results-based social finance instrument (see Figure 4.3). They seek to mobilise additional private capital by driving greater impact through payment linked solely to results, thereby channelling more resources to programmes that work. DIBs have the potential to

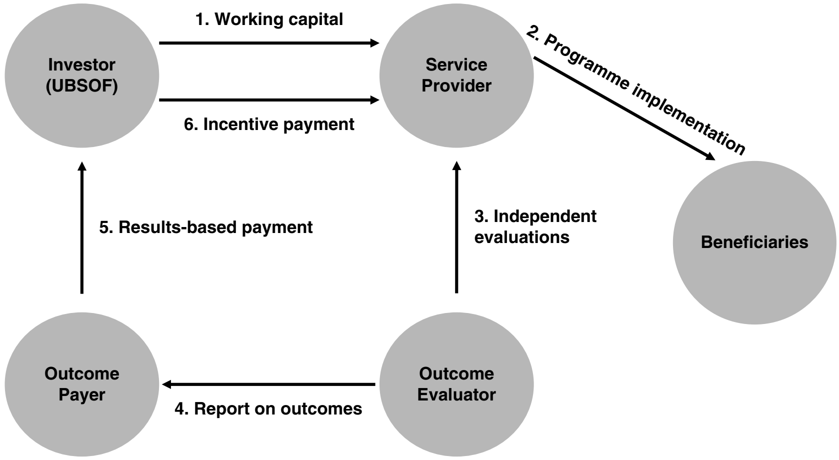


Figure 4.3 The development impact bond structure

create shared value in a variety of ways: underserved communities receive social benefits; service providers are given flexibility in implementation; governments and donors get increased efficiency, value for money and accountability; and investors have the opportunity for results-based financial returns.

In a DIB, an investor pays upfront for the costs of an intervention, which is then measured by clear, predetermined metrics. If the intervention succeeds in achieving its goals, the outcome payer will pay the investor back based on the performance. The initial capital plus the performance-related return is returned to the investor, who can then re-invest into subsequent impactful programmes. In addition, a portion of the success payment is passed on to the service provider as an incentive.

A number of criteria must be met for DIBs to be feasible and successful. A simple, cost-effective financing structure must minimise perverse incentives. There must be close cooperation between partners, including strong buy-in from relevant governments and key donors. The freedom to use adaptive programming must be built in for efficiency and improved performance. Any impact deemed achieved, and ensuing payments, must be supported by independently validated evidence. Finally, the intervention needs to be scalable and able to eventually become sustainable.

According to the Social Finance Global Network, there are currently over 100 impact bonds globally that have together raised USD 378 million and impacted 700,000 lives. However, the vast majority of them have been implemented in the United Kingdom and the United States. The UBS Optimus Foundation is a pioneer in developing and implementing DIB structures in low- and middle-income countries (Chandrasekhar, 2018). The following example illustrates how a DIB can be used to advance education.

Educate Girls DIB In India, three million girls are out of school (Social & Rural Research Institute, India & Educational Consultants India Limited, 2014) and less than half the girls of senior secondary age (grades 11 and 12) are enrolled in schools (Rao, 2017). Yet, we know that educating girls helps break the cycle of poverty. Each year that a girl attends school can increase her future earnings by 10 per cent to 25 per cent (UNICEF, 2011). Educated women are less likely to marry early (and against their will), less likely to die in childbirth, more likely to have fewer and healthier children, more likely to send their own children to school and more likely to play an active role as leaders in their communities (UNICEF, 2011).

Educate Girls works with government and communities to enrol girls in school while improving school infrastructure and the quality of education they receive. It recruits community volunteers to help the community understand the importance of educating girls. By involving the community in school management and governance, parents and others can see the benefit of a creative, child-centric curriculum—and the improved learning outcomes.

Educate Girls, the UBS Optimus Foundation and Children's Investment Fund Foundation (CIFF) launched the world's first DIB in education in 2015. The three-year pilot aimed to improve education for 7,300 children in 166 schools in 140 villages in the Bhilwara District of Rajasthan. This site was chosen as it had particularly poor indicators for girls' education. The targets were to enrol 79 per cent of out-of-school girls and improve learning as measured by Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) test scores in Hindi, mathematics and English for girls and boys.

Year-three results of the DIB show that Educate Girls exceeded both its enrolment and learning targets. It achieved 116 per cent of the enrolment target and 160 per cent of the learning target in its final year. The results show that 92 per cent of all out-of-school girls identified in the programme area were enrolled in school, while the difference in learning gains was +8,940 ASER learning levels above—or 28 per cent higher than—the control group gains (IDinsight, 2018).

As a result of the over-achievement, the Foundation recouped its initial funding (USD 270,000) plus a 15 per cent internal rate of return, which equals USD 144,085, from the outcome payer CIFF. The total payout will be reinvested into further impactful development programmes—Educate

Girls will receive 32 per cent of the internal rate of return with the rest going to other Foundation programmes.

The Educate Girls DIB has demonstrated the potential to attract much needed funding for education as donors are increasingly seeing that they can achieve real social impact and results-based financial returns. With payments to both investor and provider tied to outcomes, the DIB creates the right incentives for a focus on impact rather than activities.

Stage 3: Long-term Sustainable Funding

Maximising social impact that is sustainable in the long term is the ultimate aim of the Foundation's work with two long-term sustainable sources for funding: public funding and private (or hybrid) funding. Programmes supported by a DIB can be shifted to receive support through social impact bonds.[2] Or, after a programme has demonstrated success with the help of social finance, it can be moved into the public sector. Programmes or social enterprises may become commercially viable and then such enterprises may be appropriate for impact investments. A hybrid approach utilises both philanthropic and fully commercial capital, and the Foundation is currently exploring such models.

Impact bonds are promising new financing instruments that draw on the experiences of public–private partnerships, impact investing and results-based financing. Yet, despite the promise, impact bonds have been relatively slow to gain traction in international development. To date, only a handful of impact bonds are in operation in low- or middle-income countries (Gustafsson-Wright & Boggild-Jones, 2018; Instiglio, 2018). In order to accelerate the number, scale and quality of impact bonds in international development, the Foundation, along with the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DfID) and the Swiss State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO), has launched the Impact Bonds Working Group (IBWG). IBWG aims to design strategies that will help members use impact bonds and related pay-for-success instruments effectively and at scale, thereby improving the quality and impact of development projects and contributing to meeting the SDGs.

The IBWG will aim to launch a portfolio of Demonstration Outcomes Funds, with an initial target of USD 150 million in funding committed by 2020 to fund outcomes-based transactions across approximately three demonstration outcomes funds. The portfolio of outcomes funds supported through this market strategy will help demonstrate how outcomes-

[2] A Social Impact Bond (SIB) is structured similarly to a DIB; however, the outcome payer in a SIB is the government, while in a DIB it is a donor.

based commissioning can be done at a larger scale and how transaction costs can be reduced, generating robust evidence on when and how to use pay-for-success instruments and their costs and benefits relative to other instruments. The approach will help transition the impact bond market from ‘single pilot projects’ to a ‘programmatic approach in thematic areas’, where commissioning design costs are spread across multiple transactions, thereby leading to lower transaction costs per project and accelerating a learning agenda for the broader market. IBWG will prioritise assessing existing outcome fund concepts currently under development in the market, with geographic (low- and middle-income countries) and thematic diversity (e.g., education, health, employment) (Kirchknopf, 2018).

The Foundation seeks to develop a parallel DIB Investment Fund with an aim to provide working capital for DIB programmes that triggers payments from a DIB Outcome Fund based on outcomes achieved. By pooling DIBs into a fund structure, the aim is to diversify risk, lower transaction costs and leverage expertise both on the impact and on the financial sides. Blending different types of investor capital will enable the demand for a reasonable return from the outcome funders, balancing more market-based returns and scale for impact investors with capital preservation and social returns for social investors.

THE CHALLENGES WITH SOCIAL FINANCE IN EDUCATION

Traditional aid for education is under pressure (Rose, Steer, Smith & Zubairi, 2013). If we are to achieve the SDGs for education, the private sector has an essential role to play in developing and funding innovative solutions. Social finance mechanisms can play a role, but there are some hurdles.

Social finance mechanisms, such as impact loans or DIBs, are not the silver bullet for solving all funding and impact problems in the development or education sectors. These financing instruments have the potential to ‘address complex problems with a clear outcome where there is a need for innovation, external capital, and new collaborations and partnerships’ (Toby Eccles as cited in Chandrasekhar, 2018, para. 13). As the problems get more complex, designing social finance programmes where outcomes can be clearly linked to the intervention (as opposed to other contextual factors) becomes challenging. Social finance approaches require programmes and interventions that have an explicit and unambiguous theory of change and can demonstrate measurable outcomes (Moore et al., 2012).

With results from the first DIB in education, the Foundation is now able to move beyond this initial proof-of-concept stage. Lessons learned include the need for decreasing transaction costs and an increase in the size and scale of DIB transactions. This knowledge is already being applied to the new maternal and newborn health DIB, which the Foundation launched in November 2017 in Rajasthan, India, and a new education DIB, which is currently in the design stage. Other lessons learned include the need to match supply and demand in the impact bond market, build the capacity of service providers and develop structures to deal with financial regulatory constraints for various stakeholders involved. The Demonstration Outcomes Funds mentioned in the previous section will be a step towards tackling these constraints.

Social finance interventions funded by philanthropic organisations, including the ones funded by the UBS Optimus Foundation, often support non-state or private education providers. The Foundation is conscious of the debate about non-state actors in education (Steer, Gillard, Gustafsson-Wright & Latham, 2015), particularly in low-income countries, and we know this can present an obstacle in the acceptance and implementation of social financing models. However, as the Brookings Institution notes, private education is growing rapidly and effective new approaches to improving learning often originate from outside the public system (Robinson, Winthrop & McGivney, 2016). Evidence suggests that private schools are of slightly better quality and more efficient than their public counterparts (Muralidharan & Kremer, 2006; Tooley, Dixon & Olaniyan, 2005), but there is concern that private schools are not reaching those most in need (Parliament, 2017).

Social finance approaches are particularly challenging in the education sector. Investors are deterred by the longer time frames required to improve education. These investors often also want simplicity, yet this is rarely the case with complex value chains involving the many different parts of an education system. There is also the fact that no universal agreement exists among experts on the best approaches, which may put off investors who want certainty.

Social finance is not a panacea, but in the right context it can help scale up promising initiatives and draw in expertise from a broad—and often previously disengaged—range of stakeholders. The challenges above need to be addressed if social finance is to truly fulfil its potential, and that will take time.

LOOKING AHEAD

UBS Optimus Foundation recognises that catalysing the use of social finance instruments in education will require input from many sources—philanthropists, investors, donors, as well as the private sector. Encouragingly, this is already happening as philanthropic donors are recognising the potential of co-creation and co-investment, while an increase in private sector finance in development has been identified as a key priority in achieving the SDGs.

Social finance mechanisms that combine the best of private-sector efficiency and financing, philanthropic programme support and impact measurement can create far more than the sum of their parts. Attracting additional private sector capital is crucial to help achieve the SDGs, but equally important is the combination of skills and networks new mechanisms can bring to the education development sector.

The use of social finance in low- and middle-income countries, especially in the education sector is still in the nascent phase. There is a need for developing an ecosystem to allow for experimentation with the different mechanisms outlined in this chapter. However, along with experimentation, there is also a critical need for research to better understand the efficacy of these mechanisms in improving education quality. While most social finance interventions have rigorous evaluation built into the design, there is need for external and independent research to understand the role of these mechanisms in fulfilling SDG 4. Further research could also help the education community better understand how these mechanisms work towards diversifying the funding sources for education along with the role of non-state actors in the provision of education.

This chapter makes a case for utilising social finance in the education sector to attract private capital and improve quality. In providing an introduction to the design of these financing mechanisms with examples of existing programmes, the authors hope to shed some light on how social finance engages with the education and private capital worlds. The authors hope that this will encourage practitioners and researchers in the education sector to examine these mechanisms further and help contribute to a more informed and evidence-based dialogue.

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5. Education and philanthropy in the Middle East and North Africa

Natasha Y. Ridge, Susan Kippels and Elizabeth R. Bruce

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO PHILANTHROPIC GIVING IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

In North America and Europe, philanthropic foundations established by individuals, families and corporations have been operating in the education sector for over one hundred years (Arnove, 1984; Berman, 1983; Eikenberry & Nickel, 2006; Zunz, 2014). Globally, however, the last two decades have seen a significant increase in the level of involvement of philanthropic organisations in the education sector in most regions of the world, including the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) (Srivastava & Oh, 2010; Zunz, 2014). The growth in giving in the MENA region appears to have been driven by two key factors: first, a strong religious or cultural imperative to give back (Farouky, 2016; Ibrahim, 2008) and second, growing levels of personal and state wealth across the MENA region that have created a greater capacity for philanthropic giving (Knight & Ribeiro, 2017).

While there has been some research on philanthropic activities in the MENA region, there is a lack of recent, reliable and comprehensive data on specific philanthropic activities, and no research has examined philanthropic efforts focused on the education sector. This chapter seeks to address this gap and explore the trends in giving and the opportunities for philanthropic organisations in the MENA region. The data used in this chapter comes from a study that examined 65 foundations operating in the education sector in 11 MENA countries. The countries included are Bahrain, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). For simplicity, the included philanthropic entities are referred to as ‘foundations’ or ‘philanthropic organisations’ throughout the chapter.

In summary, we find that while there is growing philanthropic activity in the education sector, much of the giving goes towards similar populations (those in higher education, secondary and primary school) and is given largely for programmatic work or scholarships. Additionally, we find that there is very little philanthropic funding for research on education or for programmes directed at the early childhood sector or for teacher development. Thus, philanthropic organisations working in the region could be missing unique opportunities to contribute something original to the MENA education sector or to assist populations that regional governments have neglected. Finally, we find that the funding model of the philanthropic organisation plays a significant role in the priorities of the organisation.

In this chapter, we first explore the definition of a philanthropic organisation. Next, we analyse the funding types of philanthropic organisations in the region, followed by the key areas of support and beneficiaries. We then use data from our interviews to explore institutional challenges and conclude with a discussion of current trends in MENA philanthropy and suggestions for future research.

CONCEPTUALISING PHILANTHROPIC ORGANISATIONS

As the number of organisations around the world that identify as being philanthropic has grown (Eikenberry & Nickel, 2009; Hudson Institute, 2015; Zunz, 2014), a discussion has arisen both in academia and in the field itself about what exactly constitutes a philanthropic entity. Frequently, there is confusion around the difference between a non-profit or non-governmental organisation and a philanthropic organisation. Additional confusion also arises when we consider public charities, such as the Red Cross and Red Crescent, which solicit donations from the general public. Based on our own experience in the sector, many groups ostensibly identify as philanthropic organisations but are often reliant on multiple grants or donations from other entities rather than having their own endowment or independent revenue stream. As such they are essentially acting as intermediaries and are beholden to third parties in terms of setting their priorities and choosing what they do. In addition, the lack of a stable revenue stream means that these organisations have to continually expend efforts to fundraise thus taking time and resources away from the core business.[1]

[1] Fundraising distracts from the core mission of organisations and requires additional resources. A study by Hager, Pollak and Rooney (2001) found that the distribution of

For the purposes of this chapter, we constructed a definition that is consistent with the United States' tax definition of a private foundation (Internal Revenue Service, 2017) and with those used in previous research.[2] We therefore define a philanthropic entity as one which:

a) is financially independent and receives the majority of its funding (over 50 per cent) from a single source (through an endowment or otherwise);[3]
b) has no shareholders;
c) disperses funds (through grants, scholarships or programmes for educational, cultural, religious, social or other public development endeavours);
d) can be operational (running its own programmes) or non-operational (supporting other entities to carry out the work);
e) does not receive or solicit funds from the general public (not a public charity); and
f) is not an official government agency (e.g., the Department for International Development or the United States Agency for International Development).

PHILANTHROPY AND EDUCATION IN THE MENA REGION

This chapter is based on data taken from 65 philanthropic organisations operating in 11 countries. In order to be included, organisations had to be in operation between December 2017 and January 2018, originate in the region and have some kind of online presence. After this, we applied our definition of a philanthropic organisation and using the information available online, we then eliminated those which did not meet our definition.[4]

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fundraising expenses as a per cent of the contributions sector ranged from an average of seven per cent at the lowest quartile up to 58 per cent at the highest quartile for education non-profit organisations. The BBB Wise Giving Alliance *Standards for Charity Accountability* (2003) recommends that no more than 35 per cent of contributions be spent on fundraising.

[2] We reviewed definitions from the Council on Foundations (n.d.), Marten and Witte (2008), Srivastava and Oh (2010), and the Worldwide Initiatives for Grantmaker Support (2018). The definition which is used in our study draws heavily from a definition used in a recent study by Johnson and Rahim (2018, p. 20) and also borrows from the Association of Charitable Foundations (n.d.), Cullinane (2013) and the Foundation Center (n.d.).

[3] To the best of the authors' knowledge in the region.

[4] While some organisations identified in the first stage were no longer operational, most of the others were charities (i.e., not philanthropic organisations because they failed to meet criteria).

We were left with 65 philanthropic entities from 11 countries.[5] Of these 11 countries, six are members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC):[6] Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the UAE, while the remaining five are non-GCC countries: Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine.

Following the identification of these foundations, data from websites, annual reports and various other online sources were collected. After aggregating this information, all 65 foundations were contacted for interviews. Of those contacted, 20 organisations from 10 countries participated in the interviews.[7]

Both sets of data were analysed in order to provide an overview of philanthropic activity in the MENA education sector, as well as to identity oversaturated or neglected areas. In this chapter, we will examine the data related to funding models and patterns in funding with regard to activities, beneficiaries and challenges and opportunities.

Funding Typology

The first area that we examined when looking at philanthropic organisations in the MENA region was their funding model or, more precisely, where the majority of their funding originated. Three distinct categories emerged: (1) state-funded, (2) private individual/family funded and (3) business/corporation funded. Using the information available, we then formed a more detailed typology of philanthropic funding, as detailed in Table 5.1.

Using this typology, we were then able to identify some interesting differences depending on the funding model. In particular, as can be seen in Figure 5.1, the GCC has a smaller percentage of business/corporation philanthropic organisations than the non-GCC countries. In contrast, the majority of philanthropic organisations in non-GCC countries tend to be private or family foundations, with only around a quarter being state-funded.

Funding models are of interest as they speak to the size or activity of civil society in a region. They may also reflect the commitment of a country's citizens to developing their own country and provide some insight into the role of the private sector in education. We also find that

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[5] For a complete list of the foundations included, please contact the chapter authors.

[6] The GCC, according to its Charter, was established in 1981 to strengthen collaboration and ties among its members across various sectors.

[7] Multiple foundations declined to speak about their work. We conducted interviews with foundations in each of the 11 countries included in this study, with the exception of those in Lebanon. The authors of this study work for the Sheikh Saud bin Saqr Al Qasimi Foundation for Policy Research, counted among the organisations interviewed.

Table 5.1 Typologies of philanthropic organisations for education in the MENA region

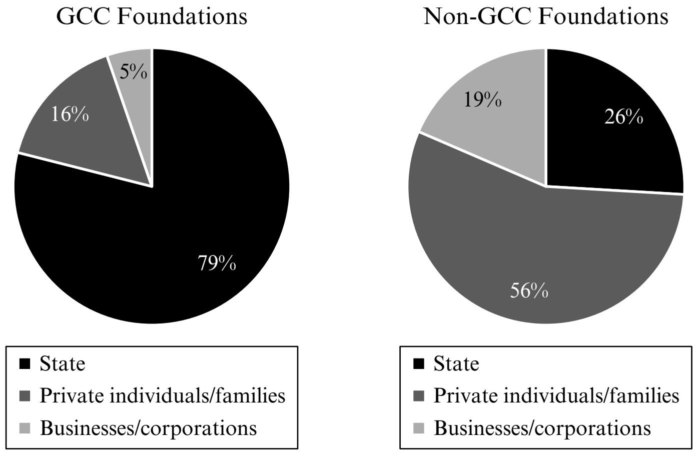
Typology	Description
State (Royalty &/or government—including decrees)	● A president, parliament or emir may issue a decree to establish a foundation (Khallaf, 2008). ● Funding comes from the state or the royal family. ● Foundations started by governments have the ability to exert power beyond that possible with assistance programmes traditionally administered (Brenner, 2012; Ridge & Kippels, 2017). *Example*: King Faisal Foundation (Saudi Arabia)
Private individual/family	● A philanthropic organisation is established on someone's own behalf, on their entire family's behalf or on another family member's behalf and funded by the individual or family. *Example*: Abdulla Al Ghurair Foundation for Education (UAE)
Business/corporation	● This typically starts as a business department, potentially evolving into a separate entity still associated with its founding company and continuing to be funded via company profits (Ibrahim, 2008). ● Corporate social responsibility programmes targeting education are common in many company portfolios (see Moeller, 2014). *Example*: EFG-Hermes Foundation (Egypt)

the funding model influences the priorities of philanthropic organisations and their beneficiaries, while also playing a role in broader institutional challenges, which we examine in the next section.

Areas of Support: Programmes, Scholarships, Infrastructure/Tangibles and Education Research

Philanthropic organisations operating in the MENA region provide support to the education sector in a variety of forms, which we have grouped into four overarching categories: (1) programmatic offerings, (2) scholarships, (3) infrastructure/tangibles and (4) education research.[8] The two most common areas of support provided by foundations were programmatic

[8] Our understanding of foundations' involvement in these activities is based on our review of public information provided by the foundations themselves, not audits or interviews with the foundations, and thus may not capture all activities of foundations.



Notes:
GCC countries are Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the UAE (38 foundations). Non-GCC countries are Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine (27 foundations).
The total percentage for non-GCC foundations adds up to 101% due to rounding.

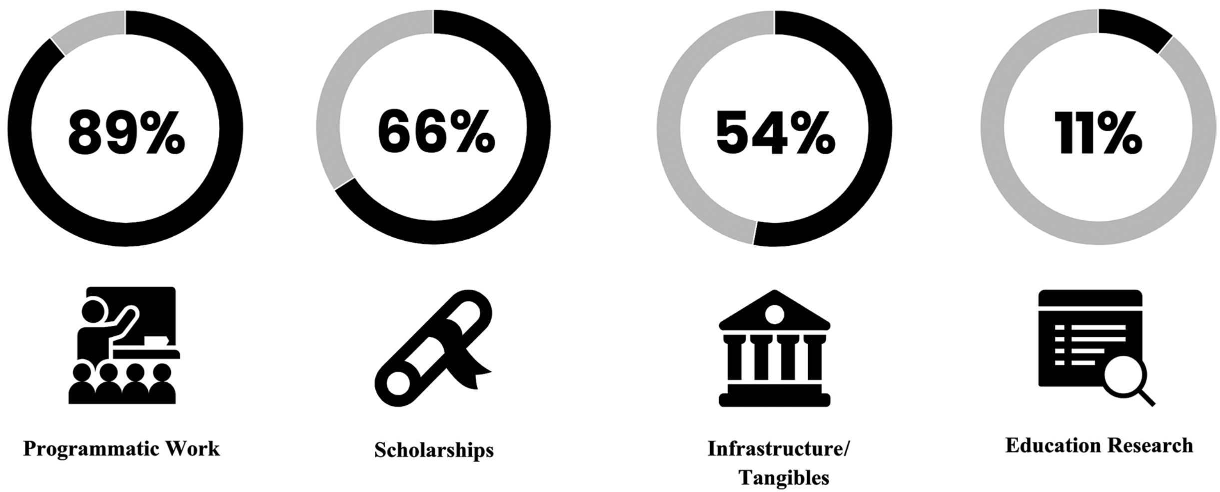
Figure 5.1 Funding of foundations in the MENA region: state, private individuals/families or businesses/corporations in GCC countries versus non-GCC countries, by percentage (%)

work and scholarships, as shown in Figure 5.2. We found that 89 per cent of foundations were engaged in programmatic work, which we defined as educational activities or events held regularly, rather than a one-off initiative or event. Examples of programmatic work include student courses, workshops for educators, vocational and career/entrepreneurship training for youth[9] and classes for parents to support their children's learning. The second most common type of support was the provision of scholarships, with 66 per cent of philanthropic organisations providing scholarships of some sort. Of these scholarships, the majority were for higher education (95 per cent).[10]

The third most common area of support shown in Figure 5.2 was

[9] Vocational training is broadly defined as providing skills for a particular job function or trade. Career/entrepreneurship support includes executive education, leadership education and social entrepreneurship, to name a few. It also includes training for specific employment positions. For example, within career/entrepreneurship, the Sawiris Foundation for Social Development (Egypt) approaches training by first finding vacant jobs and then training individuals specifically for those jobs, following a commitment to hire by employers (Sawiris Foundation, 2018).

[10] This includes support for educators to continue their education.



Note: Foundations could support more than one area. Created using Venngage Inc. (n.d.).

Figure 5.2 Areas of support by philanthropic organisations in the MENA region, by percentage (%)

infrastructure/tangibles, with 54 per cent of foundations supporting this area. The infrastructure/tangibles category refers to the provision of educational facilities or material items. When looking more closely at the types of projects, we found that the majority of infrastructure projects focused on building schools (49 per cent), renovating school facilities (37 per cent) or providing educational equipment (29 per cent). In addition, less common infrastructure/tangibles projects included the construction of vocational training centres, museums and cultural centres.

Finally, and significantly less than any other area, there was support for research. Across the MENA region, there is a dearth of publicly available research on education. This is reflected in only 11 per cent of MENA philanthropic organisations supporting research in some way. In order to be counted as supporting research, foundations had to either conduct their own research or fund research related to education and share it as some kind of publication on their website.[11] Following the determination of the number of organisations conducting research, we also identified and analysed the 109 publications that were present on their websites.[12] From this, we were able to identify the most common research topics. We found that the most popular were papers on curriculum and assessment (28 per cent), followed by education systems (26 per cent).

When we cross-referenced the areas of support with the funding type (see Figure 5.3) we were able to reveal some interesting trends in the ways that different types of philanthropic organisations work. In terms of commonalities, we can see that across all funding models, programmatic work was the most supported area by all types of foundations. In terms of areas of divergence though, business/corporation funded philanthropic organisations preferred to fund infrastructure projects over scholarships and gave nothing to research. This is in contrast to state-funded foundations, which preferred to fund scholarships over infrastructure and prioritised research more. Private foundations also preferred scholarships to infrastructure and allocated some funding to research. Thus, it appears that in terms of the ongoing impact on education, through a combination of building human capacity and a knowledge repository on education, private and state-funded foundations may be more active and forward-looking than business/corporation foundations.

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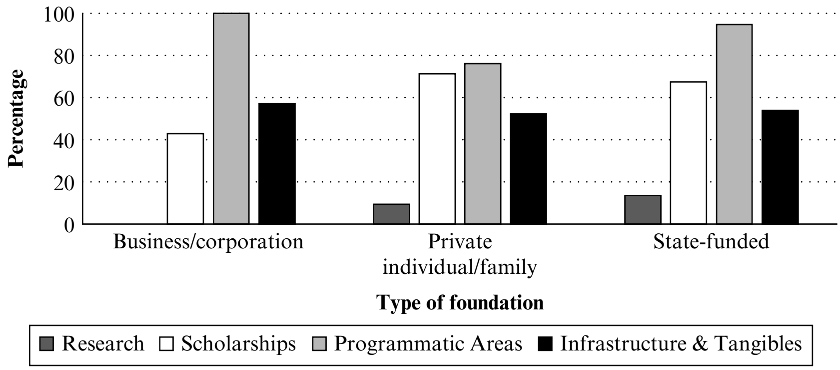
[11] While the Israel Science Foundation (ISF) conducts research in primary and secondary schools connected to its Center for Excellence in Meaningful Learning, publications related to this research were not found on its website. Thus, the ISF was excluded from education research in this analysis.

[12] A total of 110 publications were found on the foundations' websites in February/ March 2018. One from A. M. Qattan Foundation, a journal series entitled *Rua' Tarbawiyya* covering a variety of education research topics, was not included in this tabulation.



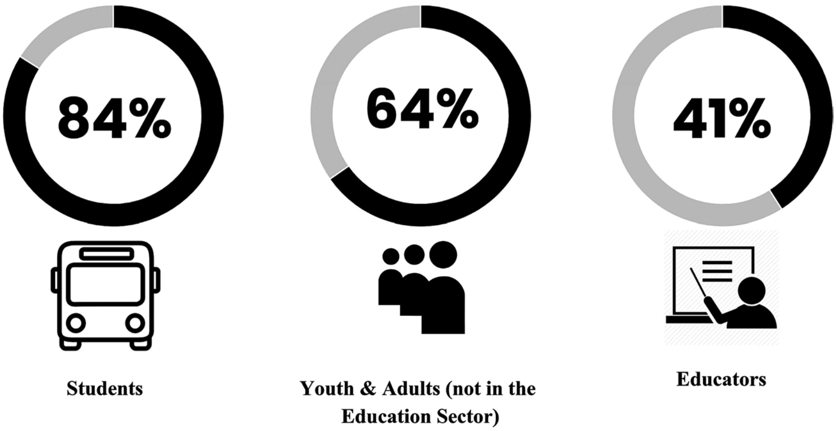
Note: Foundations could have more than one area of focus.

Figure 5.3 Areas of support for state, private individual/family and business/corporation foundations, by percentage (%)

Beneficiaries

We next examined the programmatic work of philanthropic organisations in terms of their targeted beneficiaries. We found that 84 per cent of foundations targeted students, 64 per cent targeted youth and adults not involved in the education sector and only 41 per cent of foundations targeted educators for programmatic work (see Figure 5.4). In each of the non-GCC countries, programmes for educators were offered by at least one foundation. However, in three GCC countries, Bahrain, Kuwait and Oman, there were no educator programmes offered by philanthropic organisations. In the UAE, five foundations supported programmes for educators; however, the majority of these programmes were not targeting educators working in country.

In regard to the geographic location of beneficiaries, we found that foundations from GCC countries were more likely to provide support for people and organisations outside of their home countries. Sixty-three per cent of GCC foundations did international work versus 22 per cent of non-GCC foundations. This means that philanthropic organisations from non-GCC countries tended to focus their work on domestic issues, as opposed to GCC countries. This raises questions around the different purposes of philanthropy in the two regions. The difference could be related to wealth, as the GCC countries have greater financial resources than many of the non-GCC countries which enable them to do work outside of their home countries. However, it could also point to the differing priorities of



Note: Foundations could be targeting more than one group of beneficiaries. Created using Venngage Inc. (n.d.).

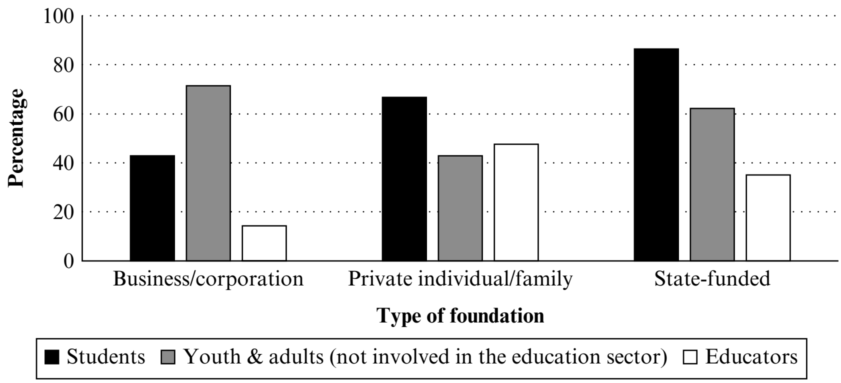
Figure 5.4 Beneficiaries of philanthropic organisations in the MENA region, by percentage (%)

state-funded philanthropy, which is more common in the GCC region, in comparison to those of private and corporate philanthropy, which are more common in the non-GCC countries.

We also analysed the beneficiaries by level of education and found that the least targeted beneficiaries across the MENA countries were those in the pre-primary sector,[13] with only 29 per cent of foundations supporting this group.[14] However, there was a relatively even distribution of support across primary (63 per cent), secondary (75 per cent), higher education (75 per cent) and adult[15] (80 per cent) populations.

Finally, in order to better understand foundation beneficiaries, we cross-referenced the funding type with programme beneficiaries to identify commonalities and differences, shown in Figure 5.5. We found that the most targeted beneficiaries for state-funded foundations and private individual/family foundations were students, while business/corporation foundations were more likely to focus on youth and adults not involved in the education sector. Eighty-six per cent of state-funded foundations and 67 per cent of individual/family foundations support

[13] Pre-primary includes newborn to 5 years old.
[14] These percentages were calculated based on the number of target populations being reached by foundations. A foundation could be serving more than one population.
[15] Includes educators.



Note: Foundations could support more than one type of beneficiary.

Figure 5.5 Beneficiaries of state, private individual/family and business/corporation foundations' programmatic support, by percentage (%)

programmatic activities for students, in contrast to only 43 per cent of business/corporation foundations. Seventy-one per cent of business/corporation foundations support youth and adults not involved in the education sector, compared to 62 per cent of state-funded foundations and 43 per cent of individual/family foundations. The high percentage of business/corporation foundations targeting youth and adults outside of the formal education sector is possibly explained by the funding's roots in the commercial world (for example, multiple business/corporation foundations fund programmes developing entrepreneurship skills). Also of note is that approximately half of private individual/family foundations and over one third of state-funded foundations support educators, in contrast to only 14 per cent of business/corporation foundations.

INSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGES FOR THE MENA PHILANTHROPIC SECTOR

For the next stage of the study, interviews were analysed. In terms of the interview participation rate, only 14 per cent of all business/corporation foundations (1) agreed to be interviewed, in contrast to 27 per cent of individual/family foundations (6) and 35 per cent of state-funded foundations (13). Even after agreeing to be interviewed, however, many foundations

Table 5.2 Institutional challenges identified by foundations in interviews

	Funding (%)	Staffing (%)	Government Relationships/ Regulations (%)
Private individual/family	50	17	17
State-funded	54	38	23
Overall	**50**	**30**	**20**

were reluctant to provide detailed responses, not only relating to challenges but even more generally.

During interviews, foundation representatives were asked about whether they faced any institutional challenges and, if so, what those were. The single business/corporation foundation interviewee did not identify any challenges that their foundation was facing. As such, the challenges that are discussed in this section are based on responses provided by private individual/family and state-funded foundations. Interestingly, the three main challenges identified were funding, governmental relationships/ regulations and staffing, which can be seen in Table 5.2. Two state-funded foundations also mentioned that they faced some challenges related to monitoring and evaluation (M&E).

The most frequent challenge raised in interviews by both individual/ family and state-funded foundations was related to funding, with approximately half of all interviewees citing this as an issue, and almost an equal breakdown between each foundation type (50 per cent and 54 per cent, respectively). Even if foundations had at one time received the majority of their funding from a private individual/family or the state, it was common for them to financially partner with others and/or seek external funds. One family foundation based outside the GCC explained that for them, 'The most significant institutional challenges the foundation faces are fundraising and the difficult political and living conditions' (Interview 6, translated from Arabic, 2018). Similarly, state-funded foundations also discussed how securing funding was a core challenge. One stated, 'We do not have a large endowment and rely on fundraising to meet our on-going needs' (Interview 9, 2018). Another state-funded philanthropic organisation in the GCC explained, 'Projects are based off funding [even though the foundation was started initially with a large endowment from royalty]. . . so we have to go to businessmen, investors, etc. It's hard to do.. . . It does detract from our main work' (Interview 2, 2018). The challenge of funding was surprising, as according to our definition of a philanthropic organisation a primary characteristic is that they are financially independent and essentially not required to be engaged in fundraising, which is more typical for non-profits. It further raises concerns about how a shortage of financial resources may not only detract from foundations' core missions and activities but also about how many truly philanthropic organisations there are in the region.

The second most common institutional challenge was identified by 30 per cent of foundations and related to staffing. In regard to staffing, there were differences between the degree to which private individual/family and state-funded foundations perceived it to be an issue. While only 17 per cent of family foundations noted staffing as a challenge, 38 per cent of state-funded foundations did. Staffing issues mentioned included difficulty finding skilled talent, large amounts of work for small teams and the transient nature of workers in the philanthropic sector. One non-GCC state-funded foundation provided an example of issues related to securing skilled talent, specifically in the evaluation sector: 'Some of the challenges we have faced include (1) a shortage of skilled evaluators in the region, (2) a shortage of quality data collection suppliers. . .' (Interview 9, 2018). A GCC state-funded philanthropic organisation discussed the shortage of staff saying, 'One of the big challenge[s] we face is the lack of human resources. We're a small department, although we're doing projects [worth millions]' (Interview 13, 2018). Another GCC state-funded foundation also discussed the issue of staff 'roaming' from organisation to organisation in the philanthropic sector and that it can hinder institutional development (Interview 12, translated from Arabic, 2018).

Third, challenges relating to government relationships and processes/regulations were expressed in 20 per cent of interviews, roughly equally between family and state-funded foundations (17 per cent and 23 per cent, respectively). In terms of the specific challenges, one GCC state-funded foundation shared that 'unclear/different priorities within the same governmental entity [and] delay[s] in government processes' negatively impact its work (Interview 14, 2018). Another GCC state-funded foundation stated that 'regulations and code[s] of practice that prevent the receipt of funds from outside the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia' act as a barrier for their work (Interview 12, 2018). Concern around government regulations is one factor that existing research on the topic of philanthropy in the MENA region often discusses. The research by Farouky (2016), the Hudson Institute (2015) and Johnson and Rahim (2018) has found that restrictions or ambiguity around processes for establishing philanthropic institutions in the region may be hindering activities, including in the education sector. Interestingly, there were approximately equal numbers of foundations that noted that government relationships made their work easier rather than more challenging. However, these organisations indicated that they rely on personal networks, such as close connections between their founder and high-ranking politicians or rulers, which enable them to bypass existing governmental structures and regulations that may hinder those foundations without such a network.

There were also two GCC state-funded foundations that mentioned M&E as a challenge. Specifically, one of these mentioned the 'weakness of the philanthropic/non-profit sector and the non-measurement of the impact of programmes and projects, which, in turn, makes it difficult to accurately measure the impact of grants given by foundations to beneficiary groups' (Interview 12, 2018), while the other believed that there is 'a lack of awareness about the use and value of evaluation evidence for programming or policy' (Interview 9, 2018). This lack of awareness of the importance of M&E in general is reflected by the fact that when foundations were asked, for this study, if they engaged in M&E in their work, 50 per cent of family foundations and 40 per cent of state-funded foundations said they did not. So it is not entirely surprising that they then did not identify it as a challenge.

DISCUSSION OF MENA PHILANTHROPY IN THE EDUCATION SECTOR

The MENA philanthropic sector is still very much in its early stages. This is evidenced by a great deal of ambiguity over exactly what constitutes a philanthropic organisation and the great variety of organisations working in the region. For those working in the education sector, our research revealed a number of interesting and sometimes contradictory issues. First, there appear to be some serious challenges related to the sustainability of regional philanthropic organisations. Second, MENA philanthropic organisations, depending on their funding type, are clustered around particular populations and particular programmes leaving some areas of the education sector neglected. Finally, little value and support is given to research, particularly by corporate foundations and to a lesser degree by family foundations, and M&E. Each of these is discussed below.

In order for MENA philanthropic organisations to become long-term strategic partners and actors in the education sector they first need to be sustainable. However, our research revealed that many organisations lack the secure and steady income streams that would enable them to focus on their core missions. As a result, they are forced to fundraise from various private sector and other government organisations. This is problematic on a number of levels. First, the regional private sector is currently experiencing a downturn and thus has limited resources available for charitable endeavours and will want to be strategic about how it allocates the funding it has. Second, the government sector can directly fund its own educational activities and the question will be rightly raised about why it should give funding to private philanthropic efforts. As such, unless regional philanthropic organisations are supplied with adequate, long-term funding that will allow them to at least undertake their core activities, it seems that many organisations may not be around into the future.

In addition, there also needs to be greater attention given to addressing the issues of staffing, as being able to attract and retain qualified personnel is also essential to sustainability. There are, to the best of our knowledge, few university programmes offering courses on the philanthropic sector in the Middle East. This seems to be a major gap in higher education offerings if the sector is to gain regional buy-in and nurture regional talent.

The final point related to sustainability is that government regulations seem to be in need of greater examination in order to learn if they are indeed conducive to incentivising wealthy individuals or companies to establish philanthropic organisations. If there are too many barriers or not enough incentives, then it may well be that fewer and fewer people or organisations decide to enter the philanthropic space. In recent years in the Gulf, there has been a significant tightening of the laws around establishing charitable organisations in general, and, anecdotally, this has caused a number simply to close up shop. While there indeed might be good reasons to have greater regulation of the sector, this could be done in consultation with existing actors in order to enable greater levels of philanthropy.

As well as issues relating to sustainability, there are also issues that relate to an overconcentration on particular programmes and populations. While it is understandable that certain types of philanthropic organisations prefer to work in certain areas with certain people, this may have led to a neglect of some critically important education stakeholders, such as educators and pre-primary students, and sub-sectors within education, including M&E and research. Educators, whether through scholarships and/or programming, could benefit from increased attention from philanthropic organisations operating in education. Scholarship support for the professional development of educators is especially lacking in the GCC countries (except in Qatar and the UAE), as well as in Lebanon and Palestine. By providing only limited support to these individuals, philanthropic organisations are missing an opportunity to support building long-term education capacity. Teachers should be a natural focus for supporting education programming, as Rice (2003) has found teachers to be the most important school-related factor influencing student achievement.

Regional philanthropic organisations could also benefit from giving greater attention to pre-primary students. Currently, students from Grade 1 through higher education, as well as adults, receive significantly more support from foundations than pre-primary students. The large amount of support for older children and youth is expected as a youth bulge exists across the MENA region, and global trends show large amounts of money earmarked for projects targeting youth (Farouky, 2016; Ridge & Kippels, 2017). However, programmes by MENA foundations for pre-primary age individuals are notably scarce, despite research by Cunha and Heckman (2007) and Schütz, Ursprung and Woessmann (2005) finding that pre-primary investment leads to higher returns to investments in education, with investment especially effective in the lives of disadvantaged children.

Turning to research and M&E, our study revealed a significant neglect of both areas by foundations, due in large part to a lack of understanding about their value. Not only is this detrimental to the organisation itself in terms of being both efficient and effective, but also in terms of establishing the philanthropic sector as a knowledgeable, trustworthy and rigorous partner for educational development. For philanthropic organisations to truly have a long-term positive impact on education, they need to establish their credibility. Without proper M&E and published evaluations of programmes and initiatives, it is hard for governments and other organisations to know if foundations are worth partnering with. M&E is also internally valuable, with the Grantmakers for Effective Organizations and the Council on Foundations (2009) finding that M&E is useful as a vehicle for improving the likelihood of reaching goals, as a mechanism to better understand an issue, as a reinforcement of stakeholder engagement and as a tool with which to learn, even from failure. One of the foundations active in M&E in a non-GCC country explained that M&E is 'a new idea to a lot of people' and takes time to become common practice (Interview 9, 2018). However, without these mechanisms in place, organisations run the risk of not being trusted.

While M&E has tangible benefits for the foundation itself, there is also a great need for philanthropic organisations to fund or conduct research, as there is a shortage of research on education in the region. At the time of this study, only 11 per cent of foundations working in education were conducting or supporting research and none of these were corporate foundations. Supporting research on education generates new opportunities to contribute knowledge and ultimately advances the education sector by grounding and adapting programmatic work to the local context. Increasing quality research on education in the MENA philanthropic sector would also help spread knowledge about Middle Eastern educational operations and philosophies to the rest of the world, while also possibly revealing new education models. With more research on education and the work of foundations in education, new foundations, as well as existing ones, would be more aware of underserved areas in the education sector and possible opportunities.

MENA philanthropic organisations currently stand at a crossroads at which they need to decide not only how long they want to be around, but also what kind of partner they want to be in the education sector. In order for the philanthropic sector to have greater impact in the region, it will be important for organisations to consider the issues raised above and how much, or how little, they wish to partner with other entities and national governments. Without a more robust and sustainable approach, however, the future or impact of regional philanthropy on the education sector is unclear.

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Going forward, future research about the sustainability of the philanthropic sector in the MENA region would be invaluable, especially relating to funding, in order to understand the extent to which organisations are financially independent. Additionally, more research on underserved populations, in particular pre-primary students, would contribute to supporting future directions for regional philanthropy. Research could also explore how education policy is designed and delivered in the region and the current role that philanthropy plays in this, alongside exploring future opportunities. Finally, more research is required to understand the different types of philanthropic institutions (state, business or family) in the GCC versus the non-GCC countries, with particular consideration of how this impacts operational priorities and regional politics.

The past two decades have seen increased involvement in the MENA education sector by both private and state-funded foundations (Srivastava & Oh, 2010; Zunz, 2014). However, a lack of coordination, coupled with little research and little M&E appears to have resulted in a duplication of efforts, such as many foundations focusing on students and scholarships, while other areas have been neglected, such as research, early childhood education and support for educators. Through greater coordination and collaboration, alongside a more supportive regulatory framework, philanthropic actors in the region have a unique opportunity to provide support for those populations that are perhaps not high on domestic agendas or for areas where there is not enough public funding. Foundations are uniquely positioned to provide critical policy support, through research and advocacy, for government bodies that may not have the resources or time to be able to conduct such activities. However, if they lack rigorous M&E and spend little to no time on research, then it is unlikely that governments will seek them out.

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6. The global growth of higher education philanthropy and fundraising

Noah D. Drezner

Individuals and cultures are generous around the world. Yet, formal philanthropy given by individuals manifests differently in diverse contexts, with various practices and traditions impacting giving (Bekkers, 2016). Plewes (2008) notes that although formal philanthropy is often thought of as a phenomenon of the Global North, recently there has been growth in formal philanthropic activity in the Global South. The Charities Aid Foundation's World Giving Index (2017) found that nearly one-third (~30 per cent) of the world's population donates money to others.

Individuals around the world give to various different causes (Wiepking & Handy, 2016a). Support of secular and religious causes differ across country contexts, economic and political factors and their relation to the welfare state (Abbasov & Drezner, 2018; Bekkers, 2016; Einolf, 2017; Wiepking & Handy, 2016b). Individual donors in most countries support social services, youth, health, religion and natural disaster relief (Wiepking & Handy, 2016a). However, higher education is often not supported, or is supported to a much lesser extent, by individual donors as it is still viewed as the responsibility of the government (Johnstone, Arora & Experton, 1998; Wiepking & Handy, 2016a).

While many educational institutions around the world were founded with the generosity of church leaders, royalty, industrial philanthropists and other donors, systematic and organised philanthropic giving and fundraising towards higher education, up until relatively recently, was solely a U.S. phenomenon. However, there has been significant growth around the world in the number of countries that are encouraging such support of institutions. One measure of the growth of fundraising for higher education is the number of countries that are represented in the main professional association for practitioners of educational fundraising. Currently there are 61 countries that have individual colleges and universities as members of the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education (CASE), a U.S.-based association (Figure 6.1).

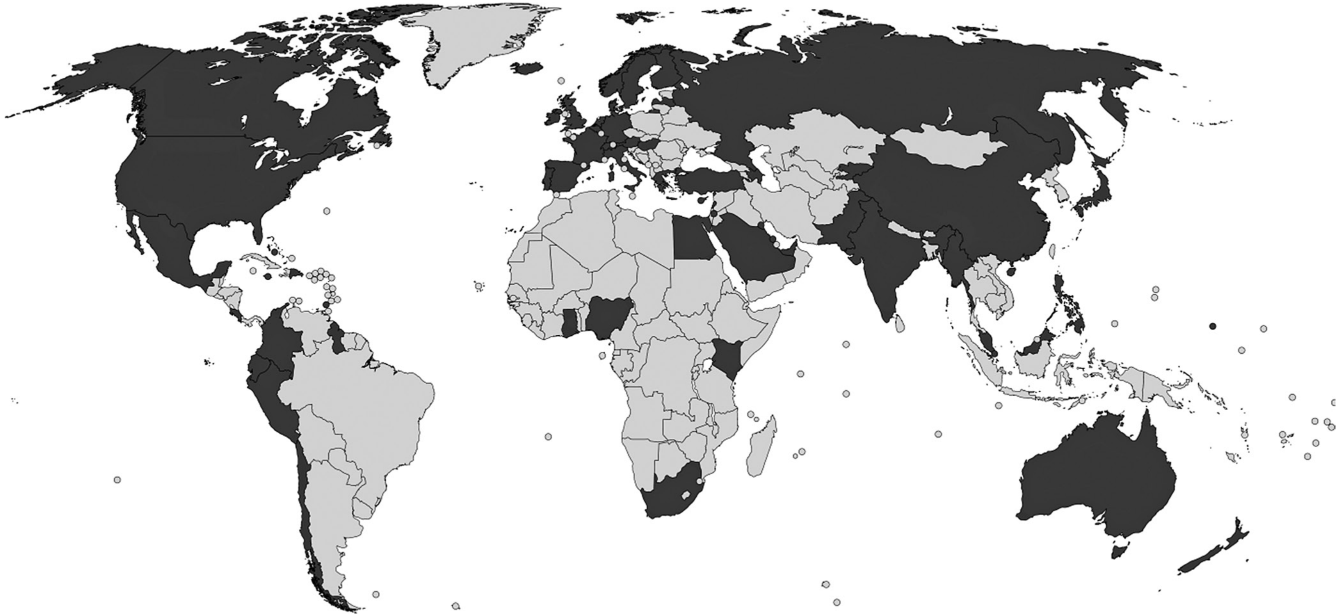
These changes to higher education philanthropy raise many questions. Chief among them is what are the possible explanations for the growth of fundraising and philanthropy globally? In this chapter, I am going to posit three possible explanations: first, that there is a functional need for philanthropic support of higher education; second, that this trend is a form of isomorphism where institutions are striving for prestige; and, third, the growth of philanthropy can be explained as a function of borrowing and lending of perceived best practices. It is important to note that none of these explanations are 'pure'. They are complex, with aspects overlapping and interactions with politics, policies and other phenomena.

THE FUNCTIONAL ARGUMENT: THE GROWING NEED FOR PHILANTHROPIC DOLLARS

Perhaps the simplest explanation for the expansion of fundraising for higher education is the need for an additional revenue source. Johnstone (2005) noted that 'throughout the world, governments are increasingly accepting the premise that tax revenues alone are insufficient to sustain public institutions of higher education in the face of increasing costs and, in most countries, increasing participation and enrolments' (p. 256). He argues that there are steeply rising costs to higher education that are outpacing the ability of government to meet with tax revenue alone.[1] Johnstone (2005) argues that the lack of government support results in 'increasing institutional austerity manifested by overcrowding, deterioration of physical plants, demoralization and outright loss of faculty, and limitations on capacity–and thus on higher educational opportunities' (p. 257). As such, he contends that most OECD countries have placed philanthropy as a revenue source on their agenda of university financial reforms. Philanthropy is an 'enormously attractive political solution precisely because it is not taxes and it is not tuition fees' (Johnstone, 2005, p. 257).

Using the United States as a case, it is fairly easy to show that the need for budget relief is a possible driving force. Within the landscape of public higher education in the United States, there has been a shift of the burden

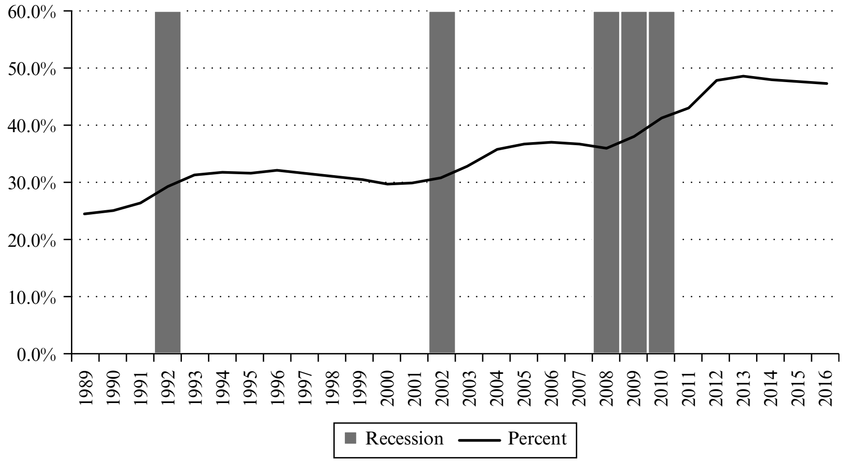
[1] UNESCO argues that the lack of tax revenue is complex. In their *Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2013/14* they caution that some developing countries might be able to increase spending on education through increased spending efficiency and the closing of tax loopholes that favour transnational corporations.



Note: Map generated using Minas (n.d.).

Source: Data from Council for Advancement and Support of Education [CASE] (n.d.-a).

Figure 6.1 *2017 countries with at least one CASE membership institution*

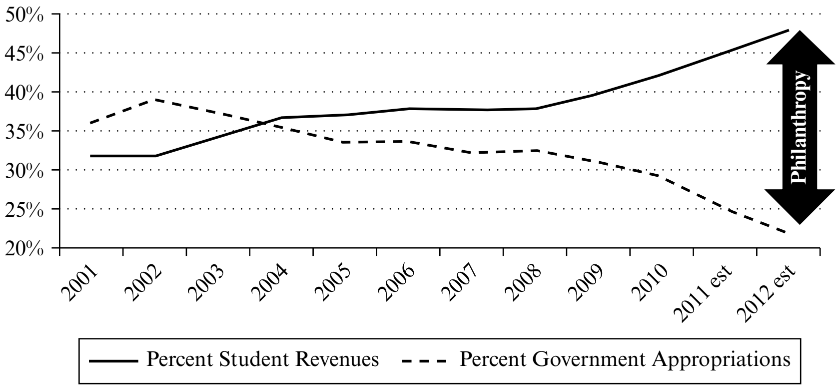


Source: Data from State Higher Education Executive Officers Association (2014, 2016).

Figure 6.2 Net tuition as a per cent of public higher education revenue, 1989–2016

of who is responsible for higher education. This shift is part of a larger move of higher education being seen more as a private good than a public good (Davies, 2015; Drezner, 2018; Grier & Bownes, 2014; Leat, 2016). Up until the 1970s, philanthropic support of U.S. higher education was virtually restricted to the private colleges and universities (Drezner, 2011; Johnstone et al., 1998). However, as public revenue support began to wane, state institutions began to move to philanthropy.

Net tuition revenue in U.S. public higher education has grown most rapidly as a percentage of total educational revenue in public institutions over at least the past few decades. The increase in dependence on tuition as a portion of revenue has increased more rapidly during periods when state support per student has declined, such as during economic downturns (Figure 6.2). The funding situation for public higher education has only worsened since the 2001–2002 recessions. In the wake of that recession, the percentage of state institutional budgets that came from student tuition and fees surpassed the portion that came from government appropriations (Moody's, 2011) (see Figure 6.3). With government support decreasing and the cost of education increasing, tuition has been rising across higher education. As such, in order to reduce the financial burden on students, public and private institutions began to focus more attention on other forms of institutional revenue, such as philanthropy. Philanthropic giving was viewed as having the potential to both lower the reliance on tuition



Source: Adapted from 'Weekly Credit Outlook, 43' 31 October 2011. Copyright 2011 by Moody's. https://www.moodys.com/researchdocumentcontentpage.aspx?docid=PBC_136951.

Figure 6.3 Public university funding burden shift to students

to make budget and provide needed scholarships that discount the tuition and increase college access.

This functional need for philanthropy is not only in the United States. Over the last four decades, access to Chinese higher education has tremendously expanded, with nearly half (42.7 per cent) of traditionally aged college students seeking a college degree (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 2017). While nearly all Chinese colleges and universities are publicly funded by the Central and provincial governments, per student funding has not kept up with the growth of enrolment (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 2015, 2017). Furthermore, although per student funding has fallen, institutions are feeling pressure to fulfil the national educational strategy to strive for world-class status. Salmi (2011) argues that Chinese institutions, in part, need additional funding to meet budget shortfalls and enable institutions to make decisions in order to achieve their goal of world-class status. As such, many institutions within China are turning towards philanthropic giving. According to the China Foundation Center (2018), currently, nearly one-fifth (19 per cent) of all, or 495, Chinese higher education institutions have established foundations for fundraising purposes. However, when looking at world-class status institutions,[2] all have opened foundations.

[2] On 24 October 2015, China's State Council officially announced an initiative to create and support China's world-class university ambition. The initiative includes central and local

THE ISOMORPHIC ARGUMENT: STRIVING FOR PRESTIGE AND LEGITIMACY

In their seminal study, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) argue that isomorphism, or homogeneity of structure, can take multiple forms. This includes competitive isomorphism that can arise from economic pressures and institutional isomorphism stemming from organisational constraints. DiMaggio and Powell further described three mechanisms of institutional isomorphism: (1) coercion, where pressure from other organisations, including the state, pushes homogeneity; (2) mimicking, in which imitation is brought on by uncertainty within a field; and (3) the creation of norms that are often imposed by professions. As a result of institutional isomorphism, 'as an innovation spreads, a threshold is reached beyond which adaptation provides legitimacy rather than improves performance' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 148).

Scholars have explored globalisation and isomorphism within the context of governance and organisational models of philanthropic foundations (Harrow, 2011; Rey-Garcia & Puig-Raposo, 2013). However, beyond governance, the decision to actively fundraise and to successfully attain large sums of philanthropy for higher education can be viewed through the lens of isomorphism. The economic pressures described as part of competitive isomorphism were discussed in my functional argument. However, institutional isomorphism explains other aspects of the global growth of higher education fundraising.

For example, the isomorphic principles of seeking prestige and legitimacy over needs and performance can be seen through the lens of rankings both in the United States and worldwide. In the United States, there are both explicit and implicit ways that philanthropy is used in rankings as a means to measure prestige and legitimacy. The *U.S. News & World Report* rankings methodology, in 2018, used alumni giving as an explicit measure of satisfaction and post-graduate engagement (this measure accounted for five per cent of the total score/ranking). Alumni giving is operationalised in the form of percentage of participation, or in other words, the average percentage of living alumni with bachelor's degrees who donated over the past two years. However, there are also implicit measures of philanthropy including financial resources (accounting for 10 per cent of the total

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governments' financial support and concentrated resources on selected universities. The goal of the world-class university initiative is three-fold: by 2020, a number of Chinese universities and subject areas will be recognised as having achieved world-class standing; by 2030, more universities and subject areas will have world-class status, with some universities at the top of the global rankings; and by 2050, China will have the leading universities and fields of study across the world (Zha, 2016).

score/ranking), which include endowment per full-time equivalent student. Additionally, there is a measure of academic reputation by academic leaders (accounting for 22.5 per cent of the total score/ranking). Academic reputation can be impacted by alumni giving, capital campaign success, publicity and the like. *U.S. News & World Report* admits that while 'endowment size isn't a direct factor in the rankings. . . declines could affect other rankings factors' (Morse, 2013, p. 1). In total, three out of the six, or half, of the measures that inform the *U.S. News & World Report* rankings could be affected by philanthropy.

In global rankings, as of now, there is no explicit measure of philanthropy. However, there is implicit use of philanthropy, like in the *U.S. News & World Report* rankings. For example, *The Times Higher Education* world rankings measure academic reputation (accounting for 33 per cent of the total score/ranking). In many ways, while philanthropy is not an explicit part of rankings, it is taken for granted that the ability to raise and attract philanthropy is an indicator of quality. Through the engagement with rankings, striving institutions will act on alumni giving and other forms of philanthropy.

Further, there is a level of mimicking, as DiMaggio and Powell (1983) note, among institutions of higher education striving for elite status. Colleges and universities who are continually noted as the most elite institutions are the same ones that are most successful with philanthropy. This holds true in the United States and the United Kingdom. For example, in the United States, three-quarters of the USD 500 billion in endowment wealth is currently held by just 11 per cent of colleges and universities (Sherlock, Gravelle, Crandall-Hollick & Stupak, 2015), all of which are highly ranked by *U.S. News & World Report*. Additionally, more than 25 per cent of the USD 41 billion raised by colleges in 2016 went to just 20 U.S. institutions (Kaplan, 2017). Similarly, in the United Kingdom, nearly four-fifths (78 per cent) of new philanthropic gifts were secured in 2014–2015 by only 18 institutions (Ross-CASE, 2016). In the following year, 2015–2016, 16 institutions raised nearly all of the money secured (97 per cent), accounting for £266.7 million or USD 373.5 million (Ross-CASE, 2017).

We can begin to see the impact of isomorphism within the Asian context. Although universities in Hong Kong, Singapore and China are well-funded by their governments, the governments have noted that university research departments are driving forces in the international comparisons and global rankings. Therefore, endowment funding for research and scholarships has become more important (Sharma, 2011). The governments of Singapore and Hong Kong have encouraged giving by promising matching government funding. In Singapore's case, the match is more than 1.5 times the donated figure. The Hong Kong Secretary General for Continuing Education in Tertiary Institutions was quoted as saying, 'People do not give to poor universities, they give to excellent universities' (Sharma, 2011, p. 1). This quote is evidence that the seeking of philanthropy, at least in part, is about striving for prestige.

THE BORROWING & LENDING ARGUMENT: ADOPTION OF 'BEST PRACTICES'

Steiner-Khamsi (2004) defines the normative endeavour of borrowing and lending as understanding 'what can be learned and imported from elsewhere (borrowing), as well as what can be taught and exported to elsewhere (lending)' (pp. 1–2). Within the context of higher education, philanthropy and fundraising borrowing and lending is mostly occurring in the form of institutions and countries adopting 'best practices' mostly from the United States, but also from the United Kingdom and other Western countries. This can be seen through documentation in Chinese academic journals (e.g., U.S. practices: Chen & Feng, 2011; Chen & Tan, 2007; Lin & Hong, 2010; Ya, 2012; Yan & Hong, 2011; Zou & Lv, 2010; U.K. practices: Hong & Hu, 2012; Liang & Hong, 2017, 2018; Yang & Wang, 2017; Canadian practices: Dekun, 2010; and Australian practices: Leiyu & Hong, 2011). Interestingly, there is not a lot of evidence of mimicking fundraising practices from other parts of Asia, such as Hong Kong or Singapore.

One such form of borrowing and lending can be seen through the proliferation of CASE member institutions. CASE is the leading practitioner organisation for educational fundraising. As I noted earlier, there has been exponential growth in CASE's global footprint in recent years, with 61 countries having at least one member institution. There are 503 member institutions outside the United States and Canada and CASE offices in Washington, DC, London (opened in 1994), Singapore (opened in 2007), and Mexico City (opened in 2011).

William Squire (2014) chronicles the adoption of U.S. higher education fundraising practices in the United Kingdom. He noted 'the growing U.K. interest in U.S. practice was paralleled by a similar interest from the U.S. side in promoting fundraising in support of British higher education' (p. 32). The CASE involvement in the United Kingdom began with a Fulbright U.S./U.K. Administrative Exchange Program in the 1980s, where senior development directors from U.S. institutions spent a year at top British institutions. Squire (2014) describes these exchanges as a 'process of "technology transfer" whereby successful techniques for fundraising in US higher education were adapted and applied to UK conditions' (p. 33). Throughout the 1990s, the Partnership became more formalised with U.K.-based CASE conferences and the establishment of a CASE office in London.

Since 2004, the CASE Board of Trustees and the CASE Europe Board of Trustees have adopted four statements affirming CASE's principles for internationalisation. Within these documents, you can see CASE's commitment to the principles of borrowing and lending. However, like with many borrowing and lending processes, it seems to be asymmetrical. For example, in the 2007 'Oxford Accord', CASE agreed upon 10 principles, of which four touch on borrowing and lending:

- CASE will pursue its growth and development as both an international organization (one that incorporates international perspectives into its overall operations) and as a global organization (one that provides services appropriate to various regions around the world).
- In entering new markets, CASE may consider any initial investment as an act of 'enlightened philanthropy', recognising that all members benefit from the increased understanding and professionalism of educational advancement around the world.
- CASE's success in serving new markets will depend heavily on understanding local needs and engaging local practitioners by helping them to adapt (and not simply adopt) best practices from well-established programs.
- In its professional development programs, CASE will respect both cultural differences and core principles related to educational advancement. (CASE, 2007)

These principles, perhaps because of CASE being a practitioner association, seem to focus on them lending best practices, mostly from the United States to other parts of the world. Language such as 'provides services appropriate to various regions around the world,' that their work is 'enlightened philanthropy' or that they want 'new markets. . . to adapt (not simply adopt) best practices', are all examples of an asymmetrical relationship when it comes to fundraising practice.

Beyond the borrowing of best practices, CASE has received over USD 2 million in grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to create infrastructures at institutions around the world for alumni giving and philanthropy. Over half of those grants were directed towards 'build[ing] advancement programs in parts of Africa. . . by offer[ing] training in fundraising and alumni relations to university leaders and advancement professionals' (CASE, n.d.-b). The consultants tasked with this work are often U.S.-based and some are from the United Kingdom.

Similarly, other foundations are invested in African university capacity building without CASE. These grants were made through the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa. This Partnership was a consortium of seven major U.S. foundations including Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Ford, William and Flora Hewlett, Kresge, John D. and Catherine MacArthur, Andrew W. Mellon, and Rockefeller Foundations. While all of these foundations invested in building university capacity including fundraising, The Kresge Foundation focused on building the infrastructure, including the data systems necessary for strong advancement programmes in South African universities (Jaumont, 2016).

While the intent of CASE and the U.S. foundations was to help institutions of higher education advance, by exporting U.S. ideas around philanthropy and fundraising, these organisations might have inadvertently disregarded cultural differences. It is encouraging that CASE, in its 'Oxford Accord' affirmed the organisation's commitment to 'respect both cultural differences and core principles'. However, when ideas are borrowed and lent to others rather than them being developed within a cultural context concerns about applicability arise.

LARGER QUESTIONS AND CONCERNS WITH THE GLOBAL GROWTH OF HIGHER EDUCATION PHILANTHROPY BY INDIVIDUALS

Regardless of what might explain the global growth of the higher education philanthropy, larger questions and concerns arise. As noted above, there are different cultures of philanthropy across countries and regions (Bekkers, 2016; Einolf, 2017; Wiepking & Handy, 2016b). My own work, within the U.S. context, has shown that there are different cultures of and motivations for philanthropy towards higher education across social identity groups (Drezner, 2005, 2009, 2013, 2017, 2018; Drezner & Garvey, 2016). As such, fundraising practices that work for one group do not necessarily work for other potential donors. Given these differences, what works in practice in the U.S. and the U.K. will not work everywhere. Therefore, colleges and universities that might want to develop cultures of giving among alumni and other supporters must not simply borrow from the U.S. and other more mature fundraising institutions; they should adapt and translate practices to work within their own contexts.

Beyond the different cultures of and motivations for giving, there are different socio-logics or understandings of the purpose of higher education within different national contexts. This might impact how individuals understand the need or feel the responsibility to give towards the education of other citizens. There is a lack of research on individual giving towards higher education outside of the U.S. context. Scholars should engage questions such as, what does fundraising for higher education mean within a neoliberal context versus a welfare state context? Or, within a comparative paradigm, how does individual education philanthropy look in different socio-logics? In other words, how does it look in individualist societies, such as the United States, or collectivist societies, like China?

Future Directions for Research

There are a number of directions for future research that would help us better understand the global growth of higher education philanthropy. For example, the global growth in fundraising should be measured in different ways than the proliferation of CASE institutional memberships. In order to do so, researchers could look at which institutions are engaged in fundraising. This would include not only an examination of those that have joined CASE but a look at what structures and levels of engagement institutions have in place.

Further research should explore the emergence of cultures of giving towards higher education in different contexts. Comparative research on donor motivations is important. For example, are donors motivated in different countries to give educational philanthropy in similar ways? How does tax policy and incentives motivate donors? Do extrinsic and intrinsic motivations for giving operate similarly in different cultures?

Beyond research that engages questions of donor motivation, to better understand this global growth of philanthropy, researchers should not just focus on the action of the donor. Scholars should research the professionalisation of the field of academic fundraising. Prior to now, most researchers have focused on the individual donor, their characteristics and their motivations; however, to best understand the growth of fundraising, it is important to flip the script and theorise, through empirical research, our understanding of the professionalisation of this field in comparative contexts (see Breeze, 2017).

CONCLUSION

Over the past few decades, institutions of higher education and governments around the world have been seeking out individual donors and putting polices in place that would encourage giving. On the surface, one might believe that this increased interest in philanthropic support of higher education might just be due to a need to balance budgets. However, this functional reason is only one possible explanation for this potentially more complex phenomenon. For example, the growing obsession with rankings and striving for prestige and legitimacy in higher education (O'Meara, 2007) points to isomorphism being a possible explanation for more institutions seeking out philanthropic support, regardless of there being a need for or a culture of philanthropic support of education within their country. Additionally, with the continued professionalisation of the field of higher education fundraising, the branching out of CASE beyond North America and the investment of U.S. foundations in building fundraising infrastructures abroad, principles of policy and practice borrowing and lending emerge as a final explanation.

As many institutions and governments look to U.S. success at fundraising and the subsequent ability to depend on endowment returns, it is important to reflect on the undergirding fundamentals that support these philanthropic gains. Large-scale philanthropy obviously requires a substantial concentration of wealth. However, it also needs favourable tax incentives for philanthropic giving and a culture of voluntary support for colleges and universities (Drezner, 2011; Johnstone, 2005; Johnstone & Marcucci, 2010). Building these traditions of giving are not easy or immediate, especially in countries and socio-logics in which the population being asked to give have historically viewed higher education as the financial responsibility of the state.

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7. Collaboration in development between U.S. foundations and African universities

Fabrice Jaumont and Teboho Moja

INTRODUCTION

The development of higher education in the United States and abroad has been largely supported by private foundations (see Bacchetti & Ehrlich, 2006; Cheit & Lobman, 1979; Curti & Nash, 1965; Hollis, 1938; Sears, 1990). When it comes to funding innovative research around the world, U.S. foundations do have a strong track record. From the professionalisation of public health and the spread of Western medicine in many regions of the world to strengthening the non-governmental organisation (NGO) sector and many global research institutions, examples abound. Moreover, U.S. foundations' interest in higher education is far from waning and has increased steadily as the Foundation Center's data demonstrates. The total dollar value of grants made in this field is staggering: from 2003 to 2018, U.S. foundations made 1,075,821 grants to higher education for a total of USD 91.8 billion.[1]

As U.S. foundations turn their attention to problems that cross borders and are linked to globalisation processes, assessing their international funding trends and influence over niche sectors such as higher education development in the Global South has become critical. In general, researchers point to the liberty that foundations have in comparison to other organisations, governments or agencies such as the World Bank, the United Nations or the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (see Arnove, 1980; Berman, 1983; Brison, 2005; Cheit & Lobman, 1979). Unlike governmental or multinational organisations, in the context of U.S. civil society, foundations have several distinct advantages. They are independent. They are not under pressure for short-term results. They can

[1] Grants made in support of higher education, starting in the year 2006 to present (Foundation Center, n.d.).

take risks. They have accumulated sensitivity and sophistication to address certain problems. And, one may argue, they have fewer historical issues to deal with than for instance, a former colonial power's development agency would have in most developing countries.

Today, many U.S. private foundations actively invest in Africa. A large share of their investments is devoted to the education sector and, particularly, to higher education institutions. Private foundations are the top grant-making contributors to higher education on the continent (e.g., the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Corporation of New York).[2] Corporate foundations are the second largest type.[3] These foundations are usually started by a company with a single gift that then becomes an endowment. These foundations' missions are usually aligned with the companies' own strategies (e.g., The Bristol-Myers Squibb Foundation and the Coca-Cola Foundation). Other types of philanthropies include community foundations, operating foundations and public charities. They conduct grant-making activities that often, but not always, benefit local charities and charitable community projects. These foundations may make grants, but the grant amount awarded generally is small relative to the funds used for the foundation's own programmes. Examples include the Silicon Valley Community Foundation, the New York Community Trust in New York, Open Doors International and the Oprah Winfrey Leadership Academy Foundation.

This chapter seeks to offer a nuanced analysis of U.S. foundations committed to strengthening capacity in higher education in Africa. The role of local universities in Africa's development has been a subject of debate post the independence era of the 1960s that continues today as scholars and many African governments search for ways in which to ensure that local universities contribute to Africa's development. The debate takes place in the absence of a clearly articulated framework of what should constitute Africa's development plan.[4] Donor agencies have also played a role in tracing the path of development for universities, steering, directing and supporting priorities that they set for the sector. In the last two decades, donor agencies have become actively involved in setting the agenda for development in which African universities define their missions and align their priorities in order to receive funding from these agencies.

The chapter looks at the conditions under which foundations' efforts have been successful in achieving their intent in higher education devel-

2 According to the Foundation Center (n.d.).
3 According to the Foundation Center (n.d.).
4 In this chapter, we refer to Africa in a more generic way acknowledging the diversity that exists among the states on the continent.

opment in nine African nations. It examines the dynamic and complex relationship between foundations and universities within the context of international development. The focus is on the collaboration of seven major foundations which joined forces to form the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, hereafter referred to as the Partnership or PHEA interchangeably. In the period between 2000 and 2010, the Partnership provided funding to higher education institutions in nine African nations: Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Madagascar and Egypt. In addition, it supported regional and sub-regional organisations as well as consortia that furthered the development of higher education in Africa—the Internet Bandwidth Consortium presented below serves as a case study for this chapter.

The foundations involved were the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Ford Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the Kresge Foundation. These foundations had two clear goals. As clearly stated on the Partnership's website (Partnership for Higher Education [PHEA], 2010b), the first was to advocate for the 'indispensable contribution of higher education to social and economic development' (para. 1) in Africa. The second goal was to accelerate the 'processes of comprehensive modernization and strengthening of universities in selected countries' (para. 2). The scope of these goals, which none of the foundations could accomplish alone, necessitated an efficient inter-institutional collaboration. This would develop the ability to serve mutually beneficial goals and priorities.

The thousands of grants made by U.S. foundations to universities in Africa in the last two decades, along with the foundations' various partnerships to provide scale to their undertakings form an impressive array of strategies and solutions geared towards developing the field of higher education on the continent. However, do the top-down mechanisms that govern a number of relationships between U.S. foundations and African universities provide satisfactory results for both actors or benefits that are not delivered to their full potential? Can the institutional dynamic at work in this relationship provide insight on grant feasibility, sustainability or institutional change? The following sections will provide answers while presenting our theoretical framework, methodology and findings.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

By looking at institutional dynamics and organisational interdependencies between the seven foundations, this study investigated the factors impacting collaborations. Using an institutional lens, this study explored the questions of whether those factors constrained inter-organisational collaboration among the Partnership's foundations, and if so, how. Furthermore, through its institutional lens this inquiry determined whether the foundations' alignment and collaboration showed signs of institutional convergence. This was done in order to understand how organisations operate. According to DiMaggio and Powell (1983), two types of isomorphism co-exist: competitive and institutional. These make 'organizations compete not just for resources and customers, but for political power and institutional legitimacy, for social as well as economic fitness' (p. 150). Given that a foundation partnership is in and of itself an institutional process that requires partners to unite around shared values and goals for their action, the Partnership's inter-organisational exchanges can be potentially informative about the relationship between isomorphism and collaboration.

The neo-institutionalism school of thought indicates that it is not so much individual organisations that are legitimised, but rather organisational forms, structural elements, technical procedures and rules. While the Partnership's stated objective was to aid African universities, the foundations also paid close attention to their collaboration and built an inter-organisational structure that suited their individual strategies. Analysis of primary and secondary sources, including interviews with individuals directly involved in the Partnership and data on grants made during the collaboration, helps identify various elements interfering with this collaboration. These sources assist in visualising the Partnership's technical procedures and structural elements. The results presented below might not generalise to other foundations or collaborations. However, they illustrate how a group of foundations orchestrated various processes of collaboration to maximise their impact. As a result, there were multiple relationships that informed the given foundations' engagement with the Partnership: the relationship on the ground between the foundation and a given university and the rapport among the various foundations both on the ground and in the United States.

We have used the framework of collaboration theory proposed by Wood and Gray (1991) to define collaboration as a process that 'occurs when a group of autonomous stakeholders of a problem domain engage in an interactive process, using shared rules, norms, and structures, to act or decide on issues related to that domain' (p. 146). Collaboration implies sharing processes and mechanisms; it creates terrain for institutional interdependency, compelling partners to share authority and responsibility in order to fulfil their common mission. Although scholars, such as Fleishman (2007) and Bacchetti and Ehrlich (2006), argue that foundations are both wary and very selective about engaging in partnerships, foundations nonetheless seem to recognise the need to collaborate with others to surmount obstacles that they could not overcome alone.

However, there is a tension between sustainable results and expectation of impact and recognition which undergirds the dynamics of inter-organisational collaboration, particularly among larger foundations. In a famous essay on collaboration, Paul Brest, former president of the Hewlett Foundation, wrote that foundations can work together to generate better ideas, build broader constituencies and increase the amount of money available to achieve common goals. Reflecting on the motivations of funders, he also underlined the dangers that lie in working with others:

> Some donors seem more interested in funding innovative programs with immediate visible impact than in achieving long-term, sustainable results. Some have low expectations of nonprofit organizations and treat an honorable mission as a substitute for impact. And doubtless some donors are motivated more by relationships and recognition than by achieving results. More fundamentally, personal philanthropy may sometimes be so profoundly emotional as to be invulnerable to rational analysis. (Brest, 2006, p. xv)

As Brest indicates, the relationship between expectation and recognition is not always harmonious and often finds its disharmony at the human level. This is an important aspect of philanthropy, which the present study took into consideration.

Moreover, by looking at institutional dynamics and organisational interdependencies among the seven foundations, this study investigated the factors influencing legitimation in the Partnership's collaboration. The Partnership's collaborative dynamics are examined here through an institutional lens to explore the connections between collaboration and organisational legitimacy. It also examines if and how these factors constrained inter-organisational collaboration among the Partnership's foundations. Additionally, it seeks to understand the way in which private foundations operate.

This chapter argues that in order to build a strong case for higher education in Africa, the Partnership's foundations had to deploy collaboration to reinforce their status as convincing advocates. In a partnership, foundations can bring intellectual and reputational capital as well as dollars to the table. Since foundations are essentially investors, the form of collaboration seen most regularly is the aggregation of funds with other foundations, governmental institutions or grassroots organisations. Thus, the Partnership's image was intricately tied to the foundations' reputations as credible players among international and human development actors. The results produced by the Partnership generated bonus points for foundations in return.

METHODS AND DATA COLLECTION

This study builds on previous work by Jaumont (2014, 2016a). The data presented here draws from a number of primary and secondary sources[5] including: documents (e.g., foundations' annual reports, charters and by-laws; publications from the Foundation Center); archives of the PHEA and the individual foundations belonging to the PHEA; websites (e.g., of the individual foundations, The Foundation Center); online databases (e.g., PHEA, The Foundation Center) and interviews. Twenty-one interviews were conducted in person between May 2011 to May 2012. Interviewees[6] included PHEA-member foundations' programme officers, advisors and executive officers as well as a reporter. Over 120 transcripts of interviews[7] of African university leaders, grant administrators, faculty and students, available from the Partnership's archives, supplemented these in-person interviews.

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Grant Distribution

To capture the conditions of grant distribution that governed these foundations, our study reveals that U.S. foundations made 13,565 grants to Africa between 2003 and 2013 for a total of nearly USD 4 billion.[8] More specifically, between 2000 and 2010 the PHEA, which included seven foundations—Carnegie, Ford, MacArthur, Rockefeller, Hewlett, Mellon and Kresge—provided USD 440 million in funding to higher education institutions in nine African countries (Grant Lewis, Friedman & Schoneboom, 2010). Figure 7.1 illustrates how each foundation contributed to this total.

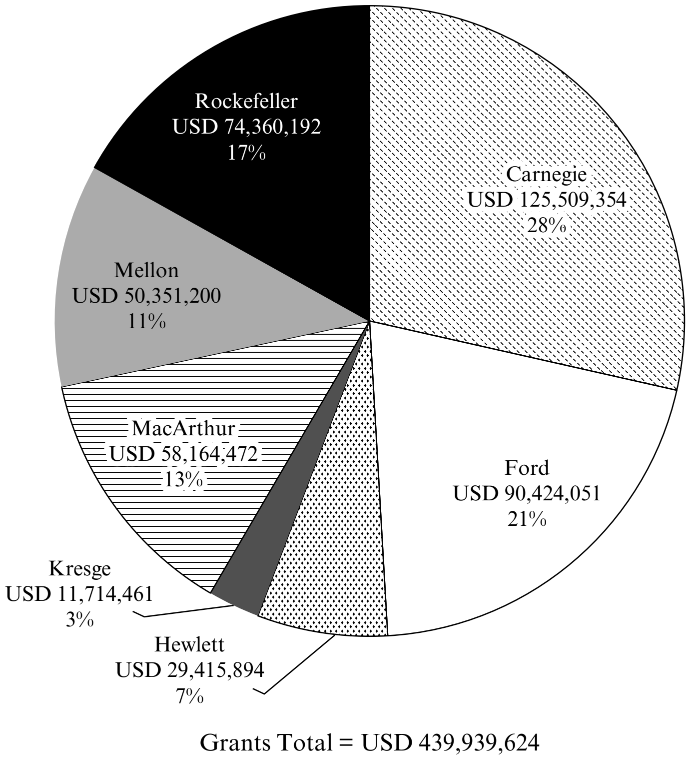
Not all recipient organisations were based in Africa, since many U.S. foundations often worked with institutions of research or expertise located in developed or developing countries or with intermediary organisations. This was especially true of conflict zones or areas where foundations tended to have no previous contacts. The U.S. foundations also had a general tendency to make grants to institutions in English-speaking countries (Jaumont & Klempay, 2015). The findings also suggest that U.S.

5 A detailed listing of primary and secondary sources is available on pages 299 to 300 of Jaumont (2014).

6 A listing of interviewees is available in Appendix A of Jaumont (2014).

7 A listing of countries, universities and roles of those interviewed can be found in Appendix C of Jaumont (2014).

8 Data retrieved from www.foundation-partnership.org.



Source: Data retrieved from PHEA (2010a).

Figure 7.1 Total contribution and proportion of grants made by each foundation in the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa

foundations applied a geopolitical strategy of investment and maximisation along former colonial lines, in particular former British colonies, although U.S. foundations' geopolitical agendas might not be formulated with specific post-colonial considerations. However, the geographic distribution of these funds for Africa was significantly oriented towards Kenya, South Africa and Nigeria. Out of fifty-three nations on the continent, these three countries received 50 per cent of the total funding granted by U.S. foundations (Jaumont, 2016b, 2018).

The foundations joined forces to support the capacity building of universities and the field of higher education in Africa, which they saw as crucial for the development of the continent. At the time of PHEA's establishment, African higher education was less of a priority as the focus was frequently on primary education (Varghese, 2010). This was a result of the World Bank policies on development based on studies that claimed that there were higher rates of return for governments if they invested in basic education instead of higher education.[9] Thus, PHEA was formed to change this view. It successfully raised USD 450 million over 10 years to build core capacity in universities and support special initiatives to advance higher education on the African continent (see Parker, 2010 and Grant Lewis et al., 2010). However, the Partnership's direct influence on higher education in Africa was evident as the foundations' support served the entire academic community and as many projects involved scholars and researchers across the continent and in other parts of the world. Grant Lewis et al. (2010) wrote:

> The PHEA focused support in nine African countries.. . . These countries have a combined population of 459 million. In a continent with a tertiary education enrollment ratio of only 3%, the PHEA has, directly and indirectly, improved conditions for 4.1 million African students enrolled at 379 universities and colleges. (p. v)

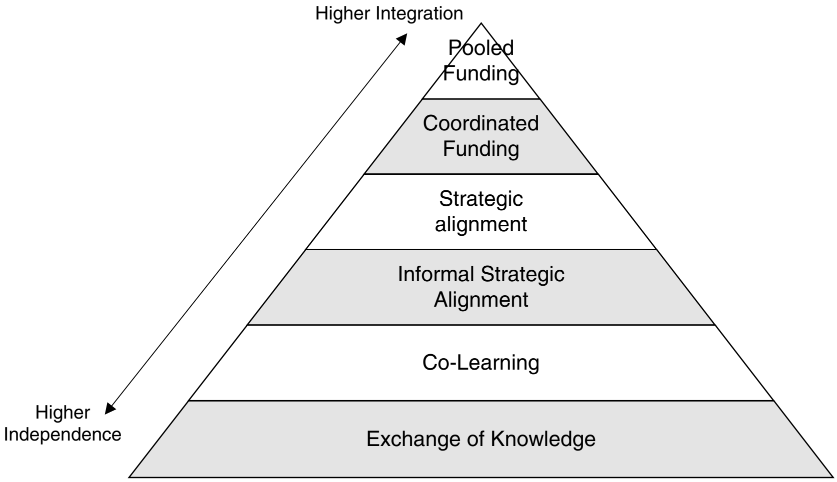
PHEA's investments led to the successful support of research initiatives across the continent and strengthened pan-African organisations such as the Association of African Universities and the Council for the Development of Social Science Research (Grant Lewis et al., 2010). More importantly, it pushed foundations to give more, as this quote from Kole Shettima, programme director of The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Nigeria office, explained:

> The consortium, at first, was designed as I saw it to have two purposes. First to demonstrate to Africa that American foundations were really eager to be supportive. That we felt if we did it one at a time we wouldn't have the same psychological impact.. . . The other impact was through a kind of competition to set a total amount of money that would be assured.. . . That would in some sense prod the individual foundations to push as hard as they could in their African support. (cited in Jaumont, 2014, p. 112)

Finding the Right Funder Engagement Level

When applied to philanthropic endeavours, partnerships between private foundations are formed from time to time to tackle problems of scale on specific issues such as disease, poverty and the environment. Partnerships

[9] These studies are based on Psacharopoulos (1973). The World Bank has changed its policies since the publication of later studies in 2002 (see World Bank, 2002).



Source: Developed from work of the Foundation Center (www.foundationcenter.org), The Philanthropy Initiative (2009), and Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors (www.rockpa.org).

Figure 7.2 The spectrum of funder engagement

evolve from mutual respect, the pairing of complementary strengths and collaborative planning and decision making. They evolve through work to achieve mutually shared goals and priorities in such areas as improvements in community and social development, environmental management, governance, health, education and private sector development.

Our literature review indicated that there are many types of partnerships and possibilities for collaborative engagement, spanning from a mere exchange of ideas and co-learning to more hybrid and organised structures such as strategic alignments, targeted collaborative funding or the creation of a separate pooled fund. In Figure 7.2, the spectrum of collaborative engagement illustrates some of the various models that are used by foundations.

The Partnership offered an interesting case of formal strategic alignment for foundations. The alignment allowed greater flexibility and control for the foundations while ensuring their full commitment. The Partnership was not a separate entity with its own charter, identity, pooled funds and grant-making programmes. Instead, as Raoul Davion, programme officer of The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, discussed, it was initially an informal relationship that grew out of discussions between the presidents of the four founding foundations and several senior staff:

> The design and structure [of the PHEA] was a semi-formal collaboration amongst the four foundations where the initiative really grew out of discussions among the foundation presidents, the presidents of the four founding foundations and staff was then asked to operationalize this idea of working together in support of higher education. It grew out of shared recognition of commitment and interest in the field of higher education among the foundations. And, in that sense, it was launched before it was designed, in terms of how it actually operates. (personal communication, 12 July 2011)

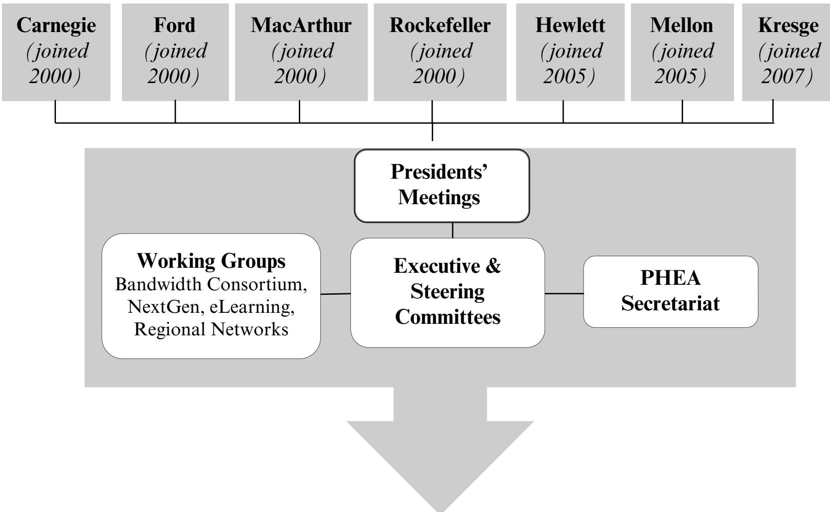
The Partnership eventually grew into a more elaborate structure that sought to go beyond the mere exchange of information and collaborative learning. It was formalised by an official agreement signed in 2000 by the initial four foundation presidents who initiated the project. Figure 7.3 depicts the strategic alignment in its final stage circa 2008.

The objective of this strategic alignment was to ensure greater coordination, better decision making and a separation of individual and collective boundaries. Over a decade, the Partnership's foundations interacted with 296 grantees, including universities, research centres and academic networks, among many others. The dynamics involved were rich with multiple trans-organisational exchanges between foundations, between the Partnership's secretariat and its committees, between foundations and their grantees and between the Partnership and the grantees. The Partnership's dynamics are reflected by this statement from Kole Shettima, programme director of The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Nigeria office:

> We learned some things that we did not know before, working with other organizations in terms of even their own process of grant-making, their own processes of decision-making. We learned a lot about that. We appreciated that motivations are different; the way people do some things are different from others. It is not a question of which one is better, but it is a question of, yes, we are all different and therefore we need to appreciate and understand our differences. (personal communication, 22 June 2011)

Foundations' behaviour is best explained and understood if we take into consideration their internal character, which they inherit and develop throughout their history. As Tade Akin Aina, the programme director of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, stated:

> First and foremost, the biggest problems we have is that foundations come with their cultures. . . and these traditional cultures can be as rigid as any bureaucracy. In fact, can almost be beyond, in terms of the rigidities, almost like a culture, it's almost like different princely orders. (personal communication, 26 September 2011)



296 Grantees

67 African Universities	39 U.S. Universities
16 Other Universities	57 Education Networks & Consortia
28 Research Institutes	15 African Government Agencies
16 Foundations	4 International Organisations
7 Museums	2 Libraries
17 NGOs	15 Parks & Botanical Gardens
4 Hospitals & Medical Centres	4 For-Profits
3 Arts Centres	1 Audit Agency
1 U.S. Embassy	

Figure 7.3 The Partnership's strategic alignment model

Rationalising the Partnership's efficiency also meant clarifying and controlling the flow of information. The strategic alignment generated multi-level communication channels orchestrated efficiently by the secretariat. In the Partnership's previous forms, the flow of information between foundations was originally an issue for overcommitted foundation staff. This is explained in greater detailed by Narciso Matos, former programme director of the Carnegie Corporation of New York:

> Sometimes very simple decisions, because it had to be consultative, were so cumbersome and they took so many emails and comments, over comments, until we reached an agreement. It was complicated. It was not from the very beginning, for example, that we had a full-time coordinator. I think that came later on where we started an office for coordination and that helped us to streamline decisions. So, I think internally, it was messy. Effective but messy. (personal communication, 9 September 2011)

A foundation's values and norms, which sometimes come directly from the donor, translate into strategies that shape the entire institution. In the case of a partnership of foundations such as PHEA, a foundation's individual tendency to follow its own priorities might not play out easily in a collaborative effort, and therefore some compromises must be reached.

Prior to the creation of PHEA, these individual foundations tended to work on a one-to-one basis with their grantees without considering working collaboratively with a group of universities or regionally (Jaumont, 2016b). As foundations act as investors, the most fundamental form of collaboration is the aggregation of funds to produce results that any single funder could not accomplish on its own. Between 2000 and 2010, Carnegie, Ford, Rockefeller and MacArthur invested an aggregate of USD 348.4 million as partners in the PHEA (Jaumont, 2014). Between 1990 and 1999, the same foundations invested a total of USD 103.7 million in African universities and research centres (Parker, 2010). Thus, by working collaboratively the foundations assembled a significant amount of funds—more than what any U.S. foundation or group of foundations had ever assembled for higher education in Africa (Jaumont, 2016b).

The Challenge of Selecting Universities and the Question of Ownership

The PHEA's rationale for selecting universities was motivated by predetermined criteria and hard-to-achieve goals. The following PHEA Core Statement from 2004 indicated the foundations' high expectations:

> Selected universities and centers of intellectual inquiry will demonstrate ability to promote the free flow of ideas and enlarge the public sphere of their societies. They will exhibit a strong academic base as judged by international and local criteria, good governance, sound management, and through creative mixtures of public and private funding, financial stability.. . . As part of the national higher education system, they will build and transfer a repertoire of skills essential for the development of their societies and the realization of individual and national aspirations.. . . They will produce well-prepared high-level professional talent.. . . They will reflect a quiet revolution in institution building in Africa that can unleash the talents of the continent for the well-being of its people and those beyond its borders. (cited in Jaumont, 2014, p. 252)

However, in their selection process PHEA foundations could not find universities that met their criteria and had to look for universities and countries 'on the move' (Parker, 2010, p. 16) in order to implement their joint strategy. The aim was to reproduce African knowledge centres by directing the foundations' financial support around building core institutional capacity in a selected group of universities. This process mainly benefited institutions which had been in contact with U.S. foundations for decades (e.g., Makerere University, University of Dar es Salaam, etc.) because there was a pre-existing shared level of trust, respect and mutual understanding (Jaumont, 2014).

The literature on African higher education highlights the importance of ownership by the local partners and mutually beneficial outcomes in the inception and implementation of new programmes. As John Ssebuwufu, former director of research and programmes at the Association of African Universities in Ghana, stated, 'The African institution must fully own the programmes, and not be left feeling that the programmes are an imposition with minimum input from their side' (cited in Fisher & Lindow, 2008, p. A22). This notion of programme ownership is often underestimated in international development, particularly when it is central to the relationship between a grantor and a grantee, as Narciso Matos, former programme director of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, explained:

> I still recall a vice chancellor of an African university (incidentally he was the vice chancellor of one of the universities that were benefiting financially and otherwise from the partnership). . . at one of the meetings. . . said, 'Is it a partnership of foundations or is it a partnership between foundations and African universities? How are we involved in defining the agenda and so forth?' So that reflects that, in spite of all the efforts that we were making to be inclusive and conservative, we were not always successful in communicating that it was not [only] a partnership of four or five foundations but we wanted the voice of Africans to lead whatever we were doing. (personal communication, 9 September 2011)

If not taken into account, the lack of programme ownership can transform the foundation-university relationship into one of resistance. Consequently, ownership claims pinpoint tensions at play between a grant-receiving institution and a grant-making institution and help trace the source of resistance to institutional change. They emerge as path dependent symptoms of protest against certain models of development that belong to the past. However, they may also transpire from the actors' inability to propose a new model. For instance, African scholars regularly ask how the universities are to be made African so that they can provide African development on their own terms (Cloete et al., 2002, 2006). This vulnerable position makes them prone to influence in various directions. In this light, the weight of African universities' inheritance is still being felt as power struggles continue to plague African universities from both inside and outside the institutions themselves.

FROM OWNERSHIP TO EQUAL PARTNERSHIPS

The PHEA's signature initiative, the Internet Bandwidth Consortium, provides valuable insight into the potential of equal partnership between foundations and universities. Suggested by the local partners, the initiative sought to provide internet bandwidth at affordable prices to African universities. Given the complexity and scale of the problem, no individual foundation, even with large enough funding, could solve this issue alone.

With co-funding from the PHEA, universities in several Sub-Saharan countries formed a consortium to purchase a six-fold increase in bandwidth and share internet capacity at lower rates—an 'important first step towards parity in the online world', as stated in PHEA's report *African Universities: Stories of change* (2005, p. 3). Initially, the bandwidth initiative allowed several universities to share 93,000 kilobits per second (kbps) of internet bandwidth each month, paying an average cost of $2.33 per kbps per month. This was especially significant considering that most African universities at the time paid an average of $7.30 per kbps per month. A few years prior to this initiative, the total bandwidth available for an entire university was only 12,000 kbps per month, which made research and access for all faculty and students impossible (Bandwidth Task Force Secretariat, 2003). Thanks to this collaboration, the University of Ibadan, for instance, was able to move from having only 25 dial-up links to the internet to a campus-wide system of 1,000 networked computers using both wired and wireless technologies (Bandwidth Task Force Secretariat, 2003).

The Bandwidth Consortium led both PHEA's foundations and local universities to set a common agenda for tackling a problem plaguing higher education development in Africa. Several regional organisations went on to invest in the development of this sub-sector. Thus, by transferring ownership and forming an equal partnership with this group of universities and regional partners, PHEA's foundations succeeded in solving an issue of importance to the universities, cutting down these rates and providing better and faster access while mutually benefitting from their synergy.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

This chapter examined the conditions under which foundations' efforts were successful in achieving their intent in higher education development in nine African nations. It also explored the dynamic and complex relationship between foundations and universities within the context of international development. Meeting the world's development needs is a complex and challenging task that no one institution can effectively address alone. Partnerships are essential to mobilise the world's technical and financial resources in support of development solutions. Arguably, a foundation's goal of supporting sustainable initiatives motivates its choice to fund initiatives with high leveraging potentiality. If a foundation effectively promotes a particular issue, it can succeed in activating outside funding, thus offering the promise of sustainability that it seeks.

For instance, Carnegie Corporation's focus on gender programmes, aimed at generating greater access for female students or equal career opportunities for female scholars, has become a significant priority for many other foundations. Subsequently, gender has also reached a higher rank on the agenda of most regional and multinational organisations involved in higher education in Africa. Universities now offer African women unparalleled access to learning and research opportunities, increasing the network of African experts who can contribute to the efforts of poverty reduction and address other crucial challenges.

To a lesser degree, NGOs and regional organisations, such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development or the African Union, were also influenced by foundations' funding choices. For instance, the African Union recognised the work of the foundations and added several initiatives to its agenda as a sign of greater commitment to harmonising the field of higher education in Africa and increasing the quality of educational publishing, teacher development and the revitalisation of technical and vocational education.

The nature of donor-recipient relationships, if strategically steered to a relationship of equals, is likely to have a positive impact on design, implementation and outcomes of projects. We acknowledge that huge sums of money translate to huge power. Foundations with massive funds are able to form partnerships with African universities on a different footing than those established with large individual foundations or international organisations. However, this approach, which seemingly makes it easier for a partner foundation to handle a recipient's requests, actually becomes quite restrictive as it allows foundations to impose conditions and rules for funding areas and pre-determine needs. The PHEA's foundations and universities partnering in the Bandwidth Consortium were able to set up an equal and mutually beneficial partnership that allowed them to accomplish significant work. However, most partnerships between foundations and their grantees are rarely established on mutually beneficial grounds. Such tendencies and their restrictive effect on outcomes can best be understood by a closer analysis of the internal and external forces at play in the relationship between foundations and universities.

Furthermore, the transfer of ownership between actors or opposition to decisions without consultation plays a decisive role in the success of a programme. Some ownership rights might not be easily transferred, and the fact that they are not indicates the role these rights will play in the success of the initiative or the durable implementation of new ideas. The benefits of ownership transfer may include improved collaboration, partnership-building, staff morale, fundraising and efficiency, as well as the sought-after inception of change, as the Bandwidth Consortium suggests. Programme ownership does not involve exclusive rights and control, as seen with the Bandwidth Consortium where grant-receiving institutions owned a small share of the funded initiative. The downside of ownership transfer may include, on the other hand, resistance, institutional dependency or failure to make any progress.

While U.S. foundations attempt to transform African universities through their granting activities, they must base their vision of change on the needs, the norms and the values of local actors. In recent years, these foundations have sought to infuse neoliberal trends in African higher education. They have done this while promoting the knowledge economy, which focuses on the production and management of knowledge and sees universities as engines for economic growth and increased competitiveness. Of course, this trend has not only affected higher education in Africa but universities across the globe. Yet, this vision for change can only happen in countries undergoing systemic public policy reform as well as in strong individual institutions that can operate within differentiated national systems of higher education, all while encouraging inter-institutional collaboration.

Higher education institutions and foundations are confronted with internal as well as external challenges due to environmental complexity. Foundations rely on their programmes' congruence with particular characteristics in the nations of the grantees' educational systems. For instance, funding to higher education in Africa is dependent on both national and global shifts in the grantor's country and on the receptiveness of African governments and institutions to the modalities of private funding. States define substantive direction and exert significant authority over educational policy. If processes of democratisation, decentralisation and economic reform are not in place to grant greater autonomy to universities, foundations' grant-making will have limited effects on outcomes in universities. African states may recognise the value of these outside players in terms of national development and poverty alleviation, but they might also see their interactions with universities as a potential threat to their authority. Some may even reject the use of foreign models as they might be a threat to the universities' very existence and legitimacy. Thus, the independence of a university is an important factor that contributes to its ability to attract outside funding from donors. In order to maximise the capacity for institutional change, foundations and universities must verify the presence of this central condition for a successful relationship and foster mutual understanding and ownership sharing on all initiatives undertaken jointly.

This raises several questions that call for further research. If change does not occur, to what degree has the interaction between the grantor and the grantee hampered the programme, and can this be remedied at some point? In other words, if the transfer of ownership can be made—that is, a larger share in the decision-making process can be transferred to the grantee by the grantor or more independence transferred by the state to the grantee—would that be beneficial to the success of the programme, and to what extent would that help foster the commonly desired institutional change?

It is in this context that we believe the review and comparison of privately and publicly funded programmes would yield constructive lessons for the fields of both philanthropy and development which, to a certain extent, have yet to integrate the concept of evaluation into their grant-making activities. The lessons learned may suggest alternative ways that can foster a relationship of equals between donors and recipients through collaborative projects geared towards a common goal. There might also be lessons inherent in such studies for establishing regional cooperation as a more effective framework for development and for encouraging inter-institutional partnerships. Another dimension where such studies could make a contribution is in helping grant-makers become more efficient by focusing on the core definition of philanthropy, which in essence promotes giving not for expecting something in return but rather for empowering the grant recipient towards a more meaningful relationship.

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8. A will in search of a way: philanthropy in education in Peru

Matthew D. Bird and Vicente M. León

The ingredients for strong and strategic institutionalised philanthropy exist in Latin America: charitable traditions, rapid wealth creation from the global commodity boom and weaker than expected state social services (Hauser Center, 2016; Johnson, 2018; Sanborn & Portocarrero, 2005). Peru is an exemplary regional case (León & Bird, 2018; Portocarrero, Sanborn, Cueva & Millán, 2002). Due mostly to increased mining exports in the early 2000s, the World Bank reclassified Peru as an upper middle-income country, which prompted overseas development assistance (ODA) organisations, comprised of multilateral and private institutions, to shift resources outside the country and call on local entities to better channel wealth to address social issues. Local philanthropists sought to meet the challenge, with over half of the country's philanthropic organisations founded after 2000.

Still, Peru's human capital remains that of a lower middle-income economy and its educational achievements rank low in international evaluations (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2016). This lack of human capital spurred the creation of new local education-focused philanthropies, which account for the majority of the country's philanthropic organisations and a third of the philanthropic capital, according to a national survey (León & Bird, 2018). The will exists for change in Peru's education sector, yet clear pathways for how to scale these initiatives have yet to appear.

What new philanthropic and social investment models are emerging and what lessons does Peru offer to other countries caught in what we consider the middle-income social investment trap?

We base our responses on an original qualitative and quantitative survey of 157 philanthropic and social investment organisations in Peru's 10 largest cities. First, we frame the role of philanthropy in education in Peru in the context of the development of philanthropy in the education sector and its relationship with the state. We then explain how Peru's strong economic performance since the year 2000 led to its reclassification as an upper middle-income country and the challenge this posed as international aid dwindled. We show how Peru's middle-income status did not translate into an improvement in quality of life indices, particularly education, as Peru's weak performance in international student assessments demonstrate. After detailing our methodology, we map the philanthropic organisations working in education in Peru and discuss characteristics such as the size of their investments, age, revenue models, beneficiaries and geographic scope. We then analyse how the organisations' transparency, governance and operational mechanisms reflect institutional quality in the sector, before concluding with questions about how the aforementioned components of institutional quality may provide a prescription for pathways to scale with impact not only in Peru but in other middle-income countries.

PHILANTHROPY, EDUCATION AND THE STATE

Philanthropic investment in education has been present since the birth of modern philanthropy in the United States, where in the late 1800s the education sector attracted private capital from the globe's first modern philanthropic institutions. In some respects, the U.S. case offers lessons for understanding the role philanthropy plays in education in emerging markets, especially among middle-income countries.

Philanthropy has played an active role in U.S. education for over a century. Beginning in the early 1980s and coinciding with a shift in the relationship between the government and private sector, policy-oriented education philanthropy reemerged with a focus on reform. The United States has passed through two waves of reform movements (Soskis & Katz, 2016). The first lasted until the end of the twentieth century, while the new reform—represented by the Ford, Kellogg, Gates and Broad Foundations—sought to inject greater accountability and market-oriented principles into their efforts (Tompkins-Stange, 2016). In contrast, the building of European education systems benefited from the development of a welfare state which may have crowded out philanthropic activities. Likewise, in parts of Asia, strong centralised states in former middle-income countries such as Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan, assumed responsibility for designing, investing in and implementing robust education policies. Scholars cite increased education quality as a critical factor for their success (Stiglitz, 1996).

In Latin America, the relative weakness of state capacity and the creation of pockets of private wealth make the region more comparable to the United States with its decentralised education system and philanthropic culture than to European or Asian countries that benefited from more centralised state systems. However, this comparison only goes so far since many Latin American countries are caught in a middle-income trap. The region faces two main pathways for escaping the trap and improving education quality in Latin America: invest in improving central state capacity as in Europe and Asia, or follow the philanthropy-driven reform model in the United States. While most low- and middle-income countries have solved the problem of educational access, Latin America suffers from what the World Bank (2018) considers a ‘learning crisis’. Latin America in particular has high school enrolment rates on par with Europe and East and Central Asia. However, its educational quality is lower—and the core component associated with educational quality is teacher quality, a particular challenge in Latin America (Elacqua, Hincapié, Vegas & Alfonso, 2018).

THE MIDDLE-INCOME TRAP

A consequence of Peru’s economic boom during the early twenty-first century was its re-classification as an upper middle-income country in 2005 by the World Bank. In an interview with *El País* in 2012, Bill Gates highlighted Peru as an example of a middle-income country which no longer needed development assistance. You can change many more things in poor countries than when you give aid to a middle-income country like Peru, Gates said. He continued, It has its own mineral resources to exploit and could become as rich as any European country (Aguirre, Gonzalez, Almodova, and de la Rua, 2012).

Middle-income countries include those with GDP per capita of USD 1,026 to USD 12,475, at 2011 prices. According to the World Bank (2017b), ‘middle-income countries are home to five of the world’s seven billion people and 73% of the world’s poor people’.

Increasing national returns from commodities contributed to employment creation and welfare gains, both of which raised per capita incomes. In Peru, for example, GDP per capita tripled from 2000 to 2016. A challenge is for countries dependent on commodity exports to escape the ‘resource curse’ by using proceeds from times of bonanza to diversify production, thus decreasing exposure to commodity cycles while generating more employment for the socially mobile population, as the case of Peru shows (Bird, 2016).

The middle-income criterion assumes that per capita income is an adequate measure of development and that middle-income countries are relatively homogenous in social and economic structure. But evidence suggests that this is not the case given differences in poverty, social inclusion, production, institutions and financial capacity (Bárcena, Prado, Titelman & Pérez, 2011, 2012). For countries with low relative per capita income, a rise in this indicator correlates with an increase in national living standards. Yet this relationship dissolves once passing an income threshold, as seen in countries with high levels of inequality and export commodity dependence, which makes them vulnerable to international shocks. Latin America meets these criteria.

Regardless, the middle-income reclassification triggered a progressive shift of ODA out of Latin America. During the 1960s, ODA to Latin America represented one per cent of the regional GDP and accounted for 14 per cent of the total disbursed, according to the OECD (Agencia Peruana de Cooperación Internacional [APCI], 2016). In the 1990s, the ratio of ODA to regional GDP was on average 0.4 per cent and dropped to 0.2 per cent, reflecting the decreasing trend of ODA to the region as many countries were re-classified as middle-income.

The case of Peru mirrors the fall in ODA for middle-income countries in general. World Bank data indicate that despite an overall increase in ODA between 1990 and 2011, the proportion of ODA channelled to the roughly 100 middle-income countries fell from around 55 per cent to 40 per cent of total ODA, with absolute amounts for middle-income countries remaining constant for over two decades (Alonso, Glennie & Sumner, 2014).

PERU'S SOCIAL INVESTMENT CHALLENGE

Between 2000 and 2016, Peru's per capita GDP tripled, and in 2008 the country registered the second highest GDP growth in the world, according to the World Bank (Bird, 2016). Consistent GDP growth, led by the mining commodities boom and prudent economic policies, enabled Peru to achieve the second highest international investment grade credit ratings in Latin America, according to the three major international credit rating agencies.

Positive economic performance coincided with a fall in international development aid and a concomitant rise in international private aid. By the end of the 1990s, annual flows of Non-Reimbursable Financial Cooperation (NRFC) reached an average of USD 356 million, 83 per cent of which was from ODA, while the balance of 17 per cent was related to private institutions. Since 2005, when Peru was classified as an upper middle-income country, the proportion of NRFC from ODA to private institutions nearly inverted. NRFC reached a historical high of USD 585 million in 2005 and decreased on average 10 per cent per year between

2006 and 2010, with the lowest level of NRFC in 20 years (USD 337 million) in 2014 (APCI, 2016).

On the other hand, the national public budget allocated to education doubled from 2009 to 2017 (Romainville, 2017). In 2017, the Peruvian government spent approximately USD 8.0 billion on education, equivalent to 18.4 per cent of the national budget, making the sector the largest recipient of government funds (Castillo, 2017). Yet, as of 2017, Peru ranked last in South America in terms of public spending in education as a percentage of GDP (Busso, Cristia, Hincapié, Messina & Ripani, 2017).

The evolution of Peruvian macroeconomic data, the increase in public spending and the improvement of quality of life indices would lead one to expect that related human capital measures, such as education, also improved. But this has not been the case, as the World Bank observed: 'From 1990 onward, despite significant investment in basic education and health services that greatly increased coverage, Peru experienced a persistent lack of progress with respect to human development outcomes' (World Bank, 2017a, para. 1). While the economic conditions of the average Peruvian advanced between 2000 and 2015, improvements in education during the same period were not as pronounced. Although per capita income tripled from 2000 to 2016, other parameters captured by the Human Development Index (HDI)[1] increased only modestly, particularly education. Mean years of schooling rose from 6.6 in 1990 to 8.0 in 2000. Thereafter, the figure began to plateau with 8.4 years in 2005 to 8.8 in 2010 and remained stagnant at 9.0 years from 2012 to 2015.

Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) results also evidence the gap between economic success and educational achievement. Peru participated in PISA in 2000 and has been evaluated every three years since 2009. PISA evaluates 15-year-old students in the areas of mathematics, reading and science. Results of the 2012 PISA showed that Peru ranked last of the 65 evaluated countries in the three areas measured. The country's ranking and scores slightly improved in the 2015 evaluation, and of the 72 countries evaluated, it placed 64th in mathematics, 66th in reading and 65th in science (OECD, 2016).

Peru reflects a global pattern wherein other middle-income countries, who have progressively lost ODA, face the challenge of closing the educational achievement gap. The substitution between reduced ODA with increased national income does not translate into increased educational achievement because investment in educational quality is mediated by the

[1] The Human Development Index, developed by the United Nations Development Program, focuses not on economic indicators to measure poverty but on a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living.

state. The government and the private sector have recognised the human development and, more specifically, educational achievement challenge. But to what extent have the philanthropic and social investment interventions in the education sector helped cover this gap?

METHODOLOGY

In 2016, a network of researchers from Peru and 23 other countries collected data via a standardised survey to create the inaugural *Global Philanthropy Report* (*GPR*), an international initiative led by the Hauser Institute for Civil Society at Harvard University's Kennedy School (Johnson, 2018).

Using the *GPR* as a starting point, the Peruvian survey was revised and administered in the country's 10 largest cities to 157 philanthropic and social investment organisations, which included both operating and grant-making entities (León & Bird, 2018). Our sample focused only on organisations involved with social investment via philanthropy, as opposed to narrowly defined corporate social responsibility (CSR), which refers to the goal of investing resources to realise non-financial business returns such as enhanced reputation, more engaged employees, increased retention, legal compliance, a social license to operate or content for marketing and branding campaigns (Matten & Moon, 2008).

The sample was drawn from multiple sources. The first source consisted of a list of registered foundations gathered by the Consejo de Supervigilancia de Fundaciones (Foundations Supervisory Board [CONSUF]), which is part of Peru's Ministry of Justice. The registry provided by the CONSUF included 323 foundations, of which 153 were discovered as active with 90 of these completing the survey. The closed foundations were verified via media searches, site visits and cross-referencing with tax authorities.

The sample also consisted of non-profit associations, a legal form used in Peru as a philanthropic vehicle. We used two sources to identify the philanthropic universe legally constituted as non-profit associations. First, we accessed a database of all the non-profit associations in Peru provided by the Superintendencia Nacional de Registros Públicos (National Records Office [SUNARP]), a government agency. The second source was the Registro de Entidades Perceptoras de Donaciones (Registry of Grant-Receiving Entities) provided by the national tax authority. This list was cross-referenced with the list provided by SUNARP. The strategy to detect non-profit associations that fit our criteria included filtering the list using keywords and employing a snowball sampling strategy. Sixty-seven non-profit associations completed the survey.

The survey was divided into six sections: (i) general information, such as year of founding; (ii) governance, including information on governance; (iii) financial information, including assets, income, expenses and grant activity; (iv) organisational focus, including beneficiary sectors and geographic focus; (v) operational strategies, including collaboration with peers and government; and (vi) evaluation and reporting.

Eighty-seven per cent of the surveys were administered in person and 13 per cent were submitted using an online survey form by the research team between the third quarter of 2016 and the first quarter of 2017. All surveys were input into Qualtrics, an online survey system, and exported into STATA where the database was cleaned, standardised and coded. We performed descriptive statistical analysis and, where indicated, multivariate regressions in STATA 13.

Qualitative data were also collected via in-depth semi-structured personal interviews with 32 organisation leaders and leading philanthropists who founded, fund and/or are members of the organisations' governing bodies. Interviews were then transcribed and coded in NVivo for analysis.

PHILANTHROPY IN EDUCATION IN PERU

Mapping Philanthropy in Education in Peru

Fifty per cent of the organisations surveyed reported investing in education. Our analysis mapped aspects related to investments, age, revenue models, beneficiaries and geographic scope.

Eighty-seven per cent of the organisations that invested in education shared financial information, and of those that shared information, the average spending in their previous fiscal year was USD 387,535. The spending distribution in the sector was highly skewed, with median investment of USD 49,376. Overall, 10 per cent of organisations spent more than USD 1.0 million, 32 per cent between USD 100,000 and USD 1.0 million, 23 per cent between USD 20,000 and USD 100,000 and 35 per cent less than USD 20,000. Twenty per cent of the organisations provided grants, though none were purely grant-making organisations.

While the Peruvian government's investment in education was approximately USD 8.0 billion in 2017, our survey indicated that the philanthropic sector invested USD 27.5 million in education. This estimate of social investment in education is in line with the amounts reported by the mining sector to the Ministry of Mining. As Peru's largest industry with arguably the largest incentives to invest in local public goods, the total social investment spending in education from the mining sector in 2016 was USD 16 million (Arrieta & Zavala, 2017).

Even if we assume that only one-third of the philanthropic investment in the sector was registered, a very conservative estimate, the figure would still represent 0.01 per cent of the 2017 national education budget. This philanthropy to public investment ratio is the same as in the United States (Ferris, Hentschke & Harmssen, 2008).

We segmented organisations based on their main sources of revenue: corporate, family, foreign-funded local affiliates, self-sustaining and diversified:

- Corporate: financing from one or more companies that represents more than 50 per cent of the organisation's revenues. This group includes philanthropic organisations created by companies and partner entities of companies that only receive donations from them.
- Family: financing from one or more families or individuals that represents more than 50 per cent of the organisation's revenues. This group includes philanthropic organisations created by families or individuals and that obtain the highest percentage of their income from specific, periodic or sporadic contributions from individuals and families.
- Local affiliates: financing from other non-profit organisations that represents more than 50 per cent of the organisation's revenues. This group includes affiliate organisations supported by international organisations.
- Self-sustaining: financing from rents, sponsorships, services or events that generates more than 50 per cent of the organisation's revenues. This group includes organisations that do not have external economic financing but generate their own funds from the use of their assets or sale of goods and services.
- Diversified: financing from various sources with none of these sources representing more than 50 per cent of the organisation's revenues. This group includes recipient organisations (companies, families and organisations) that generate their own income.

Differences in the ages of the organisations are apparent when segmented by revenue model (see Table 8.1). The average age of the organisations investing in education was 22 years, with no significant difference between spending range groups.

Corporate and family organisations comprised the largest percentage of the total, accounting for a combined 60 per cent of the sector, and were also the youngest. The average and median age of the corporate and family sectors were 17 years (median of 13 years) and 18 years (median

Table 8.1 *Philanthropic investment in education—organisation type and age*

	Organisations	Sector (%)	Average Age (years)	Median Age (years)
Corporate	26	33	17	13
Family	21	27	18	8
Local Affiliates	7	9	21	14
Self-sustaining	12	15	30	22
Diversified	13	16	32	26
Full Sample	79	100	22	14

Table 8.2 *Philanthropic investment in education—area*

	Early Childhood (%)	Elementary (%)	Secondary (%)	Post-secondary (%)
Corporate	42	73	62	28
Family	57	62	24	24
Local Affiliates	57	43	29	29
Self-sustaining	67	42	25	17
Diversified	46	77	38	38
Full Sample	48	37	39	30

Note: Organisations could submit multiple answers.

of eight years), respectively, which aligns with the emergence of the global commodity boom and Peru's macroeconomic growth in the early 2000s. The age dispersion within the family category was due to the existence of older family foundations combined with the creation of family organisations in the previous 10 years. The longer existence of the self-sustaining and diversified organisations stemmed from the presence of development-minded and church organisations.

Forty-eight per cent of education-focused organisations invested in early childhood, as shown in Table 8.2, for areas ranging from early stimulation to nutrition. Elementary and secondary areas attracted the next highest percentage of organisations with 37 per cent and 39 per cent, respectively, while post-secondary education received attention from less than a third of our sample.

Subtle patterns emerge when examining the target areas by revenue model (see Table 8.2). Corporate organisations focused on elementary and secondary education. Qualitative evidence suggests that this emphasis may have been due to the corporate organisations' concern with their employees' children.

Regarding the geographic scope of investment, nearly 60 per cent of the organisations invested 80 per cent or more of their resources in their local communities. On the other hand, less than 23 per cent invested 80 per cent or more of their resources at the national level. The remainder distributed investments more evenly between local and national domains. Much of this is explained by revenue model, with 65 per cent of corporate organisations focusing on local communities, while 57 per cent of family organisations concentrated locally. The focus on local communities may have stemmed from corporate and family interests in their local areas of influence.

On the other end, 23 per cent of corporate and 19 per cent of family organisations specified a national focus. On the whole, local affiliate, diversified and self-sustaining organisations lacked a more national focus. Compared to corporate and family organisations, self-sustaining and diversified organisations tended to balance their investments between national and local domains.

As for how organisations invest, they mainly do so through their own programmes and scholarships, followed by in-kind donations. The least used mechanism is grant-making, defined as a transfer of grant funds to other organisations (see Table 8.3).

In summary, surveyed organisations were young, locally focused and small. Given the slight size of philanthropic investment relative to the public education budget, the ability to leverage investments and generate impact at scale becomes even more critical.

Table 8.3 Philanthropic investment in education—by mechanism

	Programmes (%)	Grants / Monetary Giving (%)	Scholarships (%)	In-kind Donations (%)
Never	3	61	39	37
Almost never	1	14	5	18
Sometimes	9	14	20	27
Most of the time	14	4	18	9
Always	73	8	18	10

Note: Organisations could submit multiple answers.

Institutional Quality: Transparency, Governance and Operational Mechanisms

The ability to effectively leverage philanthropic investment is influenced by aspects related to institutional quality as measured by transparency, governance and operational mechanisms.

Transparency

We gathered data related to the philanthropic organisations' presence on the internet and in social media, compiled information, and used it to gauge transparency. We assert that organisations that answered affirmatively to the survey questions reflected a higher commitment to transparency by gathering and sharing data related to their financial and organisational performance. Presence on the internet included a proprietary website, Facebook or Twitter. Eighty-one per cent of the organisations had a proprietary website, 66 per cent had presence on Facebook and 35 per cent used Twitter.

When organisations responded that they compiled information, we asked them to classify it into financial and organisational information. Financial information gathered had an additional degree of detail, including a summary of expenses, and unaudited versus audited financial statements. Similarly, organisational information included data on beneficiaries and activity reports.

Eighty-two per cent of our sample gathered information, and all that compiled information reported that they prepared a report of activities. Additionally, 59 per cent generated a summary of expenses, 14 per cent prepared a report of their beneficiaries, 47 per cent generated audited financial statements and 46 per cent prepared unaudited financial statements. Forty-one per cent of the organisations that generated information made publicly available a report of activities, eight per cent published a summary of expenses, five per cent published a report of their beneficiaries and 11 per cent published audited financial statements.

So, while 82 per cent of the organisations surveyed gathered information, only 41 per cent published it. All of the published information included a 'report of activities', while 5 per cent was related to beneficiaries and 11 per cent was audited financial statements. These results indicated limited sharing of information related to financial and organisational performance.

Governance

To analyse governance structure, we surveyed aspects related to the organisations' governing bodies. Ninety-seven per cent of the organisations reported that they had a governing body. We further inquired about the profile of the governing body and its members. The average governing body consisted of seven members, and 51 per cent of the board members were external, 53 per cent did not have a specified length for service and 79 per cent received no compensation. Members of the governing body served a median of three years, attended 6.2 meetings per year and were 39 per cent female.

Our data suggested that larger governing bodies were more likely to publish audited financial information, and two-thirds of the organisations that published audited financial statements were corporate. Of note, the length of service in a governing body related to the likelihood to publish financial information—the median length of service of the governing body members in organisations that published was 2.6 years, while that for those that did not publish was 5.1 years, which may suggest that newer governing body members made greater demands on financial transparency.

Operational mechanisms

Finally, we surveyed organisations on issues related to their operational mechanisms. An analysis of these mechanisms allowed us to identify their level of strategic execution. To determine an organisation's operational mechanisms, we analysed collaboration with peers and government and the development and use of evaluations.

Collaboration is a fundamental component of an organisation's operations. Therefore, we surveyed organisations on their experience collaborating with peers and government. In both cases, we asked whether they engaged in peer learning, co-development and planning of projects or co-funding of initiatives. Organisations could list all the methods they used to collaborate with peers and government and answers included roundtables, research development, cooperation agreements, and supply of services and goods. Sixty-eight per cent of the organisations reported that they collaborate with peers, while 65 per cent reported that they collaborate with government. Of those that collaborate with peers, 53 per cent did so via the co-development of programmes, 49 per cent through peer learning and 29 per cent with joint financing. Of those that collaborated with government, 51 per cent collaborated in the development of programmes, 34 per cent with peer learning and 24 per cent with joint financing. When asked why they did not collaborate more with government, the reasons cited included negative past experiences, incompatibility with public structures, bureaucratic constraints, and political instability which affects continuity. As a sector, however, nearly twice as many education organisations (31 per cent) compared to non-education organisations (16 per cent) collaborated with the government.

We also asked organisations whether they conducted evaluations. If so, we requested an explanation of the type of evaluations conducted, and if results were disseminated internally, externally or both. Seventy-eight per cent responded that they conducted some type of evaluation. Of the organisations that conducted evaluations, over two-thirds reported that they engaged in one or a combination of needs evaluations, process evaluations, qualitative results evaluations, results evaluations without a control group and impact evaluations with a control group and that results were used only for internal purposes. Nineteen per cent of these evaluations were performed by external parties. Twenty-five per cent of the organisations that conducted evaluations used impact evaluations with a control group, the most rigorous type of evaluation. Of the organisations that conducted this type of evaluation, 17 per cent engaged an external party to perform it.

Related to the dissemination of evaluations, we also asked organisations to explain their use. Ninety-seven per cent responded that they used them for internal purposes, 38 per cent for marketing purposes, 29 per cent to influence public policy and 43 per cent for fundraising.

We found, using regression analysis, that there was no statistically significant relationship between publishing audited financial information and conducting evaluations regardless of type. Similarly, there was no statistically significant relationship between the profile of the governing body and an organisation performing evaluations. Over half of the organisations that published financial information and evaluations with external parties were corporate, even though only a third of the education-focused philanthropic organisations came from the corporate sector. Of note, organisations that published audited financial information were twice as likely to use their evaluation evidence publicly for marketing, policymaking and fundraising.

Two-thirds of the organisations that published audited financial information also engaged a third party to conduct impact evaluations with a control group, while only 10 per cent of those that did not publish audited financial information engaged a third party to conduct impact evaluations with a control group.

In sum, an analysis of information transparency, governance and operational mechanisms sheds light on the institutional quality of philanthropic investment in education in Peru. We discovered a link between governing bodies with members with a shorter length of service and the organisation's likelihood to compile and share information. We also found that those most likely to publish audited financial statements conducted the most rigorous impact evaluations with control groups which were performed by third parties.

CONCLUSION

In 2005, Cynthia Sanborn observed that 'a good part of [Latin America's philanthropy] remains scattered and relatively ineffective to produce significant social change – and much of it does not even try' (Sanborn, 2005, p. 46). Our survey in 2017 shows that more *are* trying.

What can we learn from the Peruvian organisations we surveyed and interviewed that could be applicable to other middle-income countries? While the organisations we analysed have a will to influence the sector, do they contribute with ways to translate the country's economic success to educational achievements?

The ratio of philanthropic investment in education to the national education budget in Peru is similar to the ratio in the United States. Therefore, as in the United States, the efficient and strategic deployment of the investment is more relevant than the amount of the investment per se. Despite the significant increase in public investment in the Peruvian national budget, Peru still lags the region in percentage of GDP investment in the sector and educational achievement. Can Peruvian philanthropy close the gap?

The challenge Peru and other middle-income countries face is how to leverage philanthropic investments to generate systemic change. Philanthropic organisations involved in education in Peru are small, young and locally focused. Three-quarters of the organisations conduct evaluations and more than half collaborate with peers and government. However, only a small percentage share results of their evaluations, and an even smaller percentage share audited financial information.

Model organisations share characteristics related to transparency, governance and operational mechanisms (Frumkin, 2005). Media presence, dissemination of financial and operational information, an active governing body with a clear mission, collaboration with peers and government, and the performance and sharing of evaluations are all components that reflect institutional quality. These institutional quality indicators are critical for being successful within a philanthropy-driven reform model.

But how can a small, young, locally focused organisation evolve to a regional benchmark with strong institutional quality, thereby influencing education in Peru? How can these organisations contribute in the process of translating middle-income countries' economic success into well-educated citizens? The analysis of the aforementioned components of institutional quality may provide a prescription for pathways to scale with impact.

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9. Corporate social responsibility and education reform in Brazil: a critical analysis

Heitor Santos

INTRODUCTION

This chapter uses the case of the Intel Corporation in Brazil to explore the tensions surrounding the use of corporate funding to promote education reform, making two main contributions to the field of philanthropy in education. First, it adds to the work that has been done by Ball (2012) and other scholars (Peck & Theodore, 2012; Urry, 2003) towards exploring policy-making outside traditional channels and investigating the structures and nuances of these under-explored 'globalising micro-spaces'. Second, it devotes significant attention to the question of whether it is possible for corporations to make long-term and systemic contributions to the field of education.

While some work has been done when it comes to exploring the role of the private sector in shaping education policy-making in Brazil (e.g., Gandin, 2011; Gandin & Lima, 2016; Krawczyk, 2014; Mainardes & Gandin, 2013), not a lot of concerted efforts have been dedicated to exploring the case of science education, especially when it comes to the involvement of multinational corporations. For example, the work of Krawczyk (2014) does a very good job of showing how Brazilian banks and large foundations have been playing an important role in pushing for the implementation of a charter school-like movement in the country. In a similar way, the studies of Avelar and Ball (2017) and Peroni and Caetano (2015) map the key players behind the movement for Brazil's National Learning Standards, alluding to how the emergence of new philanthropy has blurred the lines between the public and the private. Neither of these studies, however, has focused on initiatives of corporate social responsibility steered by multinational corporations, let alone their implications for the field of science education.

The work of Stephen Ball has made significant contributions when it comes to suggesting that, as the private sector has gotten more involved with that which was once a sole responsibility of the nation-state, the global structures of policy-making have changed from neat, clear decision-making processes to a heterarchy, in which many different stakeholders drive educational change. If multinational corporations were once involved in what has been called 'traditional philanthropy', this model has now been replaced by 'muscular philanthropy', which Smith (2004) describes as the 'intentional and unapologetic use of a foundation's money, position, prestige, and influence to propel change in the face of otherwise effective resistance' (p. 26).

In that sense, it is precisely the fact that corporate reform has assumed more complex and hard-to-map forms that an analysis of these policies requires equally unorthodox methods of analysis. For Peck and Theodore (2012), positivist methodologies pay little attention to 'the social and ideological contexts of the policy-making process, to the politics of knowledge production, or to the more indeterminate zones of policy implementation and practice' (p. 23). The study being presented here follows what Peck and Theodore (2012) call a distended case approach to policy analysis, which 'remains attentive to hierarchical and nodal sources of power, asymmetries in capacities and resources, and so forth' (p. 25).

In light of Peck and Theodore's (2012) call for a judicious combination of observations, documentary analyses and in-depth interviewing, this chapter presents an investigation of the role of the Intel Corporation in promoting education reform in Brazil through its initiatives of Corporate Social Responsibility (henceforth CSR).

For the past two decades, the CSR arm of Intel Brazil has promoted science education reform in the country by developing relationships with local constituencies and periodically taking them to the Intel International Science and Engineering Fair, a science competition that has been sponsored by the company over the past few decades. By funding and encouraging the participation of Brazilian students in the North American competition, it has effectively forced changes in the format of local science competitions in Brazil in order to fit the format and ideology of their U.S. counterparts. This chapter is concerned precisely with mapping the process which allowed for these changes.

This investigation is deeply rooted in my own experience with this corporation and its initiatives in science education. This relationship started as I was a participant in some of the initiatives promoted by this corporation. I then progressed to the position of partner, as the president of a non-profit that directly received money from the Intel Corporation to promote science education in Brazil. It has culminated in my current position as a scholar considering the larger implications of these initiatives in light of existing conversations in the academy. However, while the investigation being presented here is profoundly informed by my personal experience over the past years, it is also deeply grounded in research, which included the reviewing of documents, websites and videos related to the programmes investigated here in order to triangulate the findings with other data sources.

Following the logic of my own trajectory with Intel Corporation, this chapter is divided into three separate sections. It starts with a general presentation of the value of Intel-sponsored science fairs for the promotion of science education in Brazil, then moves to an exploration of the sites of persuasion and spaces of mobilisation which have made this reform possible, and ends with a discussion on the repercussions (or side effects) of the reform it promoted.

SCIENCE FAIRS AND THE PANORAMA OF SCIENCE EDUCATION IN BRAZIL

In order to understand the role of science fairs within the larger structure of science education in Brazil, it is necessary to understand how the Brazilian science curriculum is organised and how the foundations that have been laid down by the federal government have created the conditions that permitted these initiatives to flourish. An understanding of the basic structure of science teaching in Brazil should bring to light, on the one hand, how science fairs might be alternatives to meet existing needs in the education system, and, on the other hand, how these movements might be promoting a conception of science that challenges what has been established by the existing legislation as an authentically Brazilian science education.

The science curriculum in Basic Education in Brazil is regulated by the Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais, or National Curricular Parameters (henceforth NCPs). The National Curricular Parameters for Natural Sciences were published in 1998 by Brazil's Ministry of Education as an attempt to provide teachers with a basis for how to develop their curricula. The NCPs were published as a response to a 1996 law which determined that 'Os currículos da educação infantil, do ensino fundamental e do ensino médio devem ter base nacional comum, a ser complementada, em cada sistema de ensino e em cada estabelecimento escolar, por uma parte diversificada, exigida pelas características regionais e locais da sociedade, da cultura, da economia e dos educandos' [The lower primary, primary, and secondary school curricula must have a national common base, to be complemented, in each education system and in each educational establishment, by a diversified part, demanded by the regional and local characteristics of the society, the culture, the economy, and the pupils] (LDBEN, 1996, Art. 26).

Brazil's Natural Science NCPs propose a fairly holistic understanding of the meaning and purpose of science. The official document says:

> Considering the mandatory nature of middle school in Brazil, one cannot think of the teaching of natural sciences as being preparatory, only focused on a distant future. The student is not just a future citizen, but it is already a citizen today, and in this sense, the process of knowing science is about broadening students' current ability to participate socially and develop mentally, so that they can exercise their citizenship fully.[1] (Ministry of Education and Sport, Secretariat of Basic Education, 1998, p. 23)

Brazil's conception of the value of science teaching, therefore, is very much related to the need to prepare citizens to participate fully in a democracy. In that sense, there is a way in which policy-makers seem to understand that preparing students to master science is a process that also gives them the skills that they need to become better citizens.

At first glance, it is clear that Brazilian education is rooted in a progressive understanding of the value of science, which is more concerned with developing competencies than with covering a particular amount of subject matter. In practice, however, there are other existing structures that have prevented Brazilian schools from teaching in a way that is coherent with the ideas proposed by the NCPs. Among other things, the structure of admissions exams to higher education has forced teachers to apply a one-size-fits-all approach which is focused primarily on preparing students to ace standardised tests rather on understanding science in a contextualised manner (Carvalho & Rezende, 2013).

It is within this context of a broken science curriculum that science fairs emerge as important opportunities for students to explore science with more autonomy, an essential aspect for the development of higher levels of interest in science (Renninger & Hidi, 2016). Taking into consideration the clear need for a reform in the science curriculum in Brazil, Intel's investment in science education in the country tackles a legitimate need for new avenues to explore science. After all, science fairs create a space for students to develop important analytical skills while also pursuing their own interests.

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[1] This is a translation of the following:

> Considerando a obrigatoriedade do ensino fundamental no Brasil, não se pode pensar no ensino de Ciências Naturais como propedêutico ou preparatório, voltado apenas para o futuro distante. O estudante não é só cidadão do futuro, mas já é cidadão hoje, e, nesse sentido, conhecer Ciência é ampliar a sua possibilidade presente de participação social e desenvolvimento mental, para assim viabilizar sua capacidade plena de exercício da cidadania. (Ministry of Education and Sport, Secretariat of Basic Education, 1998, p. 23)

While it is not the oldest or largest, the Brazilian Science and Engineering Fair (FEBRACE) is undoubtedly the most famous science fair in Brazil. In addition to being the science fair with the most funding, it also receives a disproportionately larger amount of media coverage than other science fairs, being the only Brazilian science fair to actually have a nation-wide TV commercial for it. It was launched in 2003 by Dr Roseli de Deus, a professor at the School of Engineering of the University of São Paulo, where the science fair is hosted each year. A few years before founding FEBRACE, Dr de Deus was invited by Intel Brazil to visit the Intel International Science and Engineering Fair (Intel ISEF), organised by the Society for Science and the Public (SSP), a U.S.-based non-profit 'focused on promoting the understanding and appreciation of science and the vital role it plays in human advancement: to inform, educate, and inspire' (Society for Science and the Public, 2018, para. 1). While the International Science and Engineering Fair is promoted and hosted by SSP, Intel Corporation has been its main sponsor since 1997.

Parallel to Intel ISEF, Intel Corporation has hosted the Intel Educator Academy, an event that brings together policy-makers and important stakeholders in the field of science education around the globe to learn more about the structure of Intel ISEF, exchange ideas and make plans and commitments that can be brought back to their countries. While the structure of the Intel Educator Academy will be further discussed in the following section, it was through the Educator Academy that Dr de Deus became familiar with the format of U.S. science fairs and extracted most of the structure that would later guide the way FEBRACE is organised. In that sense, Intel's support was instrumental in promoting the creation of what is now one of the most important science competitions in Brazil.

FEBRACE's main contribution to Brazilian education is very well-synthesised in its three main goals: (1) To stimulate new vocations in science and engineering through the development of creative and innovative projects; (2) To bring public and private schools closer to universities, creating opportunities for spontaneous interactions among students and teachers with the community of the University (students, faculty, and staff) for a better understanding of the role of universities in teaching, research, culture and extension courses; (3) To create opportunities for Brazilian pre-college students to be in contact with different cultures and be closer to well-known scientists[2] (Feira Brasileira de Ciências e Engenharia, 2018).

[2] This is a translation of the following points:

Estimular novas vocações em Ciências e Engenharia através do desenvolvimento de projetos criativos e inovadores.

In light of what has been seen so far, a few aspects seem worthy of consideration. First, the experience of going to a science fair like FEBRACE certainly places a career in science and engineering in the realm of possibility for many students. Angela Duckworth's (2016) research on grit has already suggested that people have a higher tendency to work harder and continue to persist on their pursuits if they are first given the possibility of exploring it loosely. Additionally, Depieri's (2014) work has shown that students involved in science fairs are more likely to demonstrate more positive attitudes towards pursuing a career in engineering than students who do not participate in these events. In that sense, just by virtue of being separate from the traditional school curriculum, science fairs like FEBRACE provide students with the opportunity to pursue their interest in science while also changing their perceptions towards the pursuit of a career in this area.

Additionally, science fairs certainly bring students closer to universities, first, because of the very place in which some of these events are located. Students coming to FEBRACE have the opportunity to have lunch at some of the dining halls of the University of São Paulo, one of the most distinguished universities in South America. Second, they are exposed to university students and faculty, since project judges are usually PhD students and professors at the University of São Paulo, which gives students the opportunity to talk about their science research with some of the country's most high-calibre researchers.

Finally, FEBRACE also does an incredible job when it comes to creating opportunities for Brazilian students to be in contact with different cultures. By bringing together students from all over the country and adding specific events in its schedule to promote cultural interchange among them, the science fair truly gives students a new perspective on the possibilities available to them. Many states and local municipalities have allocated specific funding to allow public school students to attend these national science fairs. In that sense, the very act of going to an event somewhere else in the country is a life-changing experience for many students, many of which are leaving their cities for the first time.

In summary, in light of the existing structure and need for reform in the science curriculum in Brazil, science fairs are important additions

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Aproximar as escolas públicas e privadas das Universidades, criando oportunidades de interação espontânea entre os estudantes e professores das escolas com a comunidade universitária (estudantes, professores, funcionários), para uma melhor compreensão dos papéis das universidades em Ensino, Pesquisa, Cultura e Extensão.
Criar uma oportunidade para jovens pré-universitários brasileiros entrarem em contato com diferentes culturas e estarem próximos de reconhecidos cientistas. (Feira Brasileira de Ciências e Engenharia, 2018)

to Brazilian education, and they encourage students to have a positive attitude towards science, in addition to providing them with opportunities which they do not traditionally have in the science classroom, such as cultural exchange, interactions with high-level researchers and the pursuit of their own interests in the area. The following section is dedicated to exploring how these science competitions are formed, with particular attention to the role of the Intel Corporation in creating the spaces of policy mobilisation that bring different stakeholders into the conversation.

INTEL CORPORATION AND SCIENCE EDUCATION

Having considered some of the products of Intel's investment in science education in Brazil, it is now relevant to take a close look at the ways in which these policies came to be implemented. It has already been said that the Intel Educator Academy played an important role in encouraging the foundation of FEBRACE, which is now Brazil's most well-known science fair. This section is particularly concerned with analysing how events like the Intel Educator Academy function as spaces of policy mobilisation, which eventually lead to the implementation of competitions like FEBRACE.

Understanding Intel's strategy for mobilising policy is essential, not only because it brings to light the 'social processes through which policy rationales, rationalities, and routines are constructed and reconstructed, made and unmade' (Peck & Theodore, 2012, p. 24), but because these social processes are also crucial when it comes to defining the parameters through which policy will be implemented. That is, not only is muscular philanthropy concerned with promoting change, but it is concerned with promoting change under a very particular framework, a process which David Harvey (2005) calls the 'construction of consent' (p. 39).

Talking about this 'new philanthropy', Ball (2012) highlights the importance of conferences such as the Clinton Global Initiative University conference, arguing that they function as 'new sites of policy mobilization and "globalizing micro-space"' (p. 66):

> These sites, events and activities, or 'moments of encounter' (Amin & Thrift, 2002, p. 30), and the social networks which join them up, operate between and beyond traditionally defined arenas of policy formulation, such as localities, regions and nations – on a different scale and in different spaces. (Ball, 2012, p. 66)

Indeed, the context of the Intel Educator Academy is very much that of creating a globalising micro-space—an essential factor in the creation of these new policy frameworks that foster the neoliberal imaginary. It is through the Educator Academy that Intel recruits and convinces policy-makers and stakeholders from countries all over the world that their system of science education is worth being implemented. And this process of construction of consent happens not only through the event itself but also the perks that come with it—guests stay in expensive hotels, eat in expensive restaurants, meet important policy-makers and, above all, network among themselves (Intel, 2017; U.S. Chamber of Commerce Foundation, 2019).

At each edition of the Intel Educator Academy, each participating country brings stakeholders (science fair directors, government officials, non-profit leaders, etc.), who work in groups, not only attending talks but also socialising and discussing the implications of the experience at the Educator Academy for their countries. Once these leaders come back to their respective countries, the local education managers for Intel Corporation do the work of ensuring that the relationships that were built at these conferences ultimately culminate in governmental and community buy-in for their programmes. This is where local non-profit organisations (at least in the case of Brazil) do the rest of the work: if Intel takes these executives abroad to show them the model, these local organisations do the groundwork by meeting with teachers and ensuring that the projects that they are teaching in schools fit with the model that is expected of them. One of the best examples for this case is the Secretariat of Education of the Municipality of Recife. Their local representative participated at the Intel Educator Academy in May 2015, the same year I participated as a guest speaker from Intel Brazil. Upon our return to Brazil, my local non-profit worked with educators from Recife's Secretary of Education in order to launch its first local science fair (Prefeitura do Recife, 2015).

Just as events like the Educator Academy are used as sites of persuasion so that stakeholders can be convinced of the importance of promoting science in their countries, it is also important to explore the implications of this policy implementation on the ground. That is, once consensus is constructed and stakeholders choose to start a movement that promotes science in their countries, they end up getting more than international travel and fine dining experiences. In the case of Brazil, the importation of the Intel ISEF model of science fairs had several implications for the implementation of such a model in the country. Three deserve particular attention: the propagation of a meritocratic view of science fairs; a positivist, product-oriented understanding of the value of science; and very strict guidelines for science projects.

First, the way in which Intel ISEF recruits its participants and carries out its own activities makes it clear that it is trying to defend the idea that students who have made it this far are part of an elite. One of the most evident ways in which this message gets communicated is in the discourse used by the presenters at the opening ceremony of the science fair. Students are often complimented with phrases such as 'the brightest young minds in the world', which was written on posters all over the Phoenix Convention Center during Intel ISEF 2013. It is not just the language that contributed to the formation of this elite. At the 2011 edition of Intel ISEF, SSP closed the entire Hollywood Universal studios and provided free, unlimited access to the park and its food courts to all Intel ISEF finalists.

FEBRACE also has a separate system for selection of Intel ISEF finalists, which is made evident by the fact that the best performing projects at FEBRACE are not always the ones selected to be finalists at ISEF. During both my experiences as a finalist at FEBRACE in 2010 and 2012, I was explicitly approached by judges who introduced themselves as being part of a committee which was charged with selecting projects for ISEF. The concerns of these judges differed from those of the other regular judges in two particular aspects: my ability to present my project in English and the existence of statistical evidence for my research findings. These serve to show a concern for selecting projects which would be considered competitive at ISEF.

This focus on competition is certainly not coherent with the values put forth by the NCPs, which suggest that the focus of science learning should be for people to strengthen their bonds with each other and understand the impact of their actions on the environment. It is also not in tune with the purpose of the national fund for science competitions deployed by the federal government, as per their own official document (see Ministry of Education and Sport, Secretariat of Basic Education, 2006), which maintains a progressive understanding of the value of these competitions by asserting that their main purpose is to allow students to be in contact with the public and share their science discoveries in the classroom.

In that sense, the fact that FEBRACE is so particular in its system for selecting projects that get to participate in ISEF also raises a question of equity in access to these competitions. Who gets to participate in competitions like ISEF and what type of science does one need to produce in order to qualify and have access to that experience? And once students figure out the model of science that is validated by this competition in particular, what does it say about other ways of doing science or the epistemological plurality that these science competitions are supposed to foster?

Unsurprisingly, FEBRACE's model of what good science and innovation looks like is very much in line with the model proposed by Intel—the very logo of the science fair is a machine that makes an allusion to a production of science that is not palpable or cannot be easily translated into a product. Even though having a good engineering project most of the times guarantees that someone will get a spot as a finalist at Intel ISEF, the same is not true for projects in the humanities and social sciences, where a lot more statistical and quantifiable results would be necessary.

The third and final implication of adopting Intel's framework for science teaching is that, since projects selected to participate at Intel ISEF need to follow specific rules for how the research is conducted and approved, all local Brazilian science fairs which intend to do something similar need to adopt the same rules. The problem, however, is that these rules are not always easily translated to a country which has an education system that is so strict both in the number of hours that are allocated for students to be working with teachers and in the type of subject matter that teachers should be covering in their lessons.

One example is the requirement for the number of students involved in one particular project. Because Intel ISEF determines that group projects be planned and carried out by groups of not more than three students (Society for Science and the Public, 2019), partner science fairs like FEBRACE have established the same rules so that all of their projects are eligible for the U.S. competition. This requirement, however, is extremely unrealistic for most Brazilian schools, where natural science is mandatory in the curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2019) and teachers have anywhere between 10 and 30 students in a classroom (Observatório da Criança e do Adolescente, 2019). In the context of the United States, where students may opt to matriculate into science classes, it might be more realistic to create requirements in which smaller groups of students would be able to work with the science teacher to conduct their own research. In the case of Brazil, however, from the perspective of equity, a science teacher who does not get paid for extracurricular programming would have to find a way to accommodate 10 to 15 groups of three students if science projects were to align with the Intel ISEF requirements.

Other examples are the forms required of students so that they can do specific types of research. Intel ISEF (and, consequently, FEBRACE) requires all student project proposals to be read and approved by a Scientific Review Committee (SRC), which would be the school's equivalent of an Institutional Review Board (IRB) (Feira Brasileira de Ciências e Engenharia, 2019; Society for Science and the Public, 2019). While the structure of an SRC is very warranted, especially given U.S. laws which require students be working in the right conditions in order to avoid any sort of liability to the school, its requirements are often very unrealistic for the average Brazilian public school. For example, it is very hard for schools to have either a medical doctor or someone with a master's degree in the area in which the project is written, so that they can review the project proposal and approve it beforehand.

It is important to notice that Intel's way of structuring science competitions did not just affect the way science fairs in Brazil were structured, including what they valued about science, but it also excluded those that chose not to abide by its standards. One of the best examples of this case is Ciência Jovem, a science fair that is much older than FEBRACE and other Intel-sponsored science fairs. The science fair's website describes its mission as 'que professores e alunos se sintam estimulados a elaborar e executar trabalhos científicos de forma integrada ao currículo da escola' [stimulating teachers and students to elaborate and execute science projects in a way that is integrated to the school curriculum] (Espaço Ciência, 2018, para. 4). Ciência Jovem allows its science project entries to include entire classrooms of students, and unlike FEBRACE, there is a stronger focus on the process of discovering the scientific method and its procedures than on the actual need for students to make a tangible and measurable contribution to the scientific community. However, because of its more relaxed rules towards the science projects it receives, this science fair is also limited in its ability to send students to compete in larger competitions like FEBRACE, since many of its projects do not fit the requirements for team size or the forms that need to be filled out. Consequently, some of the projects that participate in this alternative movement will never qualify to have access to the opportunities afforded by competitions like FEBRACE.

What is clear, then, is that while Intel's initiatives come with the goal of addressing a real need in the Brazilian science curriculum, the reverberations of its reforms go beyond the establishment of a movement for pre-college science research. Instead, Intel's investment in science education in Brazil has effectively challenged the foundations of the science curriculum in Brazil, introducing not only a new way of understanding the value of science but also a new way of structuring science competitions, which reverberated in such a way that excluded the science fairs that did not abide by its strict standards. The following section takes this discussion to the next level by further exploring the implications of Intel's investment in science education in Brazil, paying close attention to the sustainability of the changes it promoted.

THE LEGACIES OF CORPORATE EDUCATION REFORM

Having understood the ways in which science fairs come to meet existing needs in the Brazilian education system and the mechanisms utilised by Intel as a multinational corporation to include them in the policy agenda, a third and final issue needs to be taken into consideration, which is the inconsistency of the funding support provided by multinational corporations and the implications of an eventual divestment for the local movements in science education. In other words: what happens when the implemented policy is no longer of interest to the corporations that worked to put them in place, and what does that mean for the very legitimacy of initiatives of CSR?

On 14 February 2017, *The New York Times* published an article entitled 'Intel Drops Its Sponsorships of Science Fairs, Promoting Identity Crisis'. In addition to discussing the history of the relationship between Intel and ISEF, the article narrated a discussion between Brian Krzanich, Intel's chief executive, and Craig Barret, a former chief executive at the same company:

> The Intel decision provoked a sharp difference of opinion between Brian Krzanich, Intel's current chief executive, and Craig R. Barrett, a former Intel chairman and chief executive.
>
> Mr. Krzanich has told colleagues privately that the science fairs were the fairs of the past and had become tilted to life sciences and biotechnology, not primary fields for Intel, according to two people who are not authorized to speak publicly for the company.
>
> Mr. Barrett disagreed. In an email, he said, 'you might instead conclude that Intel is a company of the past, just like Westinghouse when they dropped sponsorship of the national science fair in 1998'.
>
> Mr. Barrett, who is on the board of the Society for Science [for Science and the Public], also said that all of science has become data-driven and computational, so Intel has a stake in nurturing youthful innovators in all scientific disciplines, including the life sciences. (Lohr, 2017)

What the excerpt above shows is that there is a way in which the investment in science education through programmes of CSR, at least in this particular case, is not necessarily something that envisions a larger, common goal of improving science education worldwide or contributing to the creation of a science, technology, engineering and mathematics pipeline. Instead, science fairs are considered a means to an end—an investment that is only considered worthwhile insofar as it contributes to the company's private interests. This assertion actually blurs the line between CSR, which was once assumed to be devoid of an interest in a direct return, and philanthrocapitalism, or 'the New Philanthropy', as Ball has named it, since benefactors are now becoming consumers of the social investment or at least make their policy decisions as if it were so (Ball, 2012).

The consequences of Intel pulling back from investing in science fairs are many. FEBRACE started a social media campaign called '#febracevaleapena' or 'FEBRACE is worth it'. Since 2018, the University of São Paulo has also suspended its local science fair (MOP – Mostra Paulista de Ciências e Engenharia), also due to the lack of funding for science competitions.

One of the main issues to be considered here is the fact that, despite placing so many of its resources towards ensuring that its movement for science fairs in Brazil would serve as a model for all other initiatives in science education and ensuring that there would be government buy-in, Intel did not place the same amount of effort into ensuring that the movements it was establishing in Brazil would be self-sustaining in the long-term. Despite decades of investment in science fairs in Brazil, the impact of Intel's initiative was extremely limited, since it did not ultimately promote a sustainable change for the issue it proposed to improve—that is, the existing deficiency in the science curriculum in Brazil.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

There is nothing objectively wrong with the involvement of the private sector when it comes to improving science education, in Brazil or anywhere else in the world. As Ferguson (2010) suggests, one needs to be careful with the blatant criticism of neoliberal practices, especially when the involvement of the private sector provides people with support and resources that the nation-state has historically failed to provide. It is equally important, however, to be careful not to interpret welcoming of the influence of the private sector as a free pass for it to change the way the education system is run.

It would also be extremely naive to assume that every movement for improving an education system needs to be necessarily rooted in the cultural rituals and traditions of a country. After all, acknowledging the global nature of education and the global politics of educational borrowing and lending necessitates that we also agree that certain changes that come from the global to the local can be extremely valid, even if they implicate certain ruptures with local customs. It would be simplistic to assume such a critical position that asserts that the West has nothing to contribute to the Global South.

In the case of science education, there is a way in which Intel's investment in Brazil has worked to implement a seriously ground-breaking way of thinking about school science. Even though the Brazilian education system is progressive and social constructivist in nature, other underlying circumstances for the context of science teaching, such as the lack of highly qualified teachers ascending to the teaching profession and a traditionalist, content-based system of admission to higher education, has prevented these progressive ideals from being put into practice. In that sense, Intel's investment in science has truly created avenues for students to explore and develop their interest in science which would not exist otherwise.

However, despite the clearly positive consequences of Intel's investment in initiatives of science education, two important issues come to the surface. First, it has become clear how CSR, particularly from the perspective of North American corporations, effectively functions as a U.S. imperial project abroad—changing ideologies and establishing relationships of dependency that ultimately reinforce the neoliberal imaginary, as conceived in the United States. Second, and equally important, is that one needs to ask what happens to these initiatives of science education when private corporations stop supporting them financially, for one reason or another. That is, not only have these multinational corporations contributed to the creation of a system that is not necessarily in tune with the local concept of nationhood, but they have also failed to create self-sustaining, long-lasting systems. No private corporation can guarantee their perennial support for certain initiatives, but have they worked with local organisations to support the building of such structures? On the one hand, one is left wondering: what would have happened if, instead of investing its time, money and energy into replicating a U.S. model of science teaching abroad, Intel had invested its money in educating teachers and reforming the science curriculum in Brazilian schools in order to eliminate the existing inequalities in access to resources? On the other hand, an equally valid question comes to mind: would Intel ever make such an investment, knowing that its outcomes might not be of direct interest to the company?

The paradox that lies between these two sets of questions lands precisely in line with the question that this chapter posed: is it possible for corporations to make long-term and systemic contributions to the field of education?

The key takeaway from this reflection lies not only in the unceasing critical examination of the role of private corporations but precisely in the need for examples of adequate, sustainable and respectful experiences of CSR which might serve as models for sustainable corporate education reform, if such a thing is at all possible.

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10. Interrogating corporate philanthropy in education: the case of Nigeria

Inyang Udo-Umoren

INTRODUCTION

Upon independence from colonial rule, education held promise and hopes for the African continent. Yet, the rapid pace at which the sector grew did not sustain dreams of more schools, teachers, learners and innovations. Consequently, the twentieth century has seen schools in many countries facing conditions which have been summarised by Samoff and Carrol (2013) as having 'no teachers' guides, no textbooks, not even chairs' (p. 403). As of 2014, Nigeria, the largest country in Africa by population size, had over 10 million of the 57 million out-of-school children globally (UNESCO, 2014). While its out-of-school population increased by 42 per cent between 1999 and 2010, Ethiopia, the second most populous nation in Sub-Saharan Africa, had a three-quarters reduction in its out-of-school population (UNESCO, 2014).

A number of demand and supply factors affect access to basic education in Nigeria and funding features across the spectrum. From a demand perspective, it is arguable that household income is strongly associated with enrolment; therefore, high direct costs of education constitute a deterrent for children from the poorest backgrounds, especially in the northern region (World Bank, 2008). Although basic education is free, in principle, some direct costs such as expenditures on books, uniforms and other educational materials are passed onto households, including various forms of charges that may as well serve as indirect tuition fees. Over 60 per cent of the Nigerian population is poor (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2012) and unable to afford these costs, particularly in rural areas.

Supply side factors have generally been poor. The World Bank (2008) reported that the quality of education is weak, as indicated by inadequate inputs such as textbooks and instructional materials. Also, there is a shortage of well-maintained educational and sanitary facilities as well as a shortage of qualified staff (World Bank, 2008). Nigeria was estimated to have the largest gap in recruiting additional primary teachers with a need for 212,000 teachers between 2011 and 2015 (UNESCO, 2014).

Insufficient state funding and a declining trend in foreign aid presupposes a need to explore other means of financing education in developing countries. Alongside several developing countries experiencing financial constraints, Nigeria has historically been dependent on aid from bilateral and multilateral donors for educational development, among other sectors. However, even though the country has the highest number of out-of-school children in Sub-Saharan Africa, it is not among the top 10 recipients of aid.

The private sector is increasingly being targeted as an alternative source of finance. Burnett and Bermingham (2010) point out that an important source of financing is still often neglected or excluded from the current debate: the country's domestic resources. These domestic resources include private foreign direct investments and philanthropic donations from private philanthropists and foundations. Private philanthropic resources are a support to bridge gaps in national and donor governments' commitments to achieving universal, quality education for all (Srivastava & Oh, 2010; van Fleet, 2012). Given the prevailing financial circumstances in some developing countries, and particularly Nigeria in this instance, corporate philanthropy, through corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives, presents an alternative finance model worth exploring.

CORPORATE PHILANTHROPY AND CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Businesses contribute their resources to social services like education through corporate social engagement activities, but the terms and definitions are often unclear and contradictory (Garriga & Melé, 2004; Husted & Allen, 2006). Business scholars have argued that businesses have four responsibilities to society—economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic (Carroll, 1979, 1991; Matten & Moon, 2008). Ethical and philanthropic responsibilities are less self-explanatory than the former two. Conducting business in an ethical manner represents ethical responsibilities and philanthropic responsibilities which can be defined as 'those corporate actions that are in response to society's expectation that business be a good corporate citizen. These include actively engaging in acts or programmes to promote human welfare or good will' (Carroll, 1991, p. 42). Given the consideration that ethical and philanthropic responsibilities can be classified as those responsibilities 'beyond' the economic and legal responsibilities of a corporation, Carroll and Shabana (2010) suggest that these two may well be understood as the essence of CSR as they are the elements considered in the debate of what constitutes the nature and extent of additional corporate obligations to the society. Although CSR can be classified as an 'umbrella' term for the varied responsibilities that businesses have within society, including philanthropy, the term *CSR initiatives* is also used to characterise corporate philanthropy.

Historically, philanthropy has been viewed as activities undertaken for purely altruistic reasons where no returns/benefits are expected. However, within the business context, altruistic motivations are debatable. Traditionally defined as 'goodness' and a 'habit of doing good' (Sulek, 2010, p. 195), philanthropy has evolved over the years to be conceptualised as donation of money for good causes (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development [OECD], 2003), which Srivastava and Oh (2010) noted places emphasis on the donation of money, not on the classical benevolent acts but through organised structures.

MODES OF CORPORATE PHILANTHROPY IN EDUCATION

CSR investments in education are largely considered philanthropic, although the convergence of business interests and philanthropy appears to blur the lines of engagement and CSR initiatives cover a wide range of activities. The modes of private participation in education are conceived to cover instances where the private sector is involved in the provision of education service either through private finance or government finance (Patrinos, Osorio & Guáqueta, 2009). However, corporate philanthropy as a form of private sector participation is said to fall within the schema where only financial contributions are made, while the provision and delivery of education is left to the state (LaRocque, 2008), as depicted in the Table 10.1. It is worth mentioning that there is really no clear demarcation as some companies are known to be involved in provision of education through their own private (fee-paying) or public (subsidised or free) schools.

Direct Contributions

Traditionally, corporate contributions have been in the form of donations to support schools either directly or through corporate foundations (Colvin, 2005), with the use of foundations being primarily for tax purposes as companies are allowed to write-off financial profits as corporate giving for charitable purposes (van Fleet, 2012). Some corporations make

Table 10.1 Financing versus provision of government services

	Private Provision	Public Provision
Private Financing	Traditional fee-paying private schools	Private philanthropic ventures Tuition fees and other user fees in public schools Adopt-a-school programmes
Public Financing	Contract schools Charter schools Voucher programmes Private school subsidy programmes	Traditional public schools

Note: Based on LaRocque (2008).

cash donations through grant schemes while in-kind contributions may consist of tangible products or services. With the education sector in some countries experiencing issues of access and quality, some companies are extending into provision of private education but on a non-profit basis. Van Fleet (2012) found that the projected annual U.S. corporate contribution to education in developing countries is a few dollars short of USD 500 million dollars, placing U.S. companies, on aggregate, as the seventh largest donor group to education in developing countries. However, cash donations constitute only 70 per cent of that amount, with the remaining 30 per cent being in-kind donations and professional services.

Adopt-a-school programmes are also popular with companies and often involve corporations assisting the poorest public schools with cash and in-kind products as a means of complementing government funding. However, there are instances where corporations run non-profit schools as part of their CSR initiatives. For example, Bradesco Bank in Brazil, through its corporate foundation (a non-profit entity) that was founded in 1956, currently maintains 40 schools in underprivileged regions across Brazil and is considered the largest private education provider in the country (Bhanji, 2008; Bradesco Bank, 2014). As of 2006, the World Economic Forum (WEF) reported that at least half a million children had been through the schools and the dropout rates were lower than three per cent (as cited in Bhanji, 2008).

Partnerships

Ordinarily, companies partner with non-profit organisations or charities to distribute their social budget (Valor, 2007), but in recent years, collaboration with various actors has become prominent. Given the growing focus on the achievement of education and development goals, corporations are now working with states and multilateral agencies. One current argument is that governments need to work with a range of actors representing the private sector—corporations, civil society, independent experts and communities, termed public–private partnerships (PPPs). A PPP can be defined as 'a model of development cooperation in which actors from the private sector (private corporations, corporate foundations, groups or associations of business) and the public sector (Ministry, local authorities) pool together complementary expertise and resources to achieve development goals' (Genevois, 2010, p. 110). Another level of partnership which appears to be preferred by the WEF is called multi-stakeholder partnerships for education (MSPEs), and their appeal lies in the broader coalition of partners and stakeholders beyond public and private sectors. Within the context of PPP, engagement may be formal or contractual with the state determining the scope, priorities, outputs and performance indices (LaRocque, 2008); however, a collaborative and participatory approach to policy-making and implementation on broader social issues is adopted for multi-stakeholder partnerships, hence their frequent usage in relation to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals.

CORPORATE PHILANTHROPY IN EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

CSR has been predominantly shaped by the West, and its origin in Nigeria is traceable to the multinational companies (MNCs) in operation within the oil sector. MNCs like Shell Oil have been operating in Nigeria even before its independence from colonial rule in 1960, and as part of its community development initiatives, it has built classrooms, awarded scholarships and provided stipends for teachers willing to teach in rural areas, among others. A number of researchers have argued that the CSR practices of MNCs in the oil sector serve as a means of protecting business interests that may be jeopardised by the effects of their extraction activities on the communities where they operate (Akpan, 2006; Amaeshi, Adi, Ogbechie & Amao, 2006).

With the growing influence of globalisation, indigenous companies in Nigeria are now claiming to recognise their social responsibilities and, therefore, engage in CSR practices; however, they adopt a philanthropic/altruistic approach to CSR and often education features as a top priority (Amaeshi et al., 2006; Obalola, 2008). This trend was also observed in a survey of 85 companies drawn from six African countries, excluding

Nigeria (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, 2009). Amaeshi et al. (2006) also found that although the CSR practices of MNCs operating in Nigeria were a reflection of business systems in their home countries, indigenous companies use CSR as a tool for addressing socio-economic issues.

Indigenous companies in Nigeria identify with the challenges within the education sector in Nigeria, and while some respond on an ad hoc basis, others adopt a more strategic approach by incorporating education into their CSR policies or establishing foundations. Education is named as a priority philanthropic activity by CSR and managers within the insurance industry (Obalola, 2008) and banking industry (Amaeshi et al., 2006). Although most of the education initiatives run by indigenous firms are done in partnership with the government, often at state or local government levels, participation in global partnerships is growing.

As of 2015, just two indigenous Nigerian companies, Dangote Group and Oando Plc,[1] were members of the Global Business Coalition for Education (GBC-Education), an organisation that attempts to bring together businesses with the aim of accelerating delivery of quality education globally. While Dangote Group, an industrial conglomerate, is a platinum member of the GBC-Education, Oando Plc is a gold member. The implications of these membership levels indicate their commitment to making significant investments in education using the following components: core assets, thought leadership, CSR and/or strategic philanthropy for platinum members; investments via CSR and/or strategic philanthropy for gold members (Global Business Coalition for Education, 2014). Nigeria is an emerging economy, and there are good economic prospects (AfDB, OECD & UNDP, 2014); therefore, there also exists the hope that more indigenous companies will also join global partnerships for development, like the GBC-Education.

While indigenous companies in Nigeria and other African countries have been found to consider education a high priority, their contributions do not appear to garner the same attention as activities by MNCs because of differences in the scale of operations. Generally, within business research, there is a relative dearth of literature on CSR practices by African companies (Amaeshi et al., 2006), and it is also notable that literature reviewed for this study is predominantly comprised of research on activities by MNCs and transnational corporations (TNCs) within education

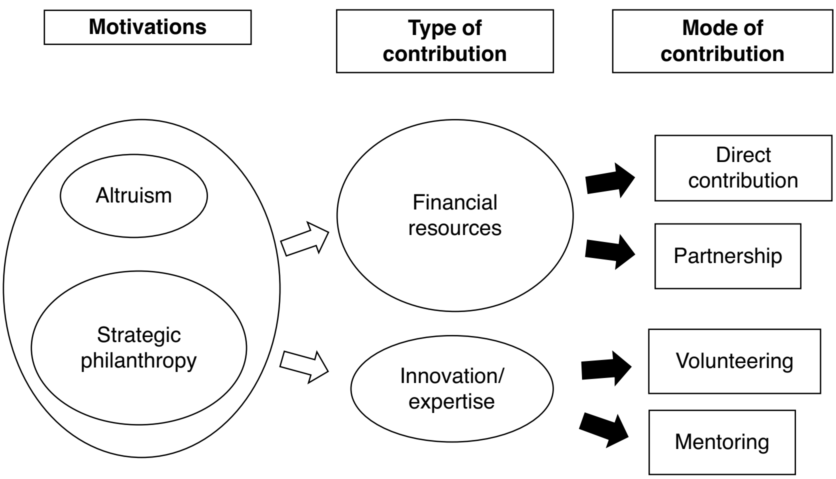
[1] These were among the companies in the secondary sample for this study. As explained later, documentary evidence of the CSR practices of these companies is publicly available, and no one at these companies was interviewed. Therefore, anonymity was not a consideration for these.

(Bhanji, 2008, 2012; Draxler, 2008, 2012; van Fleet, 2012). There may be a presumption that CSR practices are homogeneous, but a common strand observed through cultural and national studies shows that CSR practice is socio-culturally embedded (Amaeshi et al., 2006). Therefore, a need to explore the CSR initiatives of indigenous companies in Nigeria is necessary to understand the current practice and how that may fit within global discourse on achieving educational goals.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Underlying the argument for participation of the private sector through CSR in education is the question of what the corporations stand to gain by supporting social causes. Figure 10.1 represents the dynamics of corporate engagement and attempts to explain the interaction between the different themes identified in the research literature.

Economic and social motivations are not mutually exclusive but integrative in the backdrop of CSR. The argument for altruistic reasons for CSR is quite weak, as shown in Figure 10.1, but it is apparent that for any meaningful engagement of the corporate sector in social objectives, elements of economic pursuits cannot be left out. Company rationales for engagement may determine the forms and modes of CSR practices. Motivations that border on enhancing visibility are likely to be demonstrated through cash



Source: Drawn from Bhanji (2008, 2012) and van Fleet (2012).

Figure 10.1 Conceptual framework

gifts and cause-related marketing initiatives such as sponsorships and in-kind donations of products (Porter & Kramer, 2002). Cash gifts constitute a larger proportion of CSR contributions to developing countries (van Fleet, 2012), as shown in Figure 10.1. On the other hand, engagement through innovation and expertise is likely to indicate intentions to influence policy directions and is often supported by the political economy of the environment. Also, these are often from the angle of provision of education. As captured by Ball (2008), individuals and corporate bodies involved in policy networks and communities attempt to foster a new form of governance through experimentation while 'shaping education mission statements' (Jessop, 2002 as quoted by Ball, 2008, p. 743).

METHODOLOGY

The key purpose of this study was understanding how the Nigerian corporate sector perceives and contributes towards the educational needs of the country and how, in turn, researchers may understand the place of these contributions in the scheme of global education goals. The scope for the study included understanding the current focus and trend of CSR in education in Nigeria by indigenous organisations and comparing these with foreign-owned organisations; understanding the motivations influencing CSR initiatives in Nigeria; and understanding the implications and limitations of CSR initiatives on financing the Nigerian education sector.

A qualitative approach was adopted for this study as it allows for an investigation of the meaning or nature of experience of 'social life which [is] not amenable to quantitative measurement' (Jupp, 2006, p. 237). As defined by Yin (1994), a case study is 'an empirical inquiry that: investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident; and. . . [that] relies on multiple sources of evidence' (cited in Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999, p. 372). A comparative case study method allows for a 'comparison of two or more data points ("cases") obtained through the case study method' (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999, p. 372).

Using a comparative study method, two organisations—an indigenous and a foreign-owned organisation—were examined as cases. However, references to other companies operating in Nigeria are made intermittently as a secondary sample. The key focus was not only on the similarities of processes but the nature of differences between the cases and how this may inform the dynamics of CSR initiatives in education.

Data Requirements and Sources

Embedded in the definition of case study research by Yin (1994) is a key feature of the method—reliance on multiple sources of data. As part of the research design for this study, primary and secondary sources of data were used—interviews and documentary evidence. The researcher conducted two semi-structured, in-depth interviews via telephone and obtained documentary data from public documents: company annual and CSR/sustainability reports, press releases, organisation websites and other publications on company CSR activities in Nigeria. The interviews were supported by an interview schedule made up of a list of issues relevant to the study identified from the literature review, and these included motivations of business engagement in corporate philanthropy, criteria for selection of beneficiaries, actual contributions and partnerships. However, by virtue of the semi-structured format, additional questions were asked to probe points raised during the discussions.

Purposive sampling was employed in the selection of the two companies investigated as the central cases. Although the original intention was to include more than two central cases, gaining access and acceptance to participate in the study was difficult. However, the two companies with whom interviews were conducted adequately serve the research purpose of comparing CSR activities between indigenously owned companies and companies with majority foreign ownership. Within the secondary sample of companies drawn upon for further comparison, there is a blend of Nigerian-owned and -run companies and MNCs. Data from the companies chosen guided enquiry into the processes and strategies employed in the design and implementation of education CSR initiatives as well as enabled understanding of the varying motivations for engagement in education CSR projects.

Data Analysis

Given the exploratory nature of this study, a conceptual framework (see Figure 10.1), built from a review of current literature, served as a theoretical foundation to enable examination and interpretation of the cases. Analysis of the data collected was conducted based on themes that emerged from the data and those earlier identified in the literature. The themes from the literature review, coded through identified clusters of ideas, had been used to build the conceptual framework. The major themes and relationships across elements of CSR practices in education, as captured in the conceptual framework, served as a classification and theory-building mechanism, thus not only allowing for a study of key factors and themes identified in the literature but also suggesting presumed relationships among them (Miles & Hurberman, 1994 as cited in Ravitch & Riggan, 2012). Consequently, the conceptual framework, consisting of emergent patterns and perceived relationships, served as an ad hoc taxonomy for the analysis of the interviews and other data collected from documentary sources.

Ethical Considerations

The two central organisations examined in this study are large and significant players within their relevant business sectors; therefore, maintaining the anonymity of the representatives interviewed and the organisations' names is essential. Consequently, pseudonyms representing their generic operating sectors have been used to identify them (Nigerian Financial Institution [NFI] and Consumer Goods Company [CGC]). These have been adopted as measures to protect the privacy of both the interviewees and the companies. Also, some identifying details have been changed where applicable.

Participants' Profiles

NFI is an institution that was incorporated over 20 years ago and is currently listed on the Nigerian Stock Exchange. It offers both commercial and retail services with over 100 branches spread across Nigeria, other African countries and the United Kingdom. The institution is wholly owned and operated by Nigerians with neither an individual shareholder holding more than five per cent of shares nor a custodian (holding shares for a group of various investors) holding more than 25 per cent.

CGC was incorporated before 1960 and is listed on the Nigerian Stock Exchange. The company operates as a brewer with operating plants and distribution outlets spread across the country. It is a subsidiary of a foreign firm which holds over 50 per cent of its shares.

The secondary sample of companies included in the study are the Dangote Group of companies (parent company of Dangote Foundation), Oando Plc (parent company of Oando Foundation) and Access Bank Plc. The Dangote Group is a manufacturing conglomerate while Oando Plc is an oil and gas firm. Documentary evidence of the CSR practices of these sample companies is publicly available.

THE PRACTICE OF CSR IN EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

There are no regulatory requirements for engagement in CSR, its budgetary requirement or allocative modalities among competing social objectives. In Nigeria, the recently reviewed *National Policy on Education* (2013) section 155(e) states that 'in demonstration of social responsibility, contractors, consultants and other service providers are to contribute minimum of 1.5% of contract sum/fees to a Special Education Corporate Social Responsibility Fund (SECSRF) to be established' (p. 45). This is a new entry in the policy document as it was not in the 2004 version, and although it signals the recognition of the role of CSR, it is directed mainly at contractors and consultants, not companies. Therefore, it may be presumed that there is no formal national requirement, normative or mandatory, that companies engage in CSR nor is there a minimum spending threshold. While this illustrates that companies in Nigeria are not 'legally' required to spend on CSR initiatives, it is worth noting that the companies with more than 100 employees are mandated to contribute two per cent of their assessable profits to an education trust fund. This fund had initially been intended for all levels of education; however, from 2004, it was converted to an exclusive trust fund for tertiary education, particularly for its capital expenditures.

Amidst several social objectives, education is considered important to national development and, therefore, a prime choice for intervention. The companies recognise that they have a role to play in societal development, and education provides a means of attainment. The NFI interviewee emphasised that 'we thought education is key, because really, if we solve the problem of education, I think that that would by itself solve every other problem' (NFI interview, 2015).

The relevance of education is a shared passion, but the extent of commitment differs across the companies. The companies share resources between education and three or more other social development obligations and that influences how much ends up in educational development projects. Data gathered from the annual report of NFI indicates that about 32 per cent of total CSR spending, which amounted to over NGN 150 million (about USD 400,000), was spent on educational projects. CGC, on the other hand, has a dedicated education trust fund that was established with a capital grant of about NGN 100 million (approximately USD 277,000) about 20 years ago and this serves as the source for its projects; however, information on spending per project is not publicly available. Also, according to its annual reports from 2008 to 2012 and its sustainability report from 2013, Oando Plc specifies that it allocates about one per cent of its pre-tax profits to education exclusively which is its only CSR focus area, but no finer details of spending are available (Oando Foundation 2013, 2014). These examples point out that it may not be easily discernible how much funding is actually spent on the CSR programmes and how education actually fares on their scale of preference with competing societal objectives.

Within the education spending, the allocation to different aspects of educational needs leaves room for contemplation. A deconstruction of NFI's spending on education suggests that sports may be considered a key facet in educational development as beneficiaries have been encouraged to attend and complete school through the sports initiative, thus improving enrolment. The sports initiative is undertaken in public schools. The next top priority for NFI is expenditure on public schools through adopt-a-school initiatives. Private schools have also been recipients of CSR funding from NFI. The composition of the expenditure may raise another question—was it merely a cash donation, an investment in infrastructural development or investment in information and communication technology (ICT) equipment? For CGC, the primary use of funds appears to be infrastructural development of primary and secondary schools and often constitutes over 50 per cent of total spending on education considering available records for 2010 and 2011. The types of investment undertaken by the companies may serve as indications of their motivations. Some of these motivations will be highlighted in the next section.

Rationale for Performing CSR Initiatives in Education

The engagement of companies in education CSR initiatives is often predicated on various motives. This section outlines some of the motivations for the Nigerian companies investigated in this study.

Filling the governance gap

Initiatives undertaken demonstrate a recognition of the gaps in the governance structure of the country. The companies recognise that the government is unable to adequately serve the educational interests of the populace. The contributions are considered because a 'need' has been identified as put forward by the NFI interviewee (2015): 'It's basically about the need of the society which we want to address'.

The same view was expressed by the CGC interviewee but with more emphasis on the state of education infrastructural development and governance. In 2014, on its website (http://www.oandofoundation.org/), Oando Foundation goes further in capturing the position with direct preference for education by indicating that its decision to focus on the education sector was born from the realisation that basic education in Nigeria needs support and intervention from the private sector. This indicates that government resources are no longer sufficient to cover the educational needs of the teeming population. However, these approaches to filling the governance gap, evidenced by failure to meet commitments to achieving universal, quality education for all (Srivastava & Oh, 2010; van Fleet, 2012), fall short of that earlier identified in literature. Contributions involving innovation and expertise either individually or through policy networks or communities are the main avenues of influencing governance structures (see Ball, 2008) but are not evident in the activities of these companies.

Brand and reputation building

In the short run, some of the benefits of engaging in education CSR can be captured with image branding. Companies like to be associated with good deeds in society. Putting it lightly, the NFI interviewee noted that education CSR initiatives '[have] given so much endearment' (NFI interview, 2015), while the CGC interviewee asserted that 'it helps enhance your reputation and it gives you goodwill. The immediate one is goodwill. Goodwill and reputation building basically' (CGC interview, 2015).

Brand recognition requires visibility and, therefore, depending on the type of contribution, elements that represent the company are used—brand colours are often used for buildings or some form of insignia (a signpost or wall-writing) and branded notebooks. Brand visibility is often better captured in physical infrastructural development and often presented on company websites and reports.

Improving competitive context

A long-term rationale for investing in education CSR, though subtle, is the attempt to improve a company's competitive context. According to Porter and Kramer (2002), this involves 'improving the quality of the business environment in the location or locations of operations' and emphasises the alignment of corporate giving with long-term business prospects (p. 6). Hence, it relates to creating potential markets or addressing potential business constraints. The NFI interviewee mentioned that although the institution had created a financial product targeted at the age range for primary and secondary school students, the product has not been thriving; however, there is an expectation that information on the product will spread through the publicity garnered from the CSR initiatives in schools. Also, the NFI interviewee admits, hopefully, that there is a likelihood that the students may be 'the ones that will grow and become the customers of the company invariably. So, I think, even now, we are not seeing the direct returns, that I think in the long run will make the company sustainable' (NFI interview, 2015).

Additionally, improving the context through education also implies contributions to workforce development as a means of addressing potential business constraints in the supply of skilled employees. The CGC interviewee pointed out that 'maybe, more of a long-term is that, you never can tell, you might impact the life of somebody that might even come to work for you in the future. So, it's like talent development as well' (CGC interview, 2015).

Overall, business sustainability appears to be the long-term benefit when considering the pool of future customers and workforce built through increased access to education facilitated by the CSR initiatives of today.

Types of Education CSR Initiatives

The common form of contributions from the companies is financial resources. Cash donations or the provision of funds for products and development projects are largely practised by the companies. Predominant amongst these donations is schooling infrastructure—construction or renovation of classrooms, libraries, laboratories, sanitation facilities, and so on and provision of furniture and basic amenities such as electricity and water. These areas appear to be the key focus areas for CGC as they constitute a large proportion of its spending. The NFI interviewee also emphasised the belief that a good learning environment is essential, hence the reason this is part of its adopt-a-school package. Beyond the contributions that are part of the adoption package, an implication worth highlighting is the duration of the commitment, and although the CGC interviewee stressed that the adoption model is not employed by the company, the potential to revisit the schools bears a similarity with characteristics of the model.

How long an adoption scheme lasts and the scope differs amongst the companies. The companies that use the adoption model apply different dynamics to the approach, in terms of how long the schools are adopted, how the development projects are spread across the period and how many schools are adopted over time. NFI first adopted two primary schools in 2004 when it started the initiative, but as of 2014, according to the interviewee, six schools including primary schools and secondary schools had been adopted for life with plans to increase the number of adopted schools (NFI interview, 2015). By contrast, employees of Access Bank Plc had adopted a school in 2009 to last for three years, with different donations such as provision/renovation of classrooms, restrooms, computers, water supply and electricity spread across the period (Access Bank Plc, 2009).

While the spread of activities over a time span is similar with NFI, the CGC interviewee pointed out that the company only meets the infrastructural needs of a school at a particular point in time (CGC interview, 2015). However, Oando Plc started running the adoption model in 2007 as part of its CSR strategy before setting up its foundation in 2011. While it had 28 adopted schools as of 2011, its reach through its foundation (Oando Foundation) had expanded to 58 schools (primary schools) across 23 states with an ongoing target of reaching 100 schools by the end of 2015, and it was presumed that these schools would remain adopted long-term. While for Oando Plc and NFI the initiative is a direct contribution from the foundation or company, for Access Bank Plc, also an indigenous company, adopting schools or investments in infrastructural development projects appears to be largely undertaken as part of employee volunteering schemes.

Scholarships represent another significant financial investment in education and are intended to facilitate completion and transition between levels of education. The scholarships often cover tuition, uniforms, books and other expenses; however, while NFI runs its scholarships for students of its adopted secondary and primary schools, CGC runs its scholarship schemes largely for tertiary levels. The NFI scholarships are offered for the best performing student in every grade level, except the last senior secondary grade. Consequently, it supports transition from primary to secondary school, but the interviewee emphasised that the candidates have to maintain the performance levels to be eligible for the award as they progress through the levels (NFI interview, 2015). Given that the scholarships are merit-based and only available for one student per grade, their potential effects may be minimal. Being merit-based implies that the student best at an assessment will be selected and the likelihood that the student is from a richer household with better access to educational materials is unaccounted for; therefore, this could contribute to efficiency losses in the education system.

The issue of education quality borders largely on quality of teachers and the learning process; however, there are indications that teacher training and development are not considered educational priorities by these companies. There are no accounts of CGC carrying out projects to support teacher development, even under its incorporated education trust fund. The NFI interviewee listed teacher quality as one of the gaps that the company makes efforts to address, particularly in its adopted schools (NFI interview, 2015). Over the years, the company has enlisted the support of the British Council to deliver training to some teachers. However, NFI sponsors only one or two trainings in a year and the sessions accept an average of 20 teachers. The effect of this is likely to feel like a drop in the ocean considering that Nigeria has the greatest need for quality teachers. Other areas of financial contribution, more popular than teacher development, are contributions to support competitions—essay, creative arts and writing and sports as well as conferences, especially for universities.

The companies also contribute to educational development through sharing knowledge and expertise with the students. Educational support programmes run by the companies that allow for the use of expertise include career counselling and mentoring schemes which are often supported by employee volunteers. In 2011, CGC invested about NGN 8 million (approximately USD 22,000) in a career guidance initiative targeted at senior secondary school students. Career talks were held to provide information on career choices and key considerations to guide decision making.

Mode of Contributions

Generally, given the penchant for cash donations, the common conduit for donations is non-governmental organisations; however, with respect to some projects, engagement with government and international agencies may be deemed necessary. Given the fact that most of the schools that are recipients of direct contributions are public schools, the NFI interviewee emphasised that 'partnering with the government is a key thing for us. In any of our education projects, we partner with the ministry of education, whatever state we are in. . .' (NFI interview, 2015). As a benefit of the partnership, the NFI interviewee specified that a transfer of expertise ensues when all parties are involved. This relationship with government is reflected in the following quote: 'We partner with them, so that we can teach them how to do things the proper way. It helps for smooth running of the project, that's one, but then for it to be sustainable, we should all be in' (NFI interview, 2015). The interviewee further cited the communication process with government representatives, with reference to the adopt-a-school initiative: 'We write to them, the letters; we deliberate; we agree and then we sign a memorandum of understanding. These show what we intend to do, and we would always run what we have to do by them' (NFI interview, 2015).

Although sharing expertise is an important facet of partnerships for development (see Draxler, 2008) and often expected from the private sector, it appears that the only partners involved in education projects for CGC are its vendors and suppliers. The interviewee emphasised that although the government is informed and an approval for intended projects is granted, the company's relationship with government with regards to educational projects cannot be called a 'partnership'. The principles of 'partnerships' require that partners share efforts, risks and benefits. The relationship described by the interviewee indicates an imbalanced or non-existent partnership with government.

Impact Assessment

At commencement of CSR projects, needs analyses are presumably carried out to ascertain the needs of schools. Theoretically, when a needs analysis has been performed, one would expect that an evaluation or impact assessment will be conducted after the completion of the project. However, given the individual right to interpretation of phenomena, the word *impact* holds different meanings for different companies with regards to CSR initiatives. As witnessed in the Nigerian cases here, impact assessment appears to be largely quantitative and vaguely measured. In reference to its infrastructure projects, the CGC interviewee mentioned the fact that in the last five years, the company has 'impacted more than 50 schools'. An alternative measure adopted by Access Bank Plc is the reference to the number of students that may have benefitted from the initiatives, with instances indicating that over 150 students may have been impacted by building renovations carried out in the school (Access Bank Plc, 2009).

A different approach that appears to have been adopted by NFI indicates that project objectives may have been tied to global goals. The interviewee, who appeared to have previous experience in the development field, stated that:

> [W]e try to do a monitoring and evaluation to see the impact of the programmes that we do. So if MDG says 'we want to reduce this so-so-so by this percentage', so whatever area that we pick, that catchment area we do an assessment and say by how much has it reduced illiteracy; by how much has it reduced poverty. Like some of our students from the football team have made national team; some of them have gotten scholarship to study in the United States, just because they could play football. And that, as you can see, has reduced level of poverty and illiteracy, not only for the student but also for the family. (NFI interview, 2015)

The interviewee also pointed out:

> We get an independent body to do the assessment for us because we want to. . . they do a before-survey, then it's an annual thing, after each year, when we finish up with a project, they would evaluate it. To see the key objectives that we want to achieve, have we achieved them, how does that help the target audience. (NFI interview, 2015)

Overall, dealing with infrastructural development may be a safe option because the companies can easily list how many projects have been completed and the number of students likely to benefit from the additional buildings, facilities, books or equipment. However, the actual impact is unknown for these initiatives on access and quality of education or even on other development indices that may be related to education.

CSR PRACTICES IN NIGERIA—IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Role of Government

Evidence suggests that NFI and CGC are not currently engaged in the direct provision of education, particularly at the basic education level. Although most CSR initiatives have been within public schools, contributions have been mostly financial, thus reserving service delivery for the government. This position may not seem to undermine the government's position as the main provider of education but highlights its resource gap, especially with respect to capital expenditures, an area which appears to be the delight of the companies.

The closest instance to engagement in direct provision of education is the Dangote Academy, a vocational training academy established in 2010 and operated by the Dangote Group, which does not only appear to plug the gap in supply of graduates for the relevant manufacturing sector but also highlights the lack of institutional capacity by the government to run a quality vocational education system that can serve the needs of relevant employers of labour (https://dangote.com/careers/academy/). Dangote Academy runs graduate engineer, junior technician and vocational training schemes. Delivery of basic education, therefore, appears to remain within the direct control of governments, albeit, there are signs that the government may be conceding its role in infrastructural development of schools to the corporate sector.

Fragmentation of Activities

CSR activities in education are run with little or no collaboration with other actors—corporate or government. Even claims of partnerships are not clearly defined, are unbalanced and are more or less superficial. Evidence from this study suggests that the companies are not collaborating with other companies on CSR activities within the education arena but are willing to enter into contracts with organisations with the technical capacity in education, such as the British Council. Also, in presumed PPPs surrounding infrastructural development, it appears that the company may bring the funds and hire the building experts with little or no contribution on the part of the government. Engagement with government is perceived more as an 'approval process'—a mundane task that must be performed. Then again, working independently serves business interests better than collaboration with visibility for branding and reputation building. The impact of this is that initiatives are fragmented and therefore may not be effective.

Deepening Disparities

There are indications that CSR practices may further widen regional gaps in educational development. Most of the businesses reviewed have offices, either regional or headquarters, in Lagos (the commercial centre of Nigeria), in addition to other offices in other major urban centres such as Abuja and Port Harcourt. Therefore, given the concept of 'social responsibility within communities where a company operates', these urban areas are prime recipients of their CSR endeavours. Apart from manufacturing and consumer good companies that may have industrial plants in rural areas and, therefore, perform CSR in the communities around them, other sectors, particularly the service industry, that are urban-based concentrate their activities in urban areas.

CONCLUSION

This study has investigated corporate philanthropy as practised by indigenous Nigerian companies through CSR initiatives in education in comparison to companies with higher proportions of foreign ownership. Education is as important to MNCs/TNCs as it is to local companies operating within developing countries. Despite this, little attention has been paid to CSR contributions by indigenous firms. This study set out to explore the contributions of Nigerian companies to the education sector, undertaken through CSR initiatives.

The findings of this study reveal that the major form of CSR contribution to education by Nigerian companies is financial resources, with little to no engagement in the direct provision of education through a contractual arrangement. The area that has received more attention has been infrastructural development of learning environments. There are no indications of contribution of innovative interventions, such as witnessed from ICT companies[2] elsewhere, and also no evidence of attempts to

[2] One example is the Jordan Education Initiative (JEI) in which Cisco Systems and Microsoft not only developed software and hardware components for the project but also provided learning approaches and ICT curriculum.

directly or indirectly influence policies on learning processes such as curriculum design.

Overall, CSR contributions studied here are largely uncoordinated and fragmented, a finding earlier presented by van Fleet (2012). This is the result of companies working without collaboration with other actors, including the government. Although some studies have shown corporate sector engagements in networks of governance (see Ball, 2008), this study suggests that given the lack of relevant expertise and the penchant to operate independent of government and other actors, Nigerian companies feature more within the financing-only arena of corporate participation in education.

There is an ongoing debate on whether there is a dichotomy between social and economic objectives (Draxler, 2012; Porter & Kramer, 2002); however, the fact remains that companies exist within society and their survival is dependent on the state of the environment where they operate. Therefore, failure in the social system is bound to affect them. Although, the companies profess that the CSR initiatives undertaken are more philanthropic with the aim of addressing a 'need', findings reveal that these philanthropic engagements are laced with business interests. In the short run, the business expects to improve company reputation and brand recognition while strengthening community relationships. For long-term benefits of investing in education, the companies look forward to improving their competitive context by investing in future markets (customers/clientele) and workforce development. These motivations are generally in contrast with the traditional views on provision of social services.

The place of the corporate sector within the development arena is growing, hence there is the need to identify what implications it poses for the traditional structure. There are indications that with increasing participation of the corporate sector in education, confidence in the capacity of government is slowly eroding. Also, a culture of dependence is growing with schools and communities looking to companies as the best alternatives to government support. Presently, some consolation exists in the fact that the companies are yet to venture into direct provision of public education. The initiatives of the companies also appear to be reinforcing age-long regional disparities in education across the country—further deepening the rural–urban divide and the marginalisation of the less-privileged. The implication of this, that the most marginalised are still being left out of the education process, corroborates van Fleet's findings (2012). Finally, the uncoordinated and fragmented nature of contributions has prevented the education sector priorities from being addressed.

Further work in this field may need to address the magnitude of contributions by local companies in developing countries and how these contributions may be influencing educational outcomes. A survey will take the findings of this study further by investigating the capacity of the companies, the proportion of the CSR budget that may be allocated to educational initiatives and the way these may be harnessed to aid the achievement of global goals, taking into consideration the potential impact on the role of government. Additionally, it would be interesting to explore deeper the potential influence of the corporate sector in educational policies at regional and national levels.

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11. New philanthropy and global policy networks in education: the case of Argentina

Iván Matovich and Alejandra Cardini

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes how new philanthropy and global networks are starting to influence Argentina's education policy. Since a new administration took office in 2015, a significant political shift has welcomed new political actors in Argentina. In a traditional education policy context of non-pro-market conditions, these recent political changes have encouraged the incipient growth of new philanthropy. This chapter focuses on these new developments by analysing how the Varkey Foundation (VF), an internationally renowned example of new philanthropy, managed to 'land' in this country between 2016 and 2017.

More precisely, this chapter aims to explore how new philanthropy and global policy networks move people, ideas, money and logics within a particular context. This research tries to answer the following questions: To what extent could VF's activities within different 'microspaces' of the public arena be considered emerging experiences of new philanthropy? Are VF's activities a case of new philanthropy in Argentina (not as a totalising phenomenon, but as a rising type of power exercise)? Are these shifts evidencing a transition in the *who* and *how* of education policy in Argentina? Finally, in more theoretical terms, this work contributes to the study of new philanthropy developments in contexts with very limited pro-market penetration. In other words, it is here asked to what extent this case might be considered a black swan or an emerging trend within Argentina's educational arena.

To answer these questions, a case study methodology was used. Studying the VF's landing in Argentina resulted in particular findings of a phenomenon (specific to time and space) that provided hints and references to address wider questions. The case study was approached with a network ethnography strategy (see, among others, Ball, 2012; Ball & Junemann, 2012; Dicken, Kelly, Olds & Yeung, 2001; Edwards, 2008; Howard, 2002). In order to cope with the complexity of the problem, actors in these networks were identified. Their power, capacities and the ways through which they exercise their power through association within networks of relationships were analysed. This meant the use of extensive and exhaustive internet searches (webpages, documents, videos, social media, etc.) around particular organisations.

In addition, two in-depth interviews were conducted in May 2017 with Agustín Porres, Country Director (Argentina) and Fernando Gimenez Zapiola, Academic Director (Argentina). These interviews were conducted in Spanish and were translated by the authors. Questions addressed interviewees' profiles and work experience, their beginnings at VF, VF's landing process in Argentina, their main activities in this same country and long-term plans for the organisation.[1]

NEW PHILANTHROPY: GOODNESS-DELIVERY AND NETWORKS DEVELOPMENT

Among the many policy actors that have joined the education policy field in the last decades, this research focuses particularly on 'new philanthropists' (Ball & Olmedo, 2011; Olmedo, 2014; Reckhow, 2012). Philanthropy can no longer be thought of as a funding transfer from the private to the public sector or as a charitable practice. As Ball (2012) claims, new philanthropy is the direct connection between 'giving' and 'outcomes' and the direct involvement of giving in philanthropic action and policy communities (Ball, 2012). He claims that new philanthropy 'is based on three aims: bringing non-profits to scale by committing large blocks of funding over long periods of time; emphasizing the importance of evaluation and performance management; and fostering "investor-investee" relationships on the basis of "consultative engagement"' (Ball, 2012 in Saura, 2016, p. 5).

Enterprise discourses and technologies have penetrated different organisations such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), charities, not-for-profit companies, foundations, community organisations, and public–private partnerships. These organisations are becoming more interrelated and influential in policy-making (Ball & Junemann, 2012; Junemann & Ball, 2013; Olmedo, 2014; Reckhow, 2012). In fact,

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[1] This research was conducted during 2017. This chapter is based on *Who trains our school managers? A case study of global policy networks in Argentina*, a master programme dissertation developed at the Institute of Education of University College London.

> the boundaries between philanthropy, business and the public sector are being moved and blurred, the public sector generally is being worked on and re-worked by new policy actors, from the inside out (endogenous change) and the outside in (exogenous change). This is happening in particular through the dissemination of the values and practices of enterprise and entrepreneurship and the transposition of the 'international discourse of managerialism' (Thrift, 2005, p. 33, in Ball & Junemann, 2012, p. 48)

This new philanthropy focuses on policy 'problem-solving' by the influx of private actors' money and enterprise models, as an alternative to the 'failing' state. As Marinucci (2007) says, 'we are now officially in the era of "phylantrepreneurs" where the difference between a VC [venture capital] fund and a foundation, a hot start-up and social venture become totally blurry' (cited in Ball & Olmedo, 2011, p. 83).

As enterprises, new philanthropists seek clear and measurable results; impact evaluation becomes a key tool to monitor the efficiency of 'investments' of time and money. They operate under beliefs 'imported' from their business activities and they try to translate their 'entrepreneurial philosophy' into their philanthropic activities. Ideas like 'do more with less', 'grand challenges', 'silver bullets' and 'quick and cheap solutions' stand as logics and values that shape the who, how and where of policy-making (Ball & Olmedo, 2011).

The most relevant aspect of new philanthropy in terms of power relations is its effect on governance. Philanthropic practices imply new models of governance, as these actors circulate with their money, logics, values and models throughout global policy networks and the educational policy arena is reconfigured. New 'policy-spaces' are opened within blurred sector-boundaries, as 'new philanthropists operate in a "parapolitical sphere" within which they can develop their own policy agenda' (Ball & Olmedo, 2011, p. 83).

To approach this phenomenon, research requires an analysis of these actors within policy networks. As Olmedo (2014) explains, philanthropic governance demands exploring 'structure and practices of a set of new philanthropic individuals and organizations' to analyse 'their discourses, connections, ideological influences and agendas for change' (p. 576). There is a need to explore their characteristics and functioning mechanisms.

Several works in the education field have used this methodology to analyse how global organisations expand their influence. Absolute Returns for Kids (ARK) has been addressed by Olmedo (2014) and Junemann and Ball (2013). Similarly, Junemann, Ball and Santori (2016) have examined global policy networks related to Bridge International Academies; Mundy (2010) did so for Teach for All, among many others.

Among these cases, the VF is another example of an emblematic case of new philanthropy across the globe. It is one of many organisations depending on the Varkey Group Ltd (registered in the British Virgin Islands), and it is one of two not-for-profit organisations within the conglomerate (the other is the Everonn India Foundation).

The Varkey Group Ltd is an interconnected web of organisations that provides a wide range of services, especially in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). GEMS MENASA Ltd. (registered in Cayman) is the most important organisation within the group and it is based in the UAE. By March 2017, according to Bloomberg's overview, GEMS MENASA Ltd. announced unaudited earnings results for the last six months ended 28 February 2017. For the period, the company's revenue was USD 539.1 million compared to USD 466.8 million a year before (Bloomberg, 2017). This conglomerate's organisation holds School Improvement Partner Ltd (GEMS Education Solutions), Bright Bus Transport (BBT), Premier School International (LLC) and other separately owned schools.

As Ridge, Kippels and Shami (2016) claim, this conglomerate's growth is highly related to Sunny Varkey and his family's sophisticated marketing approaches. This approach is based on maintaining credibility with key stakeholders by 'the development of a network of high-profile individuals and recognized organizations' (p. 268). Regarding people within this network, Bill Clinton (former U.S. President), Tony Blair (former U.K. Prime Minister), Bill Gates (Microsoft's Founder and Chairman) and Irina Bokova (UNESCO's General Director) stand out among many other trans-sectoral influential actors.

VF is registered as a charity organisation. It was founded and registered in the United Kingdom in 2011 (Ridge et al., 2016). It is 'a not-for-profit organisation established to improve the standards of education for underprivileged children throughout the world. [Their] mission is that every child should have a good teacher' (Varkey Foundation, June 2017d).

According to its website, the organisation addresses these aims by organising 'advocacy campaigns to promote excellence in teaching practice' and by 'building teacher capacity' (Varkey Foundation, 2017d). Within the Foundation's advocacy campaigns, it is possible to identify two 'star' events and main marketing drivers: the Global Teacher Prize and the Global Education and Skills Forum.[2] The Foundation claims to have

[2] These two events work as key advocacy tools. They gather high-profile policy-makers, former country leaders, experts and company CEOs, among many influential actors. The Global Teacher Prize has even been called by mass media the 'teaching Nobel Prize'. Please see 'Dos argentinos en camino al "Nobel" de la educación' ['Two Argentines on their way to the Educational "Nobel" prize'] (Vázquez, 2017); 'Los dos maestros argentinos quedaron afuera de la carrera por el "Nobel de la Educación"' ['The two Argentine teachers were left out of the race for the "Nobel of Education Prize"'] (*Infobae*, 2018); 'Teacher who won $1m will use windfall to get artists into schools' (Brown, 2018).

'launched the Global Teacher Prize to give incredible teachers from all over the world the recognition they deserve' (Varkey Foundation, 2017d).[3] Continuing to cultivate capacity, the Foundation has developed several programmes in Ghana, Uganda and Argentina.

ARGENTINA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM AND RECENT POLITICAL SHIFTS

During the last decades, new philanthropy has grown in a context of global trends marked by policy network development, neoliberal reforms and a boundary-blurring between the public and private sectors. However, Argentina's education system has kept itself relatively isolated from this phenomenon when compared to other countries. Although this country suffered neoliberal reforms during the 1990s and enrolment rates in private schools have steadily grown during the last few decades, education has stood as a space of resistance to many neoliberal reforms and practices in all its levels. As many studies state, Argentina has gone through a process of privatisation without pro-market policies and reforms (Beech & Barrenechea, 2011; Narodowski & Moschetti, 2015).

However, in December 2015, Argentina suffered important political transformations. In very general terms, this change meant a shift from a centre-left government to a centre-right one. Cambiemos, the winning centre-right wing coalition, integrated by Pro and Unión Cívica Radical, not only kept its political power in Buenos Aires City, but it also reached the highest power executive positions that parties can hold in Argentina's political system: the national presidency and Buenos Aires province governorate.[4] In addition, Cambiemos allied parties won elections in two other provinces, Jujuy and Mendoza, out of the 24 jurisdictions that make up Argentina's federal system.[5]

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[3] The foundation presents other advocacy activities such as the Global Education and Skills Forum, the Global Youth Survey, the Global Teacher Status Index and Business Backs Education.

[4] Two aspects of this political power must be highlighted. First, the national presidency has historically been a very powerful position in Argentina, as well as in other Latin American countries. Second, Buenos Aires province governorate stands as a key political position. This jurisdiction holds 39 per cent of Argentina's population (Rivas, Coria & Scasso, 2012) and it produces roughly 35 per cent of its gross domestic product (Di Santi, 2015). Such importance is also reflected in the educational field. This province has almost 40 per cent of Argentine students under its administration and the highest proportion of schools and teachers in the country.

[5] Jujuy Province changed from Frente para la Victoria to Frente Cambia Jujuy (allied with Pro) and Mendoza Province changed from Frente para la Victoria to Alianza Cambia

This victory obliged Pro to 'export' many of its political members from Buenos Aires city departments to national departments. The educational field was not an exception in this trend; the city's Minister of Education, Esteban Bullrich, was appointed as National Minister of Education, and many of his team members migrated from the city's government to the national sphere. In other words, Pro's political spectrum in the education field was significantly widened after December 2015, as it enlarged its capacity to reach more provincial education systems. Bullrich left this position in December 2017 to be a National Senator, but as will be described in further sections, he had a key role in VF's landing in Argentina.

This political transformation introduced 'tailwind' conditions and opportunities for new philanthropy trends in Argentina's education policy. In this context, VF signed a contract in 2016 with the National Ministry of Education (NMOE) and began implementing different programmes. VF has managed to grow in a scenario with a strong public tradition, active teacher unions and non-pro-market conditions.

According to one of its members, Argentina has become today the organisation's largest quarter worldwide in terms of staff members. VF is an emblematic educational philanthropic organisation operating across the globe and a very interesting case study to examine new philanthropy and global policy networks in a new context.

HOW DID THE VARKEY FOUNDATION 'LAND' IN ARGENTINA? KEY EVENTS, NODAL ACTORS AND PRIVATE PARTNERS

VF's most important programme in Argentina was first introduced in 2016 through an agreement with the NMOE. It is a six-week intensive training initiative called Programa de Liderazgo e Innovación Educativa (PLIE) [Leadership and Innovation in Education Programme]. It started in Jujuy and Mendoza provinces, it expanded to Salta and Corrientes during 2017 and it has recently begun in Buenos Aires.[6] At the present, 4,700 school principals have already been trained throughout five Argentine provinces.

Mendoza (allied with Pro). These were the only two provinces, apart from Buenos Aires Province, that experienced significant changes in terms of governing parties; as mentioned before, Buenos Aires City had been already governed by Pro. The remaining 20 jurisdictions re-elected ruling parties (Del Cogliano & Varetto, 2016). In further sections, these two provinces will be shown to have significant importance for this research.

[6] As mentioned in the introduction, this is Argentina's largest province in most key dimensions: population, number of schools, students and teachers.

Regarding funding, VF's Country Director in Argentina, Agustín Porres, confirms that the programme's main activities are fully financed by the NMOE: 'It is like a service that the National Ministry offers to provinces and then, the foundation does contribute a lot, let's say, by bringing specialists from London every week' (personal communication, 2017). Principals and teachers are authorised by provincial Ministries to attend this full-time programme for six weeks, while their positions are covered by vice-principals or substitute teachers hired by the Ministry of Education of each province.

The NMOE hired VF to provide training services to provinces. Indirectly, provinces bear the cost of having teachers and principals out of schools over the six weeks. Such a funding combination seems to be one of the clearest pieces of evidence of boundary-blurring among sectors; in addition, it raises questions about a possible case of what Ball and Olmedo (2011) call 'philanthrocapitalism'; that is, 'a merging of venture philanthropy with social enterprise as a new "economic rationalization of giving" (Saltman, 2010, p. 70)' (p. 84).

Such boundary-blurring is also observed in the professional background of VF's leadership team. When VF began its work in Argentina in 2016, the organisation's leading team was governed by Chief Executive Vikas Pota. Between 2010 and 2015 he had worked as Group Director of Corporate Affairs at GEMS Education (Pota, n.d.; Varkey Foundation, 2017c); thus, he came from the 'enterprise-side' of the conglomerate. In 2018, Cate Noble replaced Pota. Similarly, Noble has expertise in institutional strategy and design (from early years to higher education), programme design and implementation and education partnerships, and was previously a Director at PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC) and prior to that Head of Development at Education Development Trust (Varkey Foundation, 2018).

Considering Argentina's characteristics, VF managed to 'land' this programme in a context that a priori seemed reluctant to new philanthropy development. As explained in the following sections, this landing was based on nodal actors, key events and the participation of private partners.

NODAL ACTORS AS BOUNDARY-SPANNERS AND 'NEW-LOGICS ENABLERS'

A nodal actor is a 'boundary-spanner', a 'key agent managing within inter-organizational theatres' (Williams, 2002 in Ball & Junemann, 2012, p. 87). A nodal actor is able to play a central role within a particular cluster, especially supported by 'a background that includes work across a range of fields and sectors operating in business, philanthropy and quasi-public sector roles in a highly networked career' (Williams, 2002 in Ball & Junemann, 2012, p. 89).

These actors have a key role within policy networks because they move throughout it as solution-carriers who circulate ideas especially related to enterprise logics ('entrepreneurship', 'innovation' and 'creativity'). They blur the limits between fields and sectors and converge language and practices; for example, they operate as translators of business into philanthropy and they legitimise philanthropic ideas and values within policy (Ball & Junemann, 2012). These actors could be also called 'new experts' within networks, as they 'act as vital intermediaries, mobilizing epistemic communities, but they also develop knowledge and data to inform decision-makers' (Shiroma, 2014, p. 337). Furthermore, literature suggests that these actors act as 'policy network animators' as it is possible to see how their social relations, the 'people they know', have effects on policy circulation and implementation (Ball, 2012; Ball & Junemann, 2012; Olmedo, 2014; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Saura, 2016). This is the case of the nodal actors analysed in the following paragraphs.

When looking at the landing of VF in Argentina, the role of nodal actors is fundamental. The most important position of the Foundation's team is Country Director and it has been occupied since 2016 by Agustín Porres (Varkey Foundation, 2017c). Before working for VF, Porres worked as Institutional Relations Coordinator for two and a half years at the Education Department in Buenos Aires City (2010–2012) while Esteban Bullrich was Minister of Education of this same state, among other positions. In addition, during his graduate studies, in 2015, Porres started working as Chief Executive at FormarHub Foundation, a non-profit organisation 'with ties to both Latin America and the United States that connects education innovators and offers a platform for the development of new ideas, supports innovative approaches to education, and promotes successful practices' (FormarHub, 2017).

When analysing Porres's appointment as Country Director, evidence shows three determinant factors: his education profile, his management experience and his personal network. The two latter factors are related to his professional experience, not only in the education sector, but in management positions in both the 'third' (NGOs, civil society organisations, etc.) and public sectors. The attractiveness of Porres's profile for the Foundation seems to be especially related to the possibility of having direct contact with the NMOE and his management experience. Porres is a 'nodal actor' within the global and local policy networks in which VF moves.

VF's landing in Argentina cannot be understood without analysing another nodal actor: Esteban Bullrich. His active interest and participation in VF's activities while he was Education Minister of Buenos Aires City and his later active role as National Education Minister was a very important part of the landing process. The following paragraphs depict such nodal conditions by describing key events and background 'moves' through VF's network in order to understand how 'landing-capacity' was developed.

By July 2016, Bullrich, National Minister of Education, visited the Governor of Jujuy Province, Gerardo Morales and its Minister of Education, Isolda Calsina. He was accompanied by the president of VF, Vikas Pota, and the Executive Director of Lego Education, Brian Baptista. This visit was related to the inauguration of the country's first Infinito por Descubrir (Infinite to be Discovered),[7] a technological innovation centre produced by a public–private partnership. During this visit, Bullrich said that they were working on giving modern tools to teachers working in provinces and that they had been doing this at the national level. He said that they were doing it with some organisations like Harvard's School of Education, with the Lego company, and with the Varkey Foundation, who were going to help them (Jujuy's government) to lead a change in Jujuy regarding innovation in the use of technologies to improve children's learning and to improve education quality (Varkey Foundation, 2017a).[8] Three months later, on 31 October 2016, Calsina and Desmond Bermingham, former Head of Programmes of VF, led the inauguration of VF's main programme in this province (Gobierno de Jujuy, 2016): Programa de Liderazgo Educativo (Education Leadership Programme). Similar events took place in Mendoza in February 2017 (Mendoza Gobierno, 2017) and in Corrientes and Salta in May 2017 (*El Litoral*, 2017; Varkey Foundation, 2017b).

As evidence shows, VF's landing in Argentina is highly related to Esteban Bullrich, his network and recent political alliances. In order to understand this key influence, it is necessary to retrieve former events and link them with evidence provided by the case study and interviews.

In March 2015, Bullrich attended the Global Education and Skills Forum (GESF) organised by VF. He participated in the Plenary called 'The

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[7] Infinite to be Discovered is a NMOE and Sports initiative through Educar SE, and it relies on the effort of the provincial and local governments, social organisations, private companies and communities in which centres are located. It is a non-formal educational programme that aims to stimulate and encourage children and youth's soft abilities and vocations from six to 18-years old by creating projects based on disciplines like robotics, programming, video gaming, art, design and biotechnology (Infinito por Educar, 2017). The programme seems to be highly related to Olivia Consultoría de Change Management (a consulting company), as it is directed by Gabriel Weinstein, associate consultant of this company.

[8] Authors' translation.

Teacher and Society' where he said: 'We are comfortable with not challenging the education system.. . . We need to change the school system. We are asking teachers to take kids to the moon, but we are only upgrading a car instead of building a rocket' (Global Education and Skills Forum, 2015).

After the panel, Bullrich was interviewed by GESF organisers, and he expressed his desire to have Argentinian teachers participating in the next Global Teacher Prize awards. Nine months later, on 14 December 2015, four days after taking over the NMOE due to Pro/Cambiemos party's electoral victory, President Macri received Argentine candidates for the Global Teacher Prize.

These events support Porres's reference about the role played by Bullrich in the Foundation's activity in Argentina and his particular interest in VF. When Porres was asked about Bullrich's relationship with the Foundation, he said:

> He once came to a Dubai conference [Global Education and Skills Forum 2015] . . . In one of the forums he liked it and he said that if someday he was a National Minister he would like the Varkey Foundation to work in Argentina. And he came last year and he said 'Well, now I'm the Minister'. (personal communication, 2017)

Furthermore, when Porres was asked how VF managed to start working in Argentina and what the key factors were, he said:

> I think that Esteban Bullrich was really decided to do it.. . . He called us and we had a meeting where he told us he had a plan and said 'we need a plan in August 2016'. We answered: 'Fine, we will do it for March 2017, so we can contextualise content'. And he said: 'No, March 2017? There are a thousand years to March 2017. We need it right now'. (personal communication, 2017)

Such pieces of evidence contribute to identifying Bullrich as the main enabling node within the network where VF moves within Argentina. Past events and Porres's words show that the ex-Minister had a special interest in the Foundation's activities even before he took his position as National Minister.

However, and more importantly, these actors share an epistemic regarding forms of addressing and defining education policy problems that will be described in the following paragraphs. They represent new voices within the policy arena. This is related to Ball and Junemann's (2012) definition of policy communities: 'a set of specific network relations and on a highly interlinked "policy community" that "catalyses" philanthropy and business in the delivery of education services and reconfigures and disseminates a particular set of education policy discourses' (p. 9).

Bullrich is a nodal actor within this policy community. His enabling role emerges as a key fact when the political context is considered. Jujuy and Mendoza had been the only two provinces clearly aligned with the Pro/ Cambiemos party since elections in 2015. However, interviewees do not recognise or mention this important political fact when they are asked why Mendoza and Jujuy provinces were initially selected to implement the programme. Although Bullrich has great influence to 'land' the programme due to Mendoza and Jujuy's political commitment to the national government, Porres explains such a landing process based on the ideas of necessity, opportunity, possibility and willingness:

> In its basis, this is a programme that the National Ministry brings to support provinces.. . . It is a conjunction of necessity, opportunity and possibility. This means that there is a province that is able to receive this programme, that wants to receive it and that needs it. And it is not easy to receive this type of programme. Province Ministries are shaken up.. . . This programme adds a lot of value, but you have to be willing to work a lot. (personal communication, 2017)

This shows the absence of traditional arguments—such as political agreement and ideology to explain why the programme is implemented in certain specific provinces. While decision making and implementation in public policy could be explained by political agreements, ideological perspectives or unions' resistance, Porres relates this situation to a willingness and a business perspective focusing on necessity, opportunity and possibility. There has been evidence in other contexts of the significance of political willingness in terms of particular policy-makers willing to engage and carry out reform (Barber, 2013); this conception tends to be strongly related to an enterprise discourse.

Porres's argument shows how the intervention of private actors within education policy might not only blur the limits between the public and the private sector, but it could also contribute to de-politicising certain arenas that are necessarily crossed by power relations. Instead of evaluating policy possibilities (or impossibilities) in terms of ideological and political agreement (or conflict), arguments are built on a 'willingness to do'.

This approach is also seen in the Academic Director Fernando Gimenez Zapiola's perspective about the advantages of being a 'third party' between teachers and the state:

> It is very useful to be a foundation or a third-party actor when delivering the training. There is no space for catharsis, neither for recrimination for those things that the state is not providing.. . . When you are the state, you are recriminated. Things like 'Hey, this is fine, but I don't have desks at the school' are not said.. . . Since we are a third-party, teachers adopt a lot what it is happening because they separate their employer (and the one who should provide services)

from who's working with them at a specific moment. (personal communication, 2017)

These words provide more examples to assist in understanding the Foundation members' perspectives about their roles from a policy point of view. VF takes many of the responsibilities usually attributed to the state, such as teachers' and school managers' training. In addition, it is hired and supported by the state and it works on the structure: schools, departments, recruitment services, and so on. Nonetheless, it is not the state, but a foundation that claims to change lives through education and that wants every child to have the best teacher. In this sense, the Foundation and the state are 'shielded' from political conflicts. At the same time the latter is able to reach its workers, eluding political confrontation or conflict. As in the case of the programme's funding, this description depicts the hybrid conditions in which the state and private actors operate.[9]

PRIVATE ACTORS JOINING THE NETWORK: LEGITIMATORS AND CATALYSERS

The VF's activities in Argentina are also related to relationships with other private partners that seem to move through similar circuits within the network. All these share activities and perspectives, while they shape an epistemic community.

The following paragraphs provide pieces of evidence of the relation between the public sector, VF and private partners. These demonstrate the circulation of what Ball (2007) calls 'improvement products'. These are 'solutions' 'which are marketed to educational institutions by education services companies [or other types of organisations like foundations, charities, not-for-profit organisations, etc.] and their role in re-working and surveilling those institutions' (Ball, 2007, p. 135).

As evidence shows, these solutions are not linearly replicated when they are mobilised. McCann (2013) explains such a dynamic as a non-replicating policy mobilisation; this means that policies are not transferred by policy

[9] Such dynamics within policy networks seem to reconfigure who influences policy delivery and decision making. The studied case could be considered as extra evidence of what Ball (2012) describes as 'the beginning of the end of state education and its "welfare' form(s)"' (p. 2). More precisely, it is possible to claim that this new type of governance within policy networks raises questions about democratic deficit and opacity; after all, 'these people, their relationships and interactions and morality and money and ideas and influence are transforming social, economic and political relations and enacting the neo-liberal imaginary in very real and practical ways in education and education policy' (Ball, 2012, p. 145).

boosters as 'prepackaged solutions', 'but through a complex sociospatial process of emulation and transmutation that has uneven consequences for cities and citizens that cannot necessarily or easily be separated from the contexts from which they were spawned' (p. 20). It is a form of practice that stands on continuous processes of assemblages, interest considerations and necessary adaptations to local power relations.

Findings show that private partners played a key role for 'landing', as they managed to introduce and boost particular policies, ideas and discourses within a given context. In the following paragraphs, we analyse the particular participation of Edúcere and Michael Lightfoot Associates (MLA), two key private partners, among others, that contributed to VF's landing in Argentina. We first examine Edúcere's local perspective and we then examine MLA's global approach.

From a local point of view, the participation of Edúcere, a not-for-profit civil association, in the VF programme's launch and adaptation, especially in its first steps during the pilot process, was very important. According to its website, Edúcere was registered in Tandil City (Buenos Aires province) and has delivered training programmes and advice to teachers and school directives since 1998 (Edúcere, 2017). Founded and directed by Victoria Zorraquin, this organisation aims to offer enriching and renovating approaches for teacher training and advice (Edúcere, 2017).

The VF Academic Director, Gimenez Zapiola, remarks on the importance of Edúcere by describing it as an external actor that 'helps' and 'catalyses' the programme, but at the same time, it could be argued that it has worked 'from inside' in many of the programme's dimensions. When he was asked about the training programme's pedagogical content, he explained that the training syllabus was translated, adapted and contextualised in a work-process in which Edúcere actively participated: 'Originally, the training syllabus was a ten-week programme. It was shortened to six weeks. All this material was translated with a public official translator. Edúcere participated in this process' (personal communication, 2017). He also explained that Edúcere was highly involved in the first six-week pilot that took place in Jujuy: it adapted the contents and produced a results report of the pilot initiative. At the same time, all teacher trainers were members of this organisation in that first programme launch, except for one local member:

> From all those six weeks Edúcere produced a report of the programme pilot, an external coordinator called Carlos Concha also made one, and Michael [Lightfoot] made another.. . . They [Edúcere] made this first contextualization and the pilot was mostly delivered by Edúcere, with a local member from Jujuy.. . . Actually, this content and everything belongs to Varkey, though we all have made contributions. . .. Let's say, it belongs to the Foundation and we keep

> enriching it from our [Argentine VF members'] own experiences. (F. Gimenez Zapiola, personal communication, 2017)

As evidence suggests, Edúcere supported VF to develop the programme in its beginnings. This is not a minor detail; as mentioned in a previous statement, the programme's capacity to develop a 'quick-launch' has had a key role in the programme's setting. In other words, Edúcere could be classified in the group of those companies that 'present themselves in terms of commitments to the public good and to bringing the public sector into "the new" – saving it from itself and solving its problems' (Ball, 2012, p. 137).

Edúcere was not the only key private partner that VF recruited for its landing process. If Edúcere worked as a local partner, it could be argued that MLA was a key foreign private partner for this same process.

MLA is an 'international consultant for education and personal development – recent contracts in Argentina, Azerbaijan, Barbados, Afghanistan. School leadership development, incorporating yoga practice, personal reflection and team building' (Lightfoot, n.d.). The company has been led by Michael Lightfoot as Principal Consultant since June 2014. Lightfoot has vast experience with international consulting in the education field and working with the private sector.

> MLA had an important role in VF's work in Argentina. According to Gimenez Zapiola: When the programme was starting, I contacted one of the education consultants who came to work in Argentina for the programme's deployment. He is called Michael Lightfoot. He is the one that created this original training programme and he is the one who worked in adapting the training programme from the original version to the one that we are finally using. He came to Jujuy's capital city and I was with him three whole days working all day long. Once we finished, I wrote a report to him with the first results of the implementation. (personal communication, 2017)

These words are highly significant in terms of policy mobilities and 'global assemblages' (Ong, 2006 in Ball, 2012). The interviewee remarks on the influence that this international consultant has had for the foundation's landing and development in Argentina; not only did he create the original programme for another assignment, but he also worked on its adaptation to specific contexts and he monitors this process. This form of practice could be related to what McCann (2013) calls 'policy boosterism'; that is, 'a subset of traditional branding and marketing activities that involves the active promotion of locally developed and/or locally successful policies, programs, or practices across wider geographical fields as well as to broader communities of interested peers' (p. 5). In this trend, Lightfoot could be described as a 'policy booster', an actor that has an important role in mobilising education policies throughout global policy networks.

Moreover, the Foundation members describe the 'adaptation' component as an important and necessary task. Although the programme had already been designed, the Foundation has focused on the programme's adaptation and a constant movement 'between London and Argentina'. Porres, Country Director, says, 'Truth is that everything has been designed in London.. . . We then worked with a team of fifteen specialists to "Argentinize" it' (personal communication, 2017). In addition, Gimenez Zapiola, Academic Director, claims:

> I gathered result reports of the first pilot experiences from all participants [Edúcere, Michael Lightfoot Associates, External Consultant Carlos Concha]. All that material, plus the one that came from London was here. . .. My job was to re-signify all that to learn from that experience. (personal communication, 2017)

These words exemplify how policies flow through networks at the same time that they are adapted to them. Such movements and adaptations involve different actors coming from diverse areas and with different interests and influences, assembling a discourse that is permanently legitimated by the network itself.

This landing process and private partners' participation are clearly interrelated. Such a form of policy-delivery is a key aspect to understand VF's case because, as mentioned before, Argentina is a context where this type of practice rarely takes place. Thus, if considered a relative exception, we found it interesting to ask how the organisation managed to 'squeeze' into the system.

CONCLUSIONS

By describing the Varkey Foundation's 'landing' process in Argentina, this chapter analysed new power relations within Argentina's education policy, considering new philanthropy and global policy networks. It looked at specific and concrete aspects of this expansion: the role of nodal actors and private partners' networks.

In regard to nodal actors' influence within new philanthropy activities, the VF case in Argentina is a clear example of policy-boosterism (McCann, 2013) among certain actors as a practice that allows introducing new forms of doing policy. Findings evidence the importance of nodal actors—Bullrich and Porres—to 'land' VF's programme in Argentina. Our findings show how they managed to effectively move between local and global contexts and to introduce new philanthropy discourses associated with entrepreneurship, innovation, speed and efficiency. Furthermore, they clearly enacted a boundary-blurring between the public and the private sectors; they moved, acted and implemented their practices in these 'grey' overlapped perimeters.

Moreover, this chapter showed how private partners acted as catalysts when new philanthropy was directly linked with policy mobilities. VF counted on local and foreign support of private partners such as Edúcere (local) and MLA (foreign) in order to accomplish a quick programme-launch. These institutions had an important role in adapting the training syllabus to local contexts, to 'Argentinize' the programme, as well as in the delivery during the pilot stages.

The relevance of this chapter is related to VF's penetration into an arena where new philanthropy rarely has a place. While new philanthropy and policy mobilities are usually associated with high levels of privatisation and pro-market contexts, Argentina's public education has remained very strong and the penetration of pro-market policies is low when compared with other countries. This first exploratory research allows reflection on such a theoretical framework. While some authors argue that Argentina is an example of growing privatisation without pro-market policies, this research contributes to arguing that new philanthropy might not require such conditions for its development; pro-market and privatisation could be a 'catalysing' element, but not a fundamental condition for the expansion of new philanthropy.

Hence, it is necessary to ask to what extent VF's case is a black swan or an emerging trend in Argentina's context. On one hand, VF's recent expansion and its private partners' growing activity show that new philanthropy is an emerging phenomenon. On the other hand, this case is a black swan, as it is an atypical answer to those premises that 'naturally' relate new philanthropy development with pro-market contexts.

Furthermore, this might work as an input to further work in this field. Such a 'black-swan condition' might be reinforced by the idea that VF's 'landing' in Argentina is strongly related to hierarchical and centric government of the education system. This is a counterargument for those premises that claim that new philanthropy needs heterarchical governance and state polycentrism. This is evidenced in the central role that governments (national and provincial) have had in the programme's 'landing' in public education. Decisions taken by the National Minister have had a key role in funding the implementation of VF's training programme; at the same time, provinces with clear political alliances are those who opened 'landing' possibilities.

Last but not least, these findings may raise new questions on the conceptual and practical implications of new philanthropy for democracy, influences and policy-making. As Ball and Olmedo (2011) say, new philanthropists 'are able to modify meanings, mobilise assets, generate new policy technologies and exert pressure on, or even decide, the direction of policy in specific contexts' (p. 87). Thus, it is necessary to reflect on the interests and drivers that are operating when a private foreign organisation *makes* and *delivers* policy in Argentina with public resources.

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12. Concluding thoughts: new philanthropy, age-old problems

Natasha Y. Ridge

As Northern philanthropic foundations, particularly those from North America, have extended their reach and activities into the Global South, it is clear that many of the problems that have historically plagued the development sector are now being encountered by the philanthropic sector. The chapters in this volume reveal that philanthropic organisations working in education globally are facing a variety of similar challenges, including a North–South divide, issues related to collaboration, the growing influence of the private sector and a need for greater transparency. In the following sections, I will discuss each of these areas in turn before concluding with some thoughts on where future research on global trends in philanthropy and education might go next.

THE NORTH–SOUTH DIVIDE

The divide between the Global North and the Global South is discussed, either directly or indirectly, in the majority of chapters in this volume. These chapters echo earlier critiques of the aid sector, including those of Easterly (2006) and Samoff (2007), concerning aid regimes, soft power and the imposition by Northern donors of their ways of doing and thinking on Southern recipients. In this volume, several authors have discussed the unequal relationship between Northern donors and Southern recipients, including the ways in which Northern philanthropic institutions intentionally and unintentionally impose their cultures, values and/or practices on Southern recipients and partners.

Jaumont and Moja in their chapter exploring the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (PHEA) (Chapter 7), are highly critical of use of the word ‘partnership’ to describe the relationship between the Northern foundations and their Southern counterparts that were members of the Partnership. They highlight the one-sided nature of the relationship and the ways in which the cultures and values of Northern entities were imposed on Southern partners, either directly or indirectly. They describe the inherent rigidity and the particular internal culture and values that Northern philanthropic foundations, particularly the older, more established ones, brought with them. Without understanding or being able to articulate differing values and cultural norms between the United States and African countries, Jaumont and Moja report that African universities felt that they were not equal partners in the PHEA. Rather than being able to articulate their own needs and requirements, they felt that they were mere recipients of whatever programme the Northern foundations felt was right for them. Drezner raises similar issues in his chapter on higher education (Chapter 6). Building on work by Steiner-Khamsi (2004), he describes how fundraising policies are borrowed and lent, including by U.S. foundations to African universities, and raises questions related to how culturally applicable they are.

Similar concerns regarding the disproportionate influence of Northern organisations on Southern partners are also expressed by Santos (Chapter 9). In his examination of the Intel Corporation and its support of Brazil's science fairs, Santos reveals how an outside entity attempted to shape an entire country's science curriculum. When Intel decided to discontinue its support of science fairs, presumably without any discussion with Southern partners such as Brazil, the direction and focus of science education in the country was directly impacted.

Taking a slightly different perspective in their account of the International Education Funders Group (IEFG), an umbrella organisation of philanthropic actors working in education, Haggerty, Magrath and Kelava describe what they call 'colonial influences of the flow of grant-making' (Chapter 3, p. 45). They find that Anglophone foundations tended to focus on Anglophone countries while Francophone countries focused on Francophone countries, a finding similar to that of Jaumont and Moja. This linkage between philanthropic funding and former colonies raises many questions about not only the perpetuation of colonial spheres of influence but also of unequal partnerships, to use the words of Jaumont and Moja.

Bird and León's chapter on Peru (Chapter 8) takes a different approach but is still illuminating with regard to the negative impact of Northern institutions on philanthropy and education in the Global South. The authors discuss the impact of Northern multilateral donors, in this case the World Bank, on Southern economies and the effect of this on the local education sector and local philanthropy. In the case of Peru, the reclassifying of the country as an upper middle-income country meant that there was a sharp decrease in aid flows and a subsequent reduction in government funding for education. This, in turn, placed great pressure on local philanthropic actors to step in to fill the gaps. However, the less well-resourced, local philanthropic sector has been unable to meet the shortfalls in funding, and thus, the local education sector continues to face serious funding challenges.

While Ziswiler and Terway (Chapter 4) do not speak directly about the North–South divide, their chapter highlights the use of Northern financial instruments to achieve results in a Southern context. While the projects so far have been successful, little is said about the cultural appropriateness of such instruments or about the inherent values that accompany them. In research on microfinance, Bateman (2012) and Roy (2010) found that the microfinance movement often imposed Northern ways of banking on communities in the Global South, which did not always connect with local ways of transacting. As a result, these interventions did not provide sustainable benefits to the communities. In terms of innovative finance models, such as development impact bonds and the like, there may be similar inherent risks associated with the use of these instruments in the Global South by Northern philanthropic actors, something that should be considered moving forward.

The divide between the North and South and the continuation of unequal relationships by the philanthropic sector raises questions about whether Northern philanthropic organisations are actually empowering their Southern partners or perpetuating the principal–agent problem that has historically plagued the development sector.[1]

INCREASING COLLABORATION

The second challenge facing global philanthropy, which appears in several of the chapters, centres around the issue of collaboration. The growing awareness of the need for collaboration across various stakeholders is discussed by several authors. However, the chapters also reveal a lack of collaboration between the philanthropic and academic sectors.

In terms of seeking to foster greater collaboration between actors, Ziswiler and Terway touch upon this in their chapter (Chapter 4). The social finance models they discuss are contingent on working relationships between investors, philanthropic organisations and the implementer. They argue that these models are also pushing for greater collaboration between the private capital market and social development organisations and, thus,

[1] In development aid, there are many complex principal–agent relationships that impact almost all aspects of aid delivery. For more information, see Martens, Mummert, Murrell and Seabright (2002) and Radelet (2006).

have an important role to play in bringing stakeholders together around a particular project.

Similarly, in her chapter examining the growing role of corporations in education in Nigeria, Udo-Umoren (Chapter 10) explains that while companies in the past tended to give their corporate social responsibility (CSR) funds to non-profit organisations or charities, there is now a growing trend for them to partner with a wider range of actors. Specifically, she mentions the growing number of corporations working with governments and multilateral agencies on social issues such as education. However, she makes the point that the motivation behind this may also be related to helping corporations promote their business interests and influence policy-making.

Also connected to collaboration with governments, both our own chapter (Chapter 5) and the chapter by Matovich and Cardini (Chapter 11) highlight the benefits for philanthropic organisations that work closely with local and federal governments as well as the pitfalls of not being connected to them. In our chapter, we discuss how philanthropic organisations who were the most active in the public education sector spoke about having close connections and ties with government officials and/or ministers of education. The higher the level of collaboration, it seems, the easier it was for entities to be able to run programmes and influence education policy. From a slightly different perspective, Matovich and Cardini also speak at length about the role that collaboration between members of the government and the leadership of the Varkey Foundation played in terms of facilitating entry into the education sector for the Foundation in Argentina.

With regard to foundations collaborating with each other, Jaumont and Moja describe the joining of forces of U.S. foundations in the PHEA. Through coming together, not only did these foundations wield significantly more financial influence, but they also leveraged all their separate networks in order to gain access and exert influence both at the institutional and national levels. The chapter by Haggerty et al. also discusses at length the benefits of foundations collaborating and connecting through the IEFG as well as some of the challenges associated with facilitating such relationships.

In terms of the collaboration (or lack thereof) between philanthropic foundations and academia, several chapters speak to this point directly or indirectly. Two interlinked key trends emerge from this volume. First, it is clear that foundations are unlikely to carry out their own research or even fund research. Second, their work in the education sector that is done unilaterally, without the involvement of researchers, can at times place them at odds with the national or international academic community.

In terms of conducting and funding research, our chapter exploring philanthropy in education in the Middle East finds that only 11 per cent of foundations in the region conduct or fund education-related research. The low value placed on research and a lack of engagement with researchers on the part of philanthropic organisations in the Middle East unfortunately can mean that many philanthropic organisations pay little attention to current or past research that has already looked at many of the challenges they are seeking to address. In doing so, they run the risk of repeating the same mistakes or wasting scarce resources on programmes that have already proven to be ineffective.

An absence of engagement with academia appears to be a common factor across many of the descriptions of the activities and networks of foundations. Haggerty et al. explain how the IEFG addresses gaps 'in the field of global education philanthropy: a lack of opportunity for grant-makers to share information, collaborate or co-fund; and a perceived "information overload" that makes it difficult for foundations to stay on top of the latest research and innovations' (Chapter 3, p. 47). While the organisation provides linkages between the IEFG's members, new connections are not geared towards including academics, unless they are also employed at a grant-making organisation. As a result of the lack of connection between academia and philanthropic organisations, it may appear that academics are overly critical and unsupportive of the work of philanthropic organisations. However, perhaps with better engagement and collaboration between the two worlds, this would not be the case.

GROWING INFLUENCE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR

As the number and influence of private philanthropic foundations increase in the education sector globally, there are renewed concerns about the influence of the private sector on public education, and, in particular, on the formal and informal networks that enable this (Davies, 2011; Reckhow & Snyder, 2014; Ridge & Kippels, 2019). Ball (2008, 2012, 2016) discusses the importance of these networks in much of his work on philanthropy, and we can see networks at play in many of the chapters in this volume, whether explicitly as in the cases of Brazil and Argentina or implicitly through the awarding of contracts and partnerships in the case of the UBS Optimus Foundation. For many private foundations, new or old, the cultivation of networks has been an essential part of their corporate background, and that these practices persist into their philanthropic work should probably not surprise us.

The importance of personal and corporate networks is well-described in the case of the Varkey Foundation's entry to Argentina. Matovich and Cardini describe how 'policies flow through networks at the same time that they are adapted to them. . . movements and adaptations involve different actors coming from diverse areas and with different interests and influences, assembling a discourse that is permanently legitimated by the network itself' (Chapter 11, p. 193). A well-developed relationship and support for particular politicians and their network resulted in favourable conditions for the Varkey Foundation to launch teacher training programmes across the country. Likewise, in Brazil, Santos explains how great care was taken by Intel to connect with government officials and non-profit leaders to gain support for the science fairs as well as to ultimately influence the national science curriculum.

It is these networks that enable the CEOs of private foundations to meet with ministers of education, gain access to closed-door meetings and have the right conversations with the right people. However, such networks may also enable them to avoid transparency about finances, connections and motivations. Without these networks, the majority of the work that private philanthropy does in the public education sector would probably not have happened in the way that it has, particularly if the philanthropic organisation originated outside of the country or region.

THE NEED FOR GREATER TRANSPARENCY

Finally, many chapters also discuss issues surrounding transparency, which again echo critiques by scholars of the foreign aid sector (Frumkin, 2006; Tyler, 2013). In the absence of a well-established legislative environment governing philanthropic organisations in many countries in the Global South, there is a lack of transparency surrounding both finances between philanthropic entities and recipients and to philanthropic entities from corporations or other sources (Cruz, 2011).

Key to the success and sustainability of philanthropic work in education is that organisations are perceived as trustworthy. Key to trust is transparency about activities and about finances. Haggerty et al. write about the value of building communities of trust and the barriers to this. In our own research on the Middle East, we also encountered issues related to this. In our case, it was difficult to gather information related to the budgets of foundations, beyond sweeping public relations statements about overall commitments. The majority of foundations working in education did not provide audited financial information on their websites. A key reason for this is the lack of clear, legal frameworks for philanthropic organisations in the region.

A lack of transparency about financial resources and their origins also may lead to incorrect assumptions about the independence and type of philanthropic organisations. Srivastava and Read (Chapter 2) discuss how they faced challenges relating to a lack of information about organisations' financial assets and flows when attempting to categorise organisations, which often led them to make best guesses as to an organisation's status.

The need for financial transparency is also indirectly highlighted by Ziswiler and Terway. In their chapter discussing the use of social finance, one party pays for the development impact bond intervention while another implements it. An investor, such as UBS Optimus Foundation, pays for the initial costs, and then if the parameters of success are reached, they receive a payout by another separate entity, such as the government. In such complex financial transactions and flows, it is imperative not only that governments are aware of where the money is flowing from and to but also who the various partners and recipients are. The many layers between donor and recipient may be a potential source of confusion, and perhaps mistrust, when trying to ensure sustainability in the long term.

Bird and León, in their discussion of philanthropic organisations in Peru, find a linkage between greater financial transparency and good governance in social investment organisations. In Peru, social organisations whose board compositions changed every 2.6 years versus every 5.1 were more likely to have published financial information, one form of greater transparency. Bird and León make a call for more transparency in the sector in order to ensure that initiatives are doing what is most needed to assist the education sector.

Finally, Udo-Umoren in her examination of CSR in Nigeria, also looks at issues surrounding financial transparency. She explains that when it comes to CSR, it is difficult to determine exactly how much companies actually spend and how much, in particular, on education. For governments, there is a need to be able to quantify the amounts that are being spent on education and where so that financial resources can be most effectively used and to determine if there are other motivations behind the spending. However, a lack of transparency in the sector can hinder this. Overall, the majority of chapters highlight a lack of transparency, particularly related to financial transparency, as a key challenge to the success of the global philanthropic sector.

FUTURE RESEARCH AND CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Moving forward, it is clear that there are many opportunities for philanthropic organisations working in the global education sector to make positive contributions. There is also a great deal of positivity surrounding the entry of such organisations into the development sector on the part of Southern governments. As many have grown weary of the conditionality attached to official development assistance (ODA), governments may consider relationships with philanthropic entities to be a liberating exchange (Grady, 2014; Moyo, 2009). However, while there may be no explicit conditionality attached to philanthropic contributions, governments need to be careful that they are not exchanging one regime for another (Ball, 2008; Giridharadas, 2018; Kramer, 2018). A lack of research and regulations means that recipient governments may not have all the information they need to make informed decisions about working with philanthropic donors. In addition, should things not work out, they may find themselves without any recourse.

In the case of bilateral assistance, democratic donor countries are accountable to their electorates and to various oversight committees. However, the question of who philanthropic organisations are accountable to is far less clear. In fact, this has been one of the biggest criticisms of philanthropic organisations in their domestic settings (Frumkin, 2006; Green, 2013). In our volume, the question of accountability lurks at the back of many of the chapters, the elephant in the room if you will. As Reckhow and Tompkins-Stange (2018) describe, philanthropic organisations can give and take funds away as quickly or slowly as they like, whenever and from wherever they choose. In Santos's chapter, it appears that Intel gave little thought to how its quick 'pivot' away from science fairs might negatively impact science education across the country. The fast-moving change of priorities and rapid pullback of funds by philanthropic organisations have also been well documented in the United States by Tompkins-Stange (2018), who looked at the case of the Gates Foundation, its rapid support of small schools and its subsequent, equally rapid rollback.

It is clear that the chapters in this volume raise many more questions than they answer regarding global trends in philanthropy and education. The rapid expansion of philanthropic activity in the global education sector is a recent phenomenon and, as such, is still relatively unstudied. Even in the United States, which has a far longer history of philanthropic involvement in education, there is too little scholarship examining the impact of private philanthropy on public goods. However, in other parts of the world, there is even less. Much of the existing research is, as we described, hindered by weak or non-existent regulatory requirements of philanthropic entities, in particular surrounding transparency of finances. Future research examining the legal and regulatory environments in which philanthropic organisations operate across and within countries in the Global South would make a valuable contribution to the field, especially with so many large Northern philanthropic organisations seeking to work further afield.

In addition to understanding the context in which philanthropy operates, there is also a need for further methodological and theoretical research of the sector. Srivastava and Read demonstrate the complexity of the field and the need for the construction of typologies through which to understand different types of actors. Theoretical frameworks need to be developed that can account for the messiness of the field, its indirect impact on policy-making and its blurring of corporate and philanthropic interests and of for-profit and not-for profit streams in single entities. While it would be impossible and perhaps undesirable to have anything definitive, there is, in our experience, a real need at the most basic level to be able to distinguish between financially independent philanthropic organisations and those that are not. Our research in the Middle East revealed that many organisations that identified as philanthropic organisations were in fact middlemen, taking grants from larger foundations or governments and then passing them on to non-profits and other organisations. Thus, estimates about the size of philanthropic activity is likely to be overstated given that money is often just being recirculated and double- or triple-counted.

Finally, but not exhaustively, there is the need for more research examining the networks through which these new actors are operating. In his recent chapter in Parreira do Amaral, Steiner-Khamsi and Thompson (2019), Ball (2019) examines the case of the Michael and Susan Dell Foundation in India and the complex network of actors surrounding its work. This kind of research, which both Matovich and Cardini and Udo-Umoren also utilise, is valuable in terms of understanding not only why policies and partnerships are formed and shaped but also how. There are numerous closed-door meetings of philanthropic actors happening every year, and these gatherings not only connect them with each other but also with governments and the private sector. However, notably absent from many of these meetings are academics. Thus, further study of networks connecting private foundations with government officials, corporations, the non-profit sector and academia will be crucial to understanding how foundations are operating in a post-aid world.

New philanthropic actors move with far greater speed than their predecessors or than academia. They are also increasingly more focused on delivering measurable results and on scalability, in line with the business backgrounds that many have (Brest, 2012). However, often missing from their activities seems to be self-reflection and a lack of research into what has been tried before and whether or not it was successful. By engaging and collaborating with academics, philanthropic organisations would benefit in that their initiatives could be more robust and built on what has gone before and, as a result, more successful. For academics, there is a need also to move beyond simplistic and theoretical explanations of the motivations of foundations and to instead examine exactly what is being done, by whom and how. While there is a need for healthy scepticism, there is also a need for engagement and a move away from cynicism in order to prevent open-minded philanthropists and philanthropic entities from becoming completely disconnected from academia.

Moving forward, we hope that there will be increasingly more research on philanthropy and education that brings practitioners, philanthropic leaders and academics together as we have attempted to do in this volume. Through greater collaboration and more rigorous research, not only will philanthropic organisations be able to ground their work in evidence but academics will be able to make a tangible contribution to achieving Sustainable Development Goal 4 and numerous other national and regional educational aspirations in the most ethical, efficient and effective way possible.

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