

QATAR UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

QATAR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA:

PROSPECTS AND PITFALLS

BY

FATIMA JABER A S AL-AHBABI

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COMMITTEE PAGE

The members of the Committee approve the Thesis of
Fatima Jaber A S Al-Ahbabi defended on [11 April 2021].

Dr. Afyare Abdi Elmi
Thesis/Dissertation Supervisor

Dr. Mahjoob Zweiri
Committee Member

Dr. Youcef Bouandel
Committee Chair

Approved:

Ibrahim AlKaabi, Dean, College of Arts and Sciences

ABSTRACT

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Title: _Qatar Foreign Assistance to Education Development in Africa: Prospects and Pitfalls

Supervisor of Thesis: Dr. Afyare, A, Elmi.

This thesis is aimed to analyze Qatar's foreign aid to the Sub-Saharan countries especially in terms of educational aid over the period of (2013-2019). It highlights the evolution of Qatar's educational aid to the Sub-Saharan countries in terms of volume, factors and top recipients and it demonstrates the nature of Qatar's foreign aid to Africa under the period of the study. The first part of the thesis discusses the relevant literature on foreign aid and its conceptual framework. The second part looks at the Gulf aid with the focus on Qatar's foreign aid. Finally, the thesis presents the findings and analysis of the research questions.

In terms of methods, the thesis relied on primary reports that Qatar development agencies published, and the secondary resources collected from libraries, and databases. Furthermore, the thesis contributes to the literature on Qatar's foreign aid and helps policymakers to improve the country's foreign assistance policy. Although Qatar is considered one of the top donors in the Middle East, there are still limited studies that discuss Qatar's foreign aid. As a result, this study aims to enrich the literature that discuss the relationship between Qatar and the Sub-Saharan Africa in terms of foreign aid and particularly educational aid. Moreover, the recommendations of the study will help the policy makers of Qatar's foreign aid.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my deceased parents, to my living parents, especially my Mom.

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First, I would like to start by thanking Almighty Allah for his grace and preservation to complete this thesis and for putting in my path the people who have contributed to it along the way. I also would like to thank my dearest Supervisor, Dr. Afyare Elmi for accepting me to be his student. It has been my pleasure to be one of his students in the undergraduate level, and it is such an honor to complete my master's degree also under his supervision.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Development aid became a phenomenon of the post-war period, especially after the World War II and the Marshall Plan initiative of rebuilding Europe in 1948. Aid is perceived as temporary act of providing assistance to poor people and to developing countries (Grant, 1979). Despite the fact that its objectives and motivations have been the subject of heated debate, aid has grown considerably and became a permanent act for most of the developed countries and aid institutions worldwide. According to Hattori (2001), the major objective of aid is improving the livelihood of the poor people in the least developed countries by supporting the economic development, health care system, education etc. (Hattori, 2001).

This study focuses on the role of the State of Qatar as an aid donor. It discusses the evolution of Qatar's development aid in Sub-Saharan countries. In particular, the study examines Qatar's development aid in the education sector in Sub-Saharan countries over the period of 2013 to 2019. For that reason, I focused on collecting data from the Qatari's aid agencies that provide aid for education such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Qatar Fund for Development, EAA, and QC.

After its independence in 1971, Qatar has provided humanitarian assistance to war-affected countries and in response to natural disasters. In the early years, much of Qatar's foreign aid focused on humanitarian responses and reconstruction projects in many countries around the world, especially in the Middle East region such as Palestine, Sudan, and Syria (Antwi-Boateng, 2013).

In 1995, Qatar began to see education as an important tool for development assistance. It was during this period that Qatar Foundation was founded with the vision of making Qatar a nation capable of being a vanguard for productive and positive

change in the region, and thereby acting as a role model for the wider international community (EAA, 2020).

Furthermore, Qatar enabled prestigious educational institutions and academic universities to open country satellite campuses. Hence, after a decade of humanitarian success, Qatar began to look at educational aid as an important aspect of its overseas development assistance. Commenting on this, Qatar's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs H.E. Sheikh Mohammed Bin Abdulrahman Al-Thani, said, "Stability, security, peace and justice for the peoples of the region and the world cannot be realized without the achievement of sustainable comprehensive development" (Chairman Message – Qatar Fund for Development, 2020).

As a result, during 2013-2019, Qatar emerged as an influential participant in regional and world development assistance. Qatar has made education aid an important aspect of its overseas development assistance. In 2012, Qatar's leadership founded the Qatar Foundation's Education Above All (EAA) initiative. Through focusing on quality education, EAA aims to improve the wellbeing of individual in the developing countries (Education Above All, 2020). The program operates in countries impacted by poverty, war, and natural disasters. Moreover, EAA also ensures that girls, youth, and women's needs are addressed in order to inspire them to be active members in their societies (Education Above All, 2020). According to the annual reports of its aid organizations, Qatar's total foreign aid disbursement during the period of (2013-2019), was around 10 billion dollars. Of that, around 3.5 billion dollars was directed to support education in developing countries, which is equal to 36% of the total foreign aid disbursement. Additionally, of 2.9 billion dollars that Qatar gave to the Sub-Saharan countries, close

to half (1.26 billion dollars) was allocated to support education (MOFA reports, QFFD reports, EAA reports, QC reports, 2013–2019).

Ironically, even though it has invested a lot, Qatar's foreign assistance is not well-studied area. Therefore, this study investigates Qatar's development assistance in the Education Sector in Sub-Sahara Africa during the period of (2013-2019). In doing so, besides the new insights that the research brings, the study will contribute to the existing literature that focus on Qatar's Foreign Assistance.

Research Problem

The contemporary literature about development assistance has proven the economic, social, and political value of investing in education (Alvis, 1970). The fact that education contributes to economic growth, and reduction of poverty has encouraged the international donors and the local governments to invest in education.

Since its independence, Qatar has prioritized humanitarian assistance within its foreign policy activities. The state has been providing humanitarian assistance and emergency aid to those affected by wars, natural disasters etc. (Antwi-Boateng, 2013). However, in the past decade, Qatar has expanded its foreign assistance to development assistance that aligned with the Sustainable Development Goals in the fields of health, infrastructure, budget support, economic empowerment, and education (QFFD, 2020).

Since 2013, Qatar has allocated an approximately USD 3 billion dollars of its total development assistance to the education sector of the developing countries globally. According to the report of Qatar's official institution for foreign assistance, the Qatar Fund for Development (QFFD), in 2017, around 50% of the overall spending was allocated to education sector in developing countries (Qatar Fund for Development, 2017). Yet, there are limited studies that generally analyze Qatar's development assistance in education. Therefore, in view of this gap in knowledge, this study aims to

set out to investigate the role of Qatar's Development Assistance in Education in Sub-Saharan countries during the period of (2013-2019). Moreover, this study will explore the main factors that contribute to Qatar's decision to focus on education development in Sub-Sahara Africa, and the challenges it faces.

Objectives of the Study

This study aims to achieve the following objectives:

- 1- Analyze the main international trends on Development Assistance in general and in education in particular.
- 2- Analyze the literature on Development Assistance in general and in education in particular.
- 3- Explore the main features and characteristics of Qatar's Development Assistance in Education sector.
- 4- Identify and discuss factors that shape Qatar's policy on education development assistance to Sub-Sahara Africa.

Research Questions

The study answers the following three research questions:

1. What is the nature of Qatar's Foreign Aid in Africa over the period of (2013-2019)?
2. What are the implications of Qatar's development assistance to Education sector in Sub-Sahara Africa?
3. How do we understand Qatar's increased Foreign Assistance to the Sub-Saharan Africa?

Significance

Despite the fact that the State of Qatar is not a member of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), it pays great attention to foreign aid and development assistance. Recently, Qatar has emerged as a mid-sized foreign aid donor amongst the

international community (OECD, 2021). For instance, it has provided around US 10 billion in foreign aid since 2013. However, there are still limited studies on Qatar's development aid abroad. Moreover, the few studies that are available often deal with the relationship between Qatar's foreign aid and foreign policy. Therefore, this study is unique in addressing the Qatar's Development Assistance in education in Sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, this study will also enrich the literature that discusses the relationship between Qatar and the Sub-Saharan Africa.

For the purpose of answering the research questions, this study argues that political, economic and security factors along with Qatar's commitment to the international community and the SDGs explain Qatar's increased foreign aid to Sub-Saharan Africa. Additionally, this study is significant in that it can help the policy makers of Qatar's foreign aid especially on planning for the allocation of aid and how to relate it to its foreign policy in order to achieve and gain the political, economic and security interests.

Methodology

In general, this study examines Qatar's foreign aid in Sub-Saharan Africa. It attempts to answer the following three questions: What is the nature of Qatar's foreign aid in Africa over the period of 2013-2019? What are the implications of Qatar's development assistance to Education sector in Africa? How do we understand Qatar's increased foreign assistance to the Sub-Saharan Africa? In answering the above questions, I relied on secondary resources collected from libraries and databases. The use of historical documentary analysis was important for obtaining the information concerning the evolution of Qatar's development assistance during the period of 2013-2019, and the trends and characteristics of this development assistance in general and

in particular the educational assistance to Africa. The documents provided numerical and other statistical data in terms of aid volume, type of aid, and recipient countries.

In addition, the thesis relied on primary documents such as official annual reports of Qatar's development agencies. In particular, the official annual reports of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), Qatar Fund for Development (QFFD), Education Above All (EAA) and Qatar Charity (QC) over the period of (2013-2019) have been used. Before exploring Qatar's foreign aid in the following sections, it is important to highlight these reports were collected from EAA and QC, in which QC report included the total disbursement without any extra information regarding the sectors and the regions. Moreover, in the years of 2016-2018, the data on Qatar's foreign aid to education in Africa was published by QFFD and EAA, while in 2019, there is only one official report published from QFFD. I also obtained data on education aid to Africa from Qatar Charity.

While the data from the official annual report is valuable for this study, there were some limitations. First, this is a self-reported data and therefore it is limited in that way. Additionally, since Qatar did not have one agency that manages the aid, there could be a missing data. As a result, this limitation of resources has had a negative impact on examining the aid's volume over the timeframe of this research (2013-2019), and therefore, may not allow for consistency of information. In other words, I examined and analyzed the available data on this issue from the official reports of the agencies that manage Qatar's foreign aid. In addition, I used secondary resources such as books, journal articles, reports, and documents from think tanks from various online databases and libraries.

Limitation of the Study

One of the main limitations of this study was the lack of literature and resources

available and related to Qatar's foreign aid. Because of this problem, this study relies on the official reports of MOFA, QFFD, EAA and QC. In addition, there was a very limited information of the Qatar's foreign aid in terms of sectors and regions.

Another limitation is the absence of the governmental foreign aid report in 2015, which delimited the study to reports from EAA and QC only. That also created a difficulty for the author of this study to evaluate the data related to the volume and the top recipients as some reports never showed this in their reports. And finally, there is a doubt about the reliability of data from some of the reports being collected by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which makes it possible to exploit the data for political purposes.

Organization of the Study

After the first introductory section, Chapter two examines the literature on foreign aid, particularly focusing on the concept of foreign aid, its historical evolution, and the theories that explain foreign aid. The chapter also explained the structural adjustment and the new purposes of aid in the 21st century. Moreover, the chapter explains the relationship between aid and growth in the post-conflicted countries. And finally discusses the different perspectives of donors on foreign aid. Chapter three looks at the aid in education, the origin of educational aid. The chapter further discusses the relationship between education and economic development, while paying attention to the issue of the gender equality and education and the education in fragile and post-conflicted countries.

Chapter four examines at the nature of Qatar's foreign aid, and especially the aid in education to the sub-Saharan Africa over the period of (2013-2019). It will assess Qatar's foreign policy and strategies towards Africa. Moreover, the chapter will provide a detailed analysis of the performance of Qatar's foreign aid institutions and volume over the same period. Finally, Chapter five addresses Qatar's foreign assistance to

education development in Africa from (2013 to 2019), and it presents the findings of this study. The chapter will further analyze the data on Qatar's foreign assistance to Africa in general and on its foreign assistance in education in particular. And in the final chapter, the author will provide conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

For this study, I will be reviewing the relevant literature on the subject in broad themes including, but not limited to, the concept of foreign aid, the types and forms of foreign aid, and aid for development. I will also be reviewing literatures that address the effectiveness of aid in post-conflict countries as well as reviewing the different means of foreign aid for the donors and the recipient countries. Finally, I will explain the theories of foreign aid that I use as a conceptual framework.

The Concept of Foreign Aid

Before starting to answer the research questions of this thesis, I found it essential to first explain the concept of Foreign Aid and some of its forms. According to the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the basic definition of foreign aid is “the resources flow from the developing countries which are given by the government and have a grant element of at least 25 per cent” (Directorate, 2003). Moreover, according to Moyo (2009), Foreign Aid is abroad term that can be classified into three categories: Humanitarian aid and Emergency response, Charity-based aid, and Systematic aid.

For Humanitarian Aid and Emergency Response, the disbursement of aid is considered essential for the survival of the victims and the rebuilding of the damaged infrastructure after a natural disaster happened. The nature of this aid is not necessary to focus on the development of the recipient country. Furthermore, charity-based aid is defined that the charitable organizations disburse aid to specific institutions to achieve particular goals (Moyo, 2009). On the other hand, systematic aid referred to when a country gives aid to another country through two methods: bilateral aid or multilateral aid. It is widely believed that the bilateral aid is given by the donors to achieve particular goals. For example, Clemens, Radelet and Bhavnani (2004) have claimed that in 1979,

the United States has given aid to both Israel and Egypt to support the Camp David Peace Accords. They argued that the objective of this aid was not to enhance the economy of Israel and Egypt; it was mainly given to them in order to let them end the war and promote peace between the two hostile nations (Clemens, Radelet, & Bhavnani, 2004).

As one of the scholars that addressed foreign aid from various perspectives, Bauer has defined Foreign Aid as the following: “a transfer of resources from the taxpayer of a donor country to the government of a recipient country” (Shliefer, 2009, p. 39). Moreover, Veillette and Division (2008) have expanded the definition of foreign aid to include the financial support through humanitarian assistance, emergency response, and economic development. They provided a detailed definition on Foreign Aid that covers the financial support in terms of economic development, emergency response and humanitarian assistance (Veillette and Division, 2008). On the other hand, Rady (2012), has cited Lancaster’s definition on Foreign Aid as the “Voluntary transfer of public resources from a government to another independent government, to an NGO, or to international organization with at least 25 percent grant element, one goal of which is to improve the human condition in the country receiving the aid” (Rady, 2012, P. 123).

Foreign Aid can take many forms. Although the most common form is the capital transfer, there is a new trend in the Foreign Aid which is the technical assistance in terms of consultation and training (Imbisi Mukilma, 2015). However, there is aid that is given by the donor for political purposes such as preserving peace. For example, US congress had to approve the yearly aid to Egypt that was directed to the military and civilian purposes when Egypt committed and observed the peace treaty with Israel (Alesina & Dollar, 2000). Beside the political purposes behind providing Foreign Aid,

it can also be given for development purposes (Rady, 2012). Donors may provide aid to developing countries in order to increase the capacity of certain industries, reducing poverty, enhance education and health sectors. Some donors provide aid for humanitarian purposes and as an emergency response to disasters (Rady, 2012).

Changing Ideologies in Aid Provision (1970-1990)

In spite of the high growth rates in the developing countries in 1960s, this growth rate remained steady and failed to reach a higher level as it had been anticipated. Furthermore, poverty rates remained high in most parts of the third world countries (Turrent, 2016). Indeed, even as aid programmes increased, there was a level of disappointment of the achievements of these aid programmes and its level of effectiveness. During this period, the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) mentioned in its reports that it is a crisis for development (Turrent, 2016). Additionally, there has been a call for more noteworthy spotlight on “basic human needs” (Turrent, 2016, p.51). The donors had to embrace arrangements that quickly and straightforwardly benefited poor people and focus on long-term growth with the expectation that it would end poverty (Coombs, Roy, Prosser & Ahmed, 1973).

The solidification of this new advancement point of view for aid in the international scene rose out of two unmistakable philosophies (Riddell, 2007). The first, was proposed by the world Bank and concerned the redistribution of aid to improve the economic growth of a country (Chenery, Ahluwalia et al., 1974). The second philosophy was proposed by the international labor organization and addressed the basic needs of development (Ghai & Lee, 1980). The two methodologies enveloped an idea of improvement that apparent economic growth alone was inadequate in eliminating poverty. This would lead poverty reduction in a roundabout way (Riddell, 2007). A more straightforward way to deal with handling poverty was considered to be

of most extreme significance. By the mid of 1970s, the infrastructure sector became an element for economic growth and poverty reduction (Browne, 2006).

In the beginning, the influence of the practice of giving aid was sensational. However, with the emergence of the bilateral agencies in the development field, it was noticed that huge portion of aid was provided through them (Lancaster, 2007). Donors have begun to concentrate on providing aid to specific sectors such as education, and health care, in an effort to directly help the poor around the world (Lancaster, 2007). However, the recipient's governments disliked this approach, and their concern was about rapid economic growth (King, 1992).

Primary education, in particular, was missing from the World Bank's policies when it came to education. The 1974, education sector working paper presented the defense for the arrangement of "minimum basic education for all as fully and as soon as available resources permit, and the course of development requires" (World Bank 1974: 52). During the Bellagio conference in 1995, the concepts of education and development were the focus of discussion. One of the points agreed was sharing the data on education and emphasizing on the importance of the coordination between the donors. (King, 1991).

Structural Adjustment

Weiler (1983) notes that although the donors have acknowledged the importance of education for national development, financial support for education began to decline, and the educational aid provided by DAC members remained under the expectations during 80s (Weiler, 1983).

King (1991) supported the development agencies in their action to reconsider education policy especially during the fiscal constraints that faced the donors and the development countries. As such, this led to a search for educational changes that could

support the macro-economic modification technique of the World Bank and the IMF (King, 1991). During this period, the World Bank has proven its strength in the policy formation of education and training, with a view to ensuring that the state does not control the financing of education and the provision of training (Jones, 1992). The World Bank policy that was imposed on the recipient countries when receiving educational aid, have allowed the education sector to gain "the kind of economic muscularity that is required across the organization as a whole" (Mundy, 2002, p. 409).

The emphasis on basic education was part of the human capital theory, which remained unmistakable in the thinking of the World Bank in the 1980s and was presently acknowledged through the practice of rates of return analysis (Psacharopoulos, 1985). The rate of return analysis superseded the use of manpower forecasting, turning it into a key strategy to decide on education level that is linked to 'effective lending' (Youssef, 2005).

In addition to structural adjustment, Riddell argues that recipient governments have been obliged to pursue new policies, in order to ensure the effectiveness of aid especially in the education sector (Riddell, 2007). In line with the fundamental principles of neo-liberalism, recipient countries moved towards privatizing education sector activities, as the governmental expenditure on education declined (Jones, 1992).

The reduction in domestic expenditure on education and the resulting move towards a more prominent privatization of education, have been strongly challenged by various NGOs and, in particular, by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), which claimed that economic reforms have only helped the rich countries and worsen situation in the least developed countries (Shams, 1998). Moreover, they have argued that the most vulnerable people were the victims of the structural adjustment measures

(Cornia, Jolly, and Stewart, 1987). The debate between the international financial institutions and those opposing the structural adjustment persisted for another decade.

For some, with the advantage of knowing the past, “the era of structural adjustment was a lost decade” for the development of education (Novelli, 2012). The difference in the development paths of many African and Latin American countries in the 1980s and 1990s is very particular in the assessment of nearby China, the Asian Tigers and India. To be sure, the thing that matters apparently has affected what keeps on being a key discussion is whether state-based redistribution techniques should be supported in the easing of destitution and imbalance (Novelli, 2012).

The New Purpose of Aid in the 21st Century

With the end of the Cold War, the international affairs for giving aid declined while criticism of structural adjustment programs and donor continued (Burnell, 1997). In many African countries, growth rates have been declining, while poverty rates have been rising (Moyo, 2009). As a result, structural adjustment policies were criticized to be responsible for weakening the low-income countries and have failed to help them to maintain their stability and social cohesion. The international financial institutions were in a hurry to deal with the negative impact of the structural adjustment (Novelli & Lopes, 2012). The failure of the structural adjustment has led to a turning point for developing countries, while the World Bank and a number of bilateral aid agencies began to reassess their policies in the 1990s. This prepared the way for the Post-Washington Consensus era (Robertson, 2012).

Against this background, since inadequate political leadership and weak institutions were responsible for Africa’s distresses, governments adopted a good governance agenda (Collier & Dollar, 2002). The good governance agenda emerged “as both an explanation and solution to the deficiencies of Washington Consensus

development model” (Novelli & Lopes, 2012, p.55). In an effort to strengthen the development aid, the OECD DAC highlighted a number of areas which needs an urgent consideration to enhance the effectiveness of aid and to achieve its objectives.

These objectives focused on the importance of the role of the recipient countries in the process of aid. Moreover, the recipient countries should promote their internal policies and accountability for all activities that are related to aid (OECD, 1996)

Following this, and in 1999, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) published a strategy paper to compact relationship between development actors. This strategy paper was focused on the important of ownership by the recipient countries in fighting poverty (IMF, 2013). In addition, the purpose of this paper was “to give the essential connection between national public actions, donor support, and the development outcomes needed to meet the United Nations’ Millennium Development Goals”, which were focused on eliminating poverty by 2015 (IMF, 2013).

The Relationship Between Aid and Growth in the Post-Conflicted Countries

The selectiveness of aid allocations has resulted in aid uncertainty being more pronounced than in more developed nations (Levin and Dollar, 2005) in what are known as 'fragile states,' the 'poor results' countries of weak government and/or institutions. 'Fragile' states apply to the countries that 'show weak institutions and bad policies of the governments' (Turrent, 2016, p. 72). The word refers to common characteristics of poor or worsening governance, conflict vulnerability and vulnerable crises and political transitions (Rice & Patrick, 2008). The threat posed by fragile countries often calls for early, personalized, and harmonized donor approaches which go beyond the current rapid responses (Leader & Colenso, 2005). In order to prevent vulnerable countries from being corrupt, donors have a tendency to use the fund through

NGOs. However, this also means that a chance can be bypassed to create government capacity and to increase accountability, thus perpetuating the institutional weakness loop (Leader and Colenso, 2005).

Levin and Dollar (2005) examined the aid flows from 1992 to 2002 and note that aid volatility in fragile countries is very high. The authors also note that aid is being distributed unexpectedly to vulnerable states, indicating that aid is provided in a short period of time to countries when donors are made aware of special global crises (Levin and Dollar, 2005). In addition, the difficulties for fragile states have been aggravated further by inconsistent and often not clear assignment criteria which mean that support flows are unpredictable. For the purposes of aid research, conflict-borne countries are routinely classified as 'fragile states' because of their continuously poor institutional capability (Turrent, 2016).

However, post-conflict assistance could be consistent with other vulnerable countries where studies demonstrate that help given to post-conflict countries is relatively ineffective because of poor capacity and weak institutions (Collier & Dollar, 2002). The end of war induces an immediate revival of economic development, which encourages wider economic growth through donors and public consumption of local goods and services. In addition, job-creation programs are triggering a transient increase in jobs and consumption, while investment in physical and social infrastructure increases short-term demand and long-term growth (Collier, 1999).

Contradictory Perspectives of Donors on Foreign Aid

Critics of aid have claimed that aid failed to achieve its objectives in the poorest countries, in particular Asian and sub-Saharan African countries (Moyo, 2009). They claim that aid allocations are intended for a variety of different purposes, but that their existence and degree are defined by political intent (Moyo, 2009). Donors have

different motives in providing aid to the recipient countries, while only few of them cared and respond to their needs. Nevertheless, this can also help recipients and have positive results (Ademi, 2017).

Canavire, Numnenkamp, Thiele and Triveno (2006) looked at whether donors were choosing recipients for their own selfish purposes. They carried out a comprehensive analysis to see if donors have any political and economic interests in the aid allocation process and whether these interests addressed the recipient's needs. In their research there was no evidence that donors' interests are the driver for providing aid (Canavire, Numnenkamp, Thiele & Triveno 2006, p. 26-43). Whilst cross-country studies have not provided adequate clarity of policy against donor goals, data from the EFA GMR indicate, for example, that the allocation of aid and policy growth, particularly in education, has a positive link (UNESCO, 2015). Hansen and Trap (2000) argue in this connection that it is not a question whether aid has a secret function when it comes to target recipients, but how and when an instrument mix can be changed in various situations to work better. If assistance is continuous and equipped with the necessary equipment, it can have significant effects in order to satisfy the needs of the beneficiaries (Hansen & Trap, 2000, P. 375-398).

The above findings were endorsed in the Minoiu, Reddy and Andsanjay (2007) report. This research found that if aid in a given field, for example aid for education, is aimed for a particular reason, it would automatically generate outcomes based on its objective. However, these good effects can only be seen in the long run (Minoiu, Reddy & Andsanjay, 2007). Tarp (2009) has also found that aid to conflict-related countries has been examined. The results indicate that aid is particularly necessary in times of crisis. Nevertheless, donors targeting these countries must understand that the effect of the aid is not immediate; the effects may take over 30 years. Aid alone cannot therefore

guarantee immediate results and is not a simple way of achieving international objectives (Tarp, 2009).

Some claim that multilateral support in targeting recipient countries is more altruistic. It can also help meet recipients' needs and is thus more reliable than aid from other channels. Radelet (2006) finds that Multilateral aid is more compassionate and altruistic. Accordingly, the aid can be better tailored by multilateral organizations to the neediest countries. The recipients who obtained aid from multilateral donors were hopeful, not negative. He claims that multilateral bodies, as well as bilateral donors, have more potential and ability to do so (Radelet, 2006).

Contrary to the above findings, the second group of studies indicates that donors target recipients to achieve their interests, in particular the economic interests. Many studies that affirm the relationship between trade, foreign policy participation and the aid allocation have verified these findings (Moyo, 2009). Subsequent research indicate that the allocations of aid are often essential determinants of strategic issues such as defense or political alliances (Ademi, 2017). Alesina and Dollar (2000) found that donors prefer to provide aid through the United Nations voting pattern to their similar partner countries. Donors will broaden their decision-making influence on the international scene (Alesina & Dollar, 2000). As Moyo argues (2009), donors can influence domestic affairs by targeting certain groups within the recipient countries. The donor gives aid intentionally to the elites in order to gain business and policy favors in this connection. Almost all support is managed by the small elite in receiving countries and used for its own ends. This results in corruption, rendering it difficult for the government to consolidate and strengthen the country's political structure (Moyo, 2009).

In a critical review, Easterly (2012) attempts to address “why the West’s charitable work has in fact accomplished so much ill and so little good”? It supports the idea that improving the planet by means of aid is too wide and so far, seemingly impossible. Donors should concentrate more on the country's unique needs. Aid can be used to accomplish particular goals by tasks such as the development of schools and clinics, aid to countries that are vulnerable and impacted by conflicts, or access to education. Each issue should be based individually rather than using a large development aid system (Easterly, 2012).

The final remarks of Easterly report are that donors are basically supporting themselves rather than beneficiaries. A donor with money would invest it mostly in accordance with their own interests. Despite its inability to succeed, aid has expanded because it is focused on donors' desires (Easterly, 2012).

Aid can be described in the hands of states as soft or hard power (Ademi, 2017). In order to support the recipients' development goals, donors will allocate funds, money, facilities, subsidies and concessional loans. Donors may however also use foreign aid to promote various policies. The politically motivated funding decreases donors' concern about the manner in which the receiver uses the aid that is in turn less effective and does not fulfill the recipient 's needs (Nye, 2011). The geopolitical role of recipients and donors' needs to explore this form of funding is also the reason for this. There are however cases in which well-coordinated politically motivated support, for example the Marshall Plan, may have positive effects. In this situation, not only the beneficiary can benefit but similar nations can help recover their economies (Dreher & Nunnenkamp, 2006). Another way to consider the aid is to view both the donor and the recipient country for it as a positive partnership. Profiting the donor and receiving

country is defined as a linear process in Pronk (2001). For beneficiaries, whatever the circumstances, foreign aid is essential.

Most studies conclude that a recipient country's strategic location plays an important role in aid allotment decisions (Addison, Tony, Mavrotas & Mark, 2005). For some, donors distribute aid to countries that are strategically linked to them (Nilsen, 2010). In fact, the current debate is split between contributors who believe that aid should be distributed to meet the needs of the recipients, and donors who believe that external aid is also an instrument of foreign policy (Nielsen, 2010). There is also a middle ground, however, in which donors want both diplomacy and growth to be maximized concurrently. Instead of showing criteria and internal problems related to poverty reduction in recipient countries, needs focus is a strategic option by the donor. This is because donors are committed to successfully cultivating the strategically relevant beneficiaries (Nielsen, 2010).

Bermeo (2016) promoted the concept of deliberate growth that foreign aid targets beneficiaries in which donors' gains are strongest. These are not exactly the countries in need, but the donor countries are important due to e.g., the proximity, historical ties, and monetary connectivity (Bermeo, 2016). Donors like the USA, the UK and Germany are seeking economic benefits in an increasingly reliant environment abroad. Therefore, a developed donor, keen to optimize its own wellbeing, will focus efforts on developing countries where their degree of interdependence is high. This will help donors to concentrate less on needs and to explore the value of donors economically. However, depending on a donor's policy agenda, strategic significance and needs will interrelate. Strategic planning also requires a number of aid approaches. In addition, donors in these countries are more concerned with humanitarian relief and

social welfare assistance. The less needy the nations, the more cash transfers they earn for their needs (Bermeo, 2016).

Berthelemy (2006) analyzes, in the same way, the allocation of aid taking into account recipient needs indicators, and donor participation and gains in aid allocations. Donors are involved, especially the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, and China, in countries where they have strategic and economic interests. Commercial interests have played the largest role in aid distributions in this regard, suggesting that the motivations for selecting beneficiaries are more autonomous than altruistic (Berthelemy, 2006).

The recipients according to the donor protection program are also oriented towards the allocation of aid. In addition, Western interventionism is also on the rise, alongside addressing development agendas and introducing humanitarian approaches. This occurs through the combination of loans, funding, or military assistance (Novelli & Cardozo, 2012). These interventions are generally justified as "humanitarian interventions" to bring democracy, liberty, and human rights, especially in countries where there is a conflict (Holtgreffe & Roberto, 2003). For example, regarding the Dutch aid policy in Afghanistan, Novelli & Cardozo (2012) ties the aid to educating and providing protection to donors. In vulnerable and conflict-affected countries, populism is on the increase the reason for combining aid and military aid. The study concluded that there is high debate regarding both sustainability and the ethic of military engagement in humanitarian aid (Novelli & Cardozo, 2012).

Nye (2011) argues that donors aim to provide aid to recipient countries for two reasons: defense and economic interests. For example, the United States and Canada are providing assistance to Egypt, Israel, Pakistan, and Afghanistan to preserve their defense agenda. China has increased its aid to Africa by connecting its aid to

concessional agreements in order to gain access to large reserves of natural resources. This does not, however, preclude situations where humanitarian aid can be adequately handled if donors have the will to provide such aid. Today, the support of fragile recipient countries through military presence is a justification (Nye, 2011).

Theories of Aid and Conceptual Framework

For this study, in terms of theories of foreign aid, the discussion will be limited to three main theories of Realism, Idealism, and Neo-Marxism. First, the realist perspective was a dominant theory on foreign aid during the Cold War era (Turrent, 2016). This theory presumes that “Aid policies are driven primarily by strategic interests of nations or states. International relations are conducted in a Hobbesian state of nature in which security and self-preservation become the primary, if not exclusive, objectives” (Schraeder, Taylor & Steven, 1998, p. 2).

The scholars of this theory are more concerned about military capabilities as a principal tool of influence and the main mechanism of interactions between the most powerful countries. They view foreign aid as an instrument in the hand of the powerful states to secure leverage over weak states. In other words, realists view aid as an “extension of self-interest” (Turrent, 2016). Stephen Walt has discussed the role of foreign aid in alliance formation. He argues that foreign aid is more often the result of an alliance, rather than it is a cause for it. He admits that the recipient countries usually have an upper hand as they may be threatening to seek help somewhere else (Walt, 1987).

Second, the idealism theory, in contrast views the foreign aid represented in humanitarian assistance as an important response done by the rich countries to the countries in needs. For the idealists, developed countries are obliged to help the

developing countries to alleviate poverty, and that the flow of foreign aid to developing countries contributes to maintain the world peace and prosperity.

This theory is widely supported by the economists, policy makers and state leaders from the developed countries. In this respect, the “Pearson Commission Report” (1969) is one of the landmark guidelines that support this argument. In the “Pearson Commission Report, the donor contribution in providing foreign aid to other countries are determined to be “0.70 per cent of their Gross National Product”. The report also emphasized on the importance of focusing on building partnership with the recipients’ governments and having clear purpose and cohesion in aid administration which eventually will lead to meaningful and mutually beneficial (Pankaj, 2005).

Finally, the Neo-Marxist theory views foreign aid as another means of continuing and advancing the capitalist exploitation and widening the gap between industrial wealthy countries and the third world countries (Imbisi & Mukilma, 2015). Moreover, they argue that foreign aid is a tool in the hand of the rich countries to increase the gap and economic inequalities in the developing countries. This school of foreign aid is arguing that capitalist exploitation increases the dependency of the developing countries on the wealthy ones (Schraeder et al. 1998).

Based on the theoretical explanation mentioned above, for this study, realism and the idealism theories are helpful in explaining the case of Qatar. In terms of the realism theory, aid policies are driven by the strategic interest of the state. While the idealists believe that aid is provided by the developed countries to help the developing countries to alleviate poverty, maintain peace and stability, and prosperity.

Based on the findings and analysis of this study, foreign aid is being utilized by the state of Qatar to support the developing countries to overcome their issues in terms of poverty, peace, and prosperity as a part of its commitment to the sustainable

development goals. However, Qatar's soft power in the form of foreign aid is targeting Africa to achieve its political and economic interests in Africa.

In short, in this chapter, I first defined the concept of foreign aid. Moreover, I explained the evolution of the changing ideologies of aid provision since 1970s, particularly focusing on the structural adjustment. The chapter also examined the provision of aid from donor and recipient perspectives. Finally, I concluded the chapter with theories of foreign aid that I used as the conceptual framework.

Chapter Three: Aid in Education

In this chapter I will review the relationship between aid and education. Moreover, I will explain the origin of educational aid as primary category of Foreign Aid, and the institutionalization of educational aid. The chapter will also examine the relationship between education and economic growth, education for gender equality and education in fragile countries.

The Origin of Educational Aid

As explained in the previous chapter, education was viewed as fundamental step towards economic growth and stability for any country (Kragelund, 2010). Through focusing on educational aid for development, the other development sectors such as health and economic empowerment sectors should be considered to promote poverty reduction. For this reason, the international community has developed action plans within the framework of Education for All (EFA), the “Millennium Development Goals” (MDGs) and the “Sustainable Development Goals” (SDGs) (NMFA, 2003). The main objectives of these international agendas concern issues such as poverty eradication, the spread of HIV/AIDS, gender inequality and other health issues. In addition, these objectives are set to develop and strengthen the education system (Buch, 2015).

Many donors argue that significant portions of their development assistance is based on recipient needs. However, some studies on the aid flows to education indicate that politics and foreign policy priorities determine donors’ decisions to provide aid to the countries in need. According to Bermeo (2016), when donors provide aid to the recipient countries, they usually target those countries where they have significant political, historical and economic interlinkages (Bermeo, 2016). Therefore, since aid can be a mean to accomplish a political agenda, donors are most likely to allocate aid

to achieve this purpose and not in terms of helping the countries in needs (Novelli, 2012).

Despite the fact that the literature of foreign aid claimed that aid was the phenomenon of the WWII, the history of aid for education can be captured back before this period. According to Oliver (1962), missionary education formed as the first form of aid for education, especially in the period prior to the colonialism. For instance, the Protestant missions in East Africa had established the school system in the vernacular language, particularly in the area that occupied by the British. Frankema (2010) proved that in many British colonies the school system was dominated by the private voluntary agencies such as the missions. He states that in the British Gold Coast, almost 8 per cent of the population attended government schools at the primary level, while 92 percent enrolled at mission schools of Protestants, Catholic and Anglican (Frankema, 2010).

However, the practice of formal education aid started in 1920s, as the aid agencies began to search for the best methods to assist education in the developing countries, especially with the establishment of the private fund called “Phelps-stokes” (Turrent, 2016). In the period of 1922 – 1925, the Phelps-Stokes fund launched a number of education commissions, that called for partnership with the government that identify the role of education on the different levels of life. During the era of colonialism, these commissions were strongly influential in spreading the common benefits of education. However, the flow of bilateral education aid to the developing countries remained limited (Frankema, 2010)

During this era, there was a widespread consensus on the importance of establishing an agenda for the development of education. But it was not until the beginning of 1960s when the aid negotiations started with many of newly established

agencies (Turrent, 2016). In 1963, the World Bank started its first education lending and proposed policies for the education projects. The objectives were to promote education in terms of planning, building infrastructure such as schools and attracting financial support from other country donors and agencies (World Bank Group Archives Holdings, 1970). The development of aid to education continued evolving beside many other new actors, goals and objectives.

In the Bretton Woods conference in 1944, and during the Second World War, countries and international organizations gathered to address the urgent need for restructuring international trade (Turrent, 2016). This discussion paved the way to the establishment of the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the International Trade Organization known now as World Trade Organization (WTO) (Riddell, 2007). It was during this time when aid to education was also addressed. In particular, during the Reconstruction of Europe, the U.S. Secretary of State George C. Marshall's proposal was enacted in 1948 (Owusu, 2018). The Marshall Plan agenda provided more than \$15 billion to help western Europe in terms of social, political and economic stability, including the reconstruction of the education sector (Moyo, 2009).

In the following years, after the Marshall plan, there was an emerging call to replicate the model of financing aid to the developing countries in the Third World. This was stated in President Truman's speech in 1949:

“More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people... Only by helping the least fortunate of its

members to help themselves can the human family achieve the decent, satisfying life that is the right of all people” (Truman, 1949, p. 48).

It was widely believed that financial capital was essential for the economic growth and that was absent in the developing countries (Harrod, 1939; Domar, 1946). In 1943, Rosenstein-Rodan presented a new notion called “big push” in which large amount of aid were provided to improve the economic growth and development. In 1953, another economist Nurkse and Nelson highlighted the necessary tools to secure “capital investment” in the form of foreign aid to reduce the shortages in the capital, which hindered the development process in the developing countries (Nurkse, 1953)

The literature above examines the consequences of the emergence of foreign aid in general and education aid in particular. During the period of 1950s and 1960s, where many countries gained political independence, the flow of the foreign aid to these countries increased with a focus on the infrastructure sector (Riddell, 2007). Moreover, Riddell illustrated that aid was mainly used to support the budget of the developing countries without imposing any conditions on how the aid should be used. However, education aid was initially provided to a number of well-educated nationals in the form of higher education imparted in developing countries (donors countries), in order to train them to become the drivers for establishing the international professional organizations in these countries (Riddell, 2007).

Education and Economic Development

Through the effective development assistance to education, millions of people in the less developed countries have succeeded to move from poverty. At the time of writing this thesis (2020), there are more than 200 million out of school at the primary, secondary, and upper secondary level (UNESCO, 2020). Accordingly, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Culture Organization (UNESCO), the United

Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Bank (WB), advocate that by supporting the recipients by applying the EFA and SDGs can help to eradicate poverty in the world. It is well known that educational aid can help achieving the sustainable development goals globally (UNESCO, 2015).

Out of school children means "lack of economic and social prosperity" (UNESCO, 2014). Therefore, it is argued by Hanushek and Wobmann (2007) that 40% of the total population of any country should be literate, in order to achieve economic growth (Hanushek & Wobmann, 2007). Improving education in the developing countries can improve as a result of their economic development. Moreover, education is a source that provides the knowledge and the needed skills that allow people to work decrease both the rate of poverty and the unemployment rate and eventually contribute to the development of their countries (Ademi, 2017).

When the education system is developed and well-functioning, it will allow for labor force to be creative in their works, which as a result enhances the level of production and make it efficient (Misra, 2012). This argument was supported by Hanushek and Wobmann (2007), who found that how can education affect the wage of a person. Moreover, he argues that the level of education can decide how much a person can get in terms of wage. (Hanushek & Wobmann, 2007). In 2014, Elizabeth Asiedu examined whether educational aid has a significant effect on growth in Sub-Saharan Africa. In her study, Asiedu covered 38 countries over the period (1990-2004), and examined the per capita income, inflation, investment and opens to trade, and government expenditure. She found that foreign aid in education at the primary level has the most significant impact on growth, while it is less effective at the secondary level (Asiedu, 2014).

One of the first scholars that referred to the disaggregation of different types of aid was Cassen (1986). While in 2004, Clemens discussed this again, however he supported his argument with evidence that aid can produce a short-term impact on economic growth, when it is allocated to specific sectors (Clemens, 2004).

Dreher and Nunnenkamp (2006) have examined the impact of the educational aid on specific measurable outcomes of education in the recipient countries. The study proved that educational aid has a positive impact on the recipient countries in terms of economy and certain educational outcomes. Moreover, it is noticed that most of the scholars who examine economic growth, always link education to human capital by arguing that educational aid is the only way to improve economic growth (Asiedu, 2014)

Asiedu and Nandwa (2007) also wrote a paper which argues that there is a correlation between the level of income of recipient countries and the level of education that aid is targeting in terms of primary, secondary and higher education. They found that educational aid for primary education can have a significant impact on economic growth in the low-income countries, while on the other hand, has minimum impact on economic growth when aid is targeting the secondary level. While for the middle-income countries, aid that targets higher education enhances economic growth, with adverse effect on growth on the other educational levels (Asiedu, 2014).

From the human development perspective, “education aid is effective if it is only having specific positive outcome” (Farooq, 2012, p. 29). For instance, Gani and Clemes (2003) examined the effectiveness of foreign aid on human development Index on 65 developing countries. They argued that education aid has a positive impact on the human development in the low-income countries (Gani & Clemes, 2003). In the same regards, Moe (2008), supported this argument by highlighting on the effect of

educational aid in the post-secondary level in a number of South East Asian countries (Moe, 2008).

Education for Gender Equality

As of 2020, education of girls is one of the biggest challenges of education in the less developed countries (Ademi, 2017). Girls are less likely to finish the basic education, due to many social and economic barriers. Although the number of out of school children is declining, girls still represent the large number of the out of school children. Generally, gender inequality in the less developing countries is still an issue that needs a lot of attention as displayed in figure 1. (UNESCO,2015)

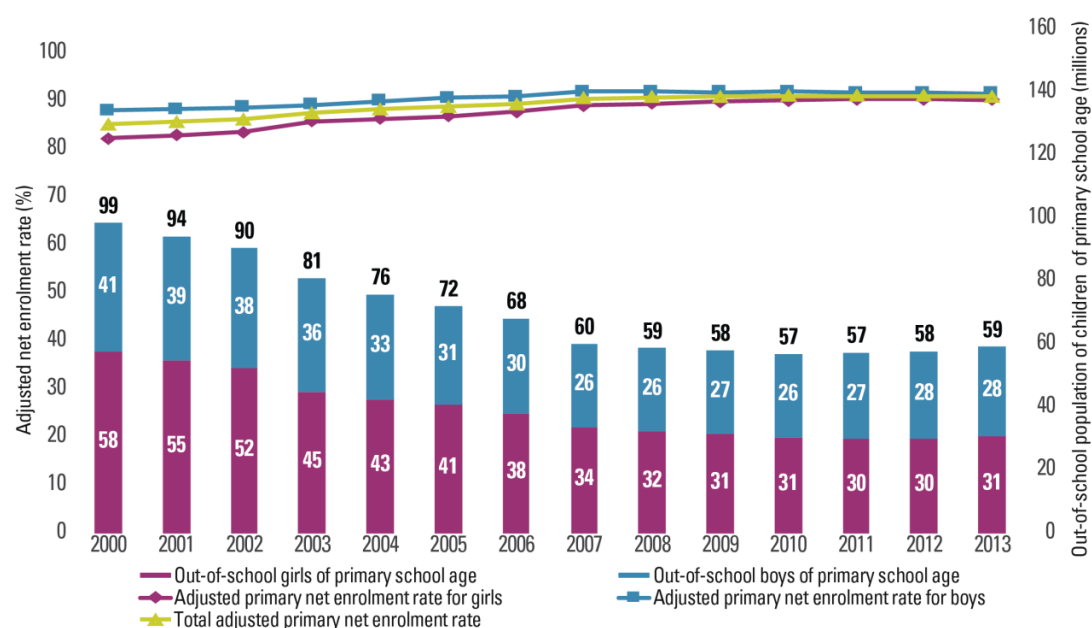


Figure 1. Gender Imbalance in Access to Primary Education in the Less Developing Countries.

In 2013, Education for All (EFA) issued EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR) “Teaching and learning: Achieving quality for all”, which discussed the educational aid for girls. One of the findings of the report, illustrated the idea on investing in education of girls can help the country to develop and generate economic growth. In other words, if all girls have secured their access to primary and secondary education, cultural issues

such as child marriage and child mortality could decrease (UNESCO, 2014). Parents in the less developed countries tend to marry their girls at early stage of their ages to escape poverty, and that is one of the main reasons that girls are less likely to continue their education (Ademi, 2017, p. 5).

Another issue in education is the gender inequality. This has a significant impact on the labor market and eventually on economic growth of the country. One of the reasons that shows the negative impact of gender inequality in education on growth is when women's abilities and talents are not utilized to the same extent as men, which result in declining the productivity of an economy's human capital (Klasen, 1999). Another reason is the fact that women's access to education and to the labor market increases women's household decisions regarding investment in their children in terms of health and education, and thus has a positive impact on human capital accumulation (Klasen, 1999).

Education in Fragile and Post-Conflict Countries

Fragile state is the term that refer to the states that have weak government institutions and poor policies and high level of corruption (Rice and Patrick, 2008). Children in conflict areas, and in places of natural disaster are at risk and are more vulnerable compared to other population groups. Therefore, aid to education can play a significant role in providing a sense of security and hope, along with accomplishing international goals and ensuring economic development (Minoiu et al., 2007). According to UNESCO (2017), while there was about 30 million out of school children of school, about half of them live in conflict areas where there is no strong institution. These children are deprived from their basic rights (UNESCO, 2017). For instance, in Syria, which is considered as one of the protracted conflicts, more than "2.4 million children do not have access to education" (Save the Children International, 2020).

For these reasons, providing aid to education is fundamental for the recipients to rebuild their public institutions such as schools, hospitals, and other socio-infrastructure services can help to move towards stability and peace. However, it is frequently argued that providing development assistance to fragile states needs a proper plan and harmonized approach by the donor countries that goes beyond the existing rapid response (Leader and Colenso, 2005).

Due to the weak institutions and structured government, corruption is considered as one of the main issues in the fragile states/failed states. Therefore, in order to ensure that aid goes to the people in need, donor countries tend to use technical support channeled through NGOs and civil societies in the recipient countries (Leader and Colenso, 2005). The economic circumstances of societies after the war are very different in post-conflict countries. Collier and Hoeffler (2004) argue the prospect of recovery leads to a phase of “supernormal” economic growth – a need for the rebuilding of infrastructure in a time when domestic revenue collapse. The authors find that the absorption potential is not greater than the average for the first three years after the end of the war, but that it has reached approximately twice its normal level for the first post-conflict decade. They conclude that, preferably, aid should continue to be granted for the first decade after the conflict (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). This is quite the reverse of the historical trend of distribution of aid, in which aid was higher in the following events of the war immediate aftermath of the war.

According to Bruns, Mingat and Rakotomala (2003), education is widely recognized to be the most effective means of investing in human capital that leads to economic prosperity and eventually contribute to the country’s growth (Mingat & Rakotomala, 2003). Investing in education system, therefore, is substantial to economic benefits and highly relevant to governments, international organizations, businesses,

and individuals (Turrent, 2016). Adam Smith developed the theory of human capital. For Smith, education is the driver for the “human capital”, as he believes that both of knowledge and skills have an economic value for their own sake (Turrent, 2016). Moreover, Smith contended that there are two reasons that connect education to economic growth. The first reason is that education is considered as a contributor for the scientific development. In addition, the technical knowledge and stock of production are recognized to be an instrument of economic growth (Schultz, 1961). In other words, education is one of the approaches that allows for creation, spread and share new ideas, which leads to invent new technologies and in turn increase the labor productivity (Lucas, 1988). In this case, the impact of education on growth is indirect.

The second reason is that education has a direct impact on economic growth as the incomes that individuals earn are mostly determined on their level of education (Becker, 1994). Therefore, the labor productivity is dependent on the level of knowledge and education.

In conclusion, in this chapter, I first discussed the origin of the educational aid as one of the primary categories of foreign aid. I also explained how education was institutionalized after the period the WWII. Finally, I concluded the chapter with examining the relationship between Educational aid and economic growth, in addition to education in fragile states.

Chapter Four: Gulf Aid “The Case of Qatar”

In this chapter, I will discuss the Gulf States as aid donors. I will be examining how oil revenue helped the Gulf countries to become major donors of foreign aid. The Chapter will also look at the case of the state of Qatar as a foreign aid donor, particularly focusing on Qatar’s foreign policy as foreign aid is one of its main pillars. Moreover, I will analyze the relationship between Qatar and the Sub-Saharan Africa countries and the role of Qatar’s foreign aid in these countries. Furthermore, I will explore Qatar’s development aid during the period of 2013-2019 followed by brief explanation of Qatar’s foreign aid agencies: Qatar Fund for Development, Qatar Charity, Education Above All. Finally, I will conclude the chapter by discussing why Qatar is focusing now on Development Aid.

Gulf States as Donors

Oil is a significant contributor to the Gulf states' development as aid donors. The Gulf oil boom and large revenue inflows caused by high global oil demand and high prices led to the Gulf states' rise as aid donors. Hunter (1984) claimed that Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and to some extent Qatar and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) utilized their financial influence to defend the Arab cause. In addition, those countries have dedicated themselves, by achieving Arab political and economic goals, to promoting Arab nationalism and Arab unity.

As a result, their oil wealth served their objectives and, in turn, made them a major donor of aid to developing countries (Hunter, 1984). The UAE estimates that total financing registered to the Financial Tracking Service (FTS) in 2020 is USD 275.7 million, making it one of the top Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) donors in 2020 (FTS, 2020). In addition, following the implementation of its foreign assistance program (2016–2026), the United Arab Emirates has become one of

the largest providers of aid. In 2018, it donated USD 7.79 billion in gross national income spending exceeding 0.7% of the UN Official Development Assistance (ODA) target, ranking UAE as one of the largest aid providers in 2018. Support from the UAE aims to benefit sustainable development goals (SDGs) by fostering peace and justice, economic development, and the reduction of poverty (Government of the UAE, 2019).

Saudi Arabia joined the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) and began reporting to the OECD in 2018 (OECD, 2020). It is one of the biggest providers of assistance in the area of the Gulf. Although the data are still incomplete, in 2019 Saudi Arabia supplied more ODA than in 2018. In real terms, the contribution to the United Nations (UN) increased by 3.3%. In 2019, Saudi national income (SNI) accounted for 0.56% of total ODA with a grant equivalent value of USD 4.4 billion (OECD, 2020). Kuwait also joined the DAC and began reporting to it in 2018. In 2015, Kuwait's ODA was estimated as USD 304 million (OECD, 2018). In 2018, Kuwait's ODA increased to 0.52% (USD) grant equivalent (OECD, 2020) to hit USD 838 million in net ODA.

Nature of the Gulf Aid

Aid in the Gulf is shaped and made special by other western donors. According to Neumayer (2004), petroleum output and oil prices in these countries are the key determinants of Gulf aid. In 1978, for example, Gulf aid as a percentage of GNP dropped to 5.94% as a result of the oil embargo in 1973 (Neumayer, 2004). The 2008 global recession saw another oil crisis, with oil prices falling for six months. As the Gulf countries depend on petroleum income, external aid has decreased. The lack of accountability and recording is a second feature of Gulf aid. There are two reasons for Gulf aid's lack of transparency. According to Shushan and Marcoux (2011), insufficient information given by the national agencies on the amount of aid provided and an

unreported transfer by the Gulf states that circumvents the national agencies (Marcoux, 2011).

Qatar Foreign Policy Strategies and Tactics

Before addressing its foreign aid and specifically its aid to education in Sub-Saharan Africa, it is essential to shed light on Qatar's foreign policy, as it is the main directive of foreign aid and strategies towards Africa during the period 2013–2019.

According to Qatar's Government Communications Office (GCO), its priorities in foreign policy focused on mediation between disputed parties, bolster humanitarian assistance in the conflicted areas and support efforts to reduce humanitarian needs. However, one of the most important pillars of Qatar's foreign policy and the most relevant to this study is to provide foreign aid and promote sustainable development (GCO, 2020).

Qatar's independent foreign relations can be credited to the Emir Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifah al-Thani, who formed the frameworks of Qatar's foreign policy. In his 17th year in office, Sheik Hamad was able to establish an innovative Qatar foreign policy which, in the 1970s, changed from his father to a Saudi hegemony (Cooper & Momani, n.d.). In addition, Sheikh Hamad believes that Qatar must shift its foreign policy and step beyond the conventional style to concentrate more on a policy that is leading, moderating and international. In comparison to small states in international theories, Qatar's foreign policy has succeeded in not falling under the hegemony of neither Saudi Arabia nor Iran. As the new foreign policy went forward, Qatar remained committed to preserving regional stability and supporting the central strategy of Arab unity (Mohammadzadeh, 2018).

However, the State of Qatar has been in conflict with its neighbors in the Gulf region on an international and regional level through its latest and unusual foreign

policy strategy. One of the major contributors to Qatar's new foreign policy is its enormous gas and oil natural resources that made Qatar very important to global forces for its stability and security (Roberts, 2012). The emergence of the Arab Spring (2011–2013) has reinforced the new position of the State of Qatar as a constructive and powerful player. Qatar, for example, helped to dismantle the Gaddafi regime in Libya through its new strategy. It also backed global efforts to put a stop to the regime in Syria of Bashar al-Assad. Moreover, Qatar was one of the few Arab countries to endorse the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions in 2012 (Colombo, 2012).

Qatar's foreign aid has been at the forefront of Qatar's foreign policy instruments since the late 1990s. It also used public diplomacy, branding itself as a hosting for worldwide conferences and mediating disputes and major sporting events (Antwi-Boateng, 2013). Moreover, Qatari funding is being given to countries in the Middle East as well as to developing countries in Asia and Africa, such as Palestine, Syria, Yemen, Sudan, and others. In this way, Qatar was one of the Arab world's new donors (Qatar Fund for Development (QFFD), 2018).

While not yet a member of the Committee on Development Assistance, Qatar's foreign aid is quite remarkable. It is estimated that the total of Qatar's official development assistance reached USD 1.3 billion in 2013 (Qatar's Foreign Aid report, 2013). Moreover, the State of Qatar announced un-earmarked funding of USD 40 million to support the core budget of the United Nations OCHA over the 2017–2020 period (QFFD, 2018). In addition, according to the second voluntary National Review of the State of Qatar in 2018, the value of development assistance and aid provided by the State of Qatar on the levels of government and non-government reached USD 2 billion in 2017 (QFFD, EAA, QC report, 2017). Some scholars consider Qatar's foreign aid as its political tool (Roberts, 2012).

Qatar – Sub-Saharan Africa Relations and Foreign Aid

The relationship between Qatar and Africa can be traced back to the 1970s, when the African countries supported the Arabs in the war against Israel. According to Hunter (1984), the Arab search for diplomatic support in their war against Israel has inspired Qatar, along with other oil-producing countries such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the UAE, to provide financial support to the African countries. Notably, Qatar's foreign policy from the 1970s to the 1990s was no different from that of its neighboring Gulf states.

Briefly, Qatar provided foreign aid to the African countries through bilateral organizations in various sectors, such as education, health, and economic development (Williams, 2011). As already stated, Qatar's new foreign policy strategy began when Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifah Al-Thani took power in 1995, after which Qatar engaged with Africa differently.

Sheikh Hamad realized how much Qatar depends on imported food, since the country lacks arable land for agricultural investments. Moreover, in Qatar's quest for food security and economic diversification, it followed a foreign policy that combined both economic and political strategies to achieve its objectives. Qatar has always been dependent on limited resources for food importation such as Brazil, the Philippines, Australia, and Saudi Arabia, making its security and stability vulnerable to regional politics and its relations with these countries.

Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the UAE, and Egypt withdrew their ambassadors from Doha in 2014 due to political differences that represented a serious concern to Qatar's government. Although this tension ended later that year, the same four countries cut their official relations with Qatar in 2017 and closed all their land, air, and sea borders (Miller, 2018). Therefore, the Qatari government realized that it is fundamental for

Qatar to expand its relations with other countries, including the African countries, to ensure its food security and its political and economic stability.

Consequently, in 2017, the Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Tamim Bin Hamad Al-Thani, paid two state visits to some of the strategic Sub-Saharan countries, the first of which was to the “Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, the Republic of Kenya, and the Republic of South Africa”. His second visit was to Senegal, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Guinea, and Mali (MOFA, 2017). During these visits, Qatar signed a number of agreements and Memoranda of Understanding with the different countries. These collaboration agreements covered different fields, including economic, investment, energy, agriculture, and others.

Since the scope of this study is to address Qatar’s development assistance in Sub-Sahara Africa, I will not cover the investment aspects in depth. However, I will provide an overview of Qatar’s investment in some of the African countries, so we can better understand the context when discussing development assistance in those countries. One of the best examples of how Qatar worked on ensuring its food security is Hassad Food, which is one of five subsidiaries of the Qatar Sovereign Fund and aims to invest in agricultural business and export the products to Qatar. Hassad, therefore, acquired around 700,000 hectares of farmland that can be used for agricultural business in some of the African countries such as Sudan and Kenya. This investment will meet Qatar’s needs for food and secure food reserves (Hassad Food, 2009).

On the development level, Qatar announced developmental financial support to a number of countries during the emir’s visit to Africa in 2017, in the health, education, and economic development sectors. For example, in the health sector, Qatar pledged USD 13.8 million to fund establishing and furnishing a cancer hospital in Burkina Faso. In the education sector, Qatar announced USD 40 million to support the Government

of Mali with regard to out-of-school children through the Qatar Fund for Development and its local strategic partner Education Above All (EAA) (QFFD report, 2018).

In addition, Qatar also announced USD 42 million to support the Government of Ethiopia in health, education, and economic development. In the health sector, Qatar has announced financial support in form of a grant to establish a kidney hospital in Ethiopia, while it has provided a concessional loan to support the education and economic development sectors (QFFD report, 2018). Moreover, in 2019 Qatar also pledged USD 20 million to fund development projects in the Republic of Guinea-Conakry (QFFD report, 2019).

Qatar has also played a significant role in Africa through international development agencies and multilateral organizations. For example, Qatar has provided financial support of USD 32 million through the Lives and Livelihoods Fund in Senegal. This fund is an initiative created by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and it is composed of the Islamic Development Bank, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Qatar through the Qatar Fund for Development, and the UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (QFFD report, 2017). In addition, the State of Qatar through the QFFD committed to support Gavi, The Vaccine Alliance programs for the years 2016–2020, and in 2020, the Emir of Qatar announced financial support to Gavi in the amount of USD 20 million, from which a number of African countries will benefit (Amiri Diwan, 2020). Qatar has also funded the Global Fund, an international organization specializing in health, in its two funding cycles. In the first funding cycle in 2017, Qatar announced financial support to the Global Fund in the amount of USD 10 million for the period 2017–2019, and in 2019, Qatar committed a multi-year contribution to the Global Fund in the amount of USD 50 million (QFFD report, 2019). Most of the recipient countries from the Global Fund programs are in Africa.

Qatar Development Aid (2013–2019)

As discussed above, Qatar’s foreign aid is one of the tools of its foreign policy that advances Qatar’s political and economic interests. Therefore, in the past decades Qatar has enlarged its aid volume through government and non-governmental institutions (QFFD report, 2017). In fact, the role of Qatar’s NGOs in Qatari foreign aid is officially recognized by Qatar’s reports on aid since 2010:

“Qatar foreign aid contains the details of external assistance offered by the government and people of Qatar to the peoples and governments of the world, via official donor bodies, charitable associations and institutions, and humanitarian organizations, which have contributed generously to reduce the suffering of victims of national disasters and humanitarian crisis” (Foreign Aid Report 2010–2011).

However, due to secrecy and a lack of transparency in relation to foreign aid management in Qatar in past years, verification of aid disbursement is difficult to do (Shushan & Marcoux, 2011). Therefore, this study will only focus on some of the government and NGOs to examine Qatar’s foreign aid.

Qatar Fund for Development (QFFD)

In the past, there has not been one specific institution that manages Qatar’s official foreign aid. Instead, several ministries of the government provided foreign aid to different countries around the world. Therefore, in 2014, the QFFD was established to implement, manage, and organize Qatar’s foreign aid under Law No. 19 of 2002 and its amendments (QFFD, 2020). Since then, the QFFD has been providing aid to several countries around the world to achieve Qatar National Vision 2030 (QFFD, 2020).

The QFFD’s main aim is to achieve sustainable development goals (SDGs) by “addressing priority issues of education, health and economic empowerment”, by targeting SDG No 3, which is “Ensuring healthy lives and well-being for all,” SDG 4: “Ensuring fair and inclusive education for all and enhancing lifelong learning for all,” and SDG 8: “Promoting sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth and

keeping full and productive employment and decent work for all.” The QFFD is also targeting other sustainable development goals, including SDG 2 “Zero Hunger,” SDG 6 “Clean Water and Sanitation” and SDG 17 “Partnerships for the Goals” (QFFD, 2020).

The QFFD cooperates with many development stakeholders across the globe to achieve the sustainable development goals. The QFFD also cooperates with a number of national strategic partners including governmental institutions, local NGOs and international partners such as UN organizations and multilateral agencies. Furthermore, the QFFD provides aid in different financial instruments such as grant, concessional loan, and credit guarantee. According to the QFFD annual report in 2019, it has disbursed about USD 577,213,821 in total (QFFD, 2020) (QFFD report, 2019).

Qatar Charity

Unlike the QFFD, Qatar Charity is an implementer organization. It is one of the strategic Qatari NGOs that manage humanitarian and development assistance at regional and international levels. The Qatar Charity was established in 1992 based on Law No. 2 of 1974, which regulates charitable work in the State of Qatar. Since its establishment, Qatar Charity has been providing aid in the humanitarian and development fields and it has also embraced and implemented a multi-sectoral approach to meet the needs of the developing countries (Khatib, 2013).

Qatar Charity’s field of operation include education, health, water and sanitation, social projects, relief, and other. It also covers more than 50 countries in Asia and Africa, with 30 field offices in 30 countries. In addition, in these countries, Qatar Charity cooperates with many accredited local NGOs and associations. It also works with other development partners such as international NGOs and

intergovernmental organizations, including United Nations specialized and development agencies (Qatar Charity, 2020).

Although Qatar Charity is a charitable organization funded by Qatari philanthropists, it also implements development projects in the priority countries for the State of Qatar. According to its financial report published in 2018, the total estimated projects and activities expenditure was about USD 355 million (QC, 2018).

Education Above All (EAA)

In 2012, HH Sheikha Moza bint Nasser founded Education Above All (EAA) as a foundation that focused on education. EAA seeks to contribute to human, social and economic growth through quality education in the developing countries, focusing on those who are affected by poverty, conflict and disaster. In addition, EAA works through global partnership to introduce validated and creative educational initiatives, defend the right to education wherever threatened, and partner with leading international and local organizations to resolve education-related challenges (EAA, 2020).

EAA has several programs that provide educational opportunities to the poor people around the world. The foundation began operating in 2013, as a centralized institution for other programs such as “Educate a Child, Al Fakhoora and Protect Education in Insecurity and Conflict” (EAA, 2020).

In 2018, Educate a Child, a global program that falls under Education Above All, celebrated a significant milestone in securing the “commitments needed to provide access to quality primary education for more than 10.4 million out-of-school children” (EAA, 2020). According to the 2018 EAA annual report, it is estimated that the total disbursement is more than USD 2 billion (EAA report, 2018).

Why Development Aid?

In 2015, all the member states of the United Nations adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development goals in order to provide a shared blueprint for peace and prosperity for people around the world now and into the future. The SDGs consist of 17 development goals that focus on education, health, economic development, poverty, gender equality and others (SDGS, 2020).

Based on this principle, the State of Qatar believed that the best way to promote international peace is to ensure basic human rights for people in need in developing countries through implementing the SDGs. Therefore, Qatar's foreign assistance is focused on the top SDGs which are 3, 4, and 8, while also funding some inter-sectoral projects that includes other SDGs such as SDG 1: "No poverty," SDG 2: "Zero Hunger," SDG 5: "Gender Equality," SDG 6: "Clean Water and Sanitation," SDG 9: "Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure," SDG 13: "Climate Action," and SDG 17: "Partnerships for the Goals" (QFFD report, 2019).

In the light of achieving SDGs, one of the QFFD strategic objectives is to "strengthen local and international cooperation and partnerships to achieve greater impact, which is derived from SDG 17". Therefore, Qatar is one of the major supporters to the UN agencies and the international organization on both levels' development and humanitarian. During the Doha Forum in 2018, Qatar's deputy Prime Minister and the Secretary-General of the United Nations António Guterres have signed several agreements with a total amount of USD 500 million to support a number of UN agencies in achieving international peace, security and sustainable development (QFFD, 2018). This pledge has made Qatar to become the sixth largest donor globally to the UN (QFFD report, 2019).

In short, the volume of Qatar's foreign aid in terms of development and humanitarian assistance is estimated to be USD10 billion over the period 2013–2019.

In addition, the QFFD has signed several multilateral agreements with UN agencies such as Gavi, the Global Fund, UNRWA, UNHCR, UNICEF, UNDP, and others to provide financial support in terms of both core funding and project funding (QFFD reports, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019; EAA reports, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018; QC reports 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018).

To sum up, in this chapter, I first discussed how the huge oil revenue helped the Gulf States to be among the top international donors and their aid nature. I have then discussed the case of the state of Qatar as a donor, and how its foreign aid is very linked to its foreign policy. Moreover, the chapter also discussed the relationship between the state of Qatar and the Sub-Saharan Africa countries, and also discussed the role of Qatar's foreign aid in these countries and how Qatar benefited from this relation in terms of political support and food importations especially after the blockade in 2017. The chapter also explored Qatar's development aid during the period of (2013-2019) and concluded the chapter by explaining the main Qatar's foreign aid agencies and their annual disbursements.

Chapter Five: Findings and Analysis - Making Sense of Qatar's

Foreign Aid in Sub-Sahara Africa

In this chapter I will discuss the findings and the main trends in Qatar's Foreign Aid. I will also examine Qatar's foreign aid in Sub-Saharan Africa focusing on Education sector and present the top recipient African countries. I then will conclude the chapter by explaining the importance of educational aid to development.

Qatar Foreign Aid: Trends

Based on Qatar's official foreign aid reports for the period of 2013-2019, five trends emerged when it comes to Qatar's foreign assistance. First, there is inconsistency in the volume of the provided assistance, particularly during the period before the establishment of the Qatar Fund for Development (2013-2015). However, it is worth mentioning that the objectives of Qatar's aid, in general, remained the same from 2013 to 2019. These objectives are "promoting sustainable development bolstering humanitarian assistance in regions of conflict and war; and supporting and strengthening efforts to reduce anticipated humanitarian needs in complex emergencies" (Qatar Government, 2018).

In absolute terms, the volume of Qatar's foreign aid increased in 2014 compared to 2013. For example, Qatar's total aid disbursement in 2013 stood at USD 1.7 billion, however, this was increased by 11% in 2014 to reach USD 1.9 billion (MOFA report, 2014). In these reports, the data on Qatar's foreign aid included the government and the local NGOs disbursement. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the reason for the increase in Qatar's aid disbursement during 2014 was the signed agreement with the UNDP for USD 88.5 million to finance recovery and reconstruction in Darfur, Sudan. This was part of the Darfur peace agreement signed in Doha in 2011 (UNDP, 2014). In the same year Qatar has also covered the operational costs of UNRWA's education

projects in Palestine – Gaza with USD 5 million along with supporting the United Nations joint fund for Humanitarian Funds with USD 20 million. However, it is noted that since 2016, Qatar’s total aid disbursement showed substantial growth, distributing USD 1.5 Billion yearly. (See Figure 2)

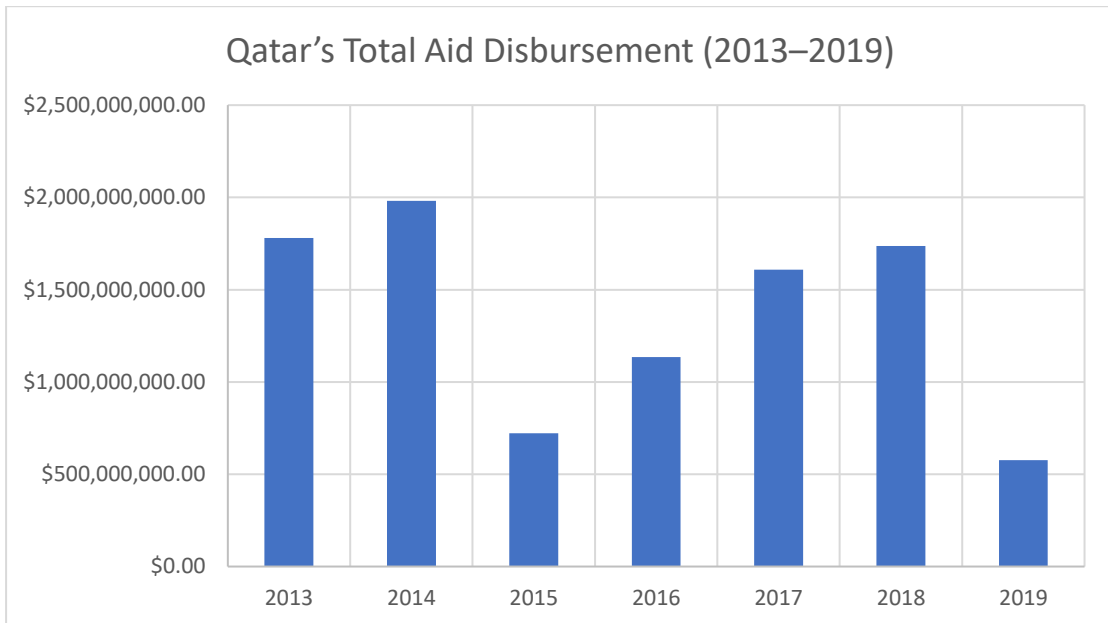


Figure 2. Qatar's Total Aid Disbursement (2013-2019).¹

The second trend in Qatar foreign aid is the lack of transparency. While the Qatar Fund for Development has been trying, since its inception, to publish regularly annual reports on Qatar’s foreign aid, there are still many unregistered data on provided aid by other government institutions, ministries, and NGOs. According to the released reports on Qatar’s foreign aid in 2015, Qatar’s total aid disbursement dropped in 2015 to USD 721,346,093 (QC Report, 2015 & EAA report, 2015). (See Figure 3)

¹ The data in this figure was collected from the published reports of (MoFA, QFFD, EAA, & QC).

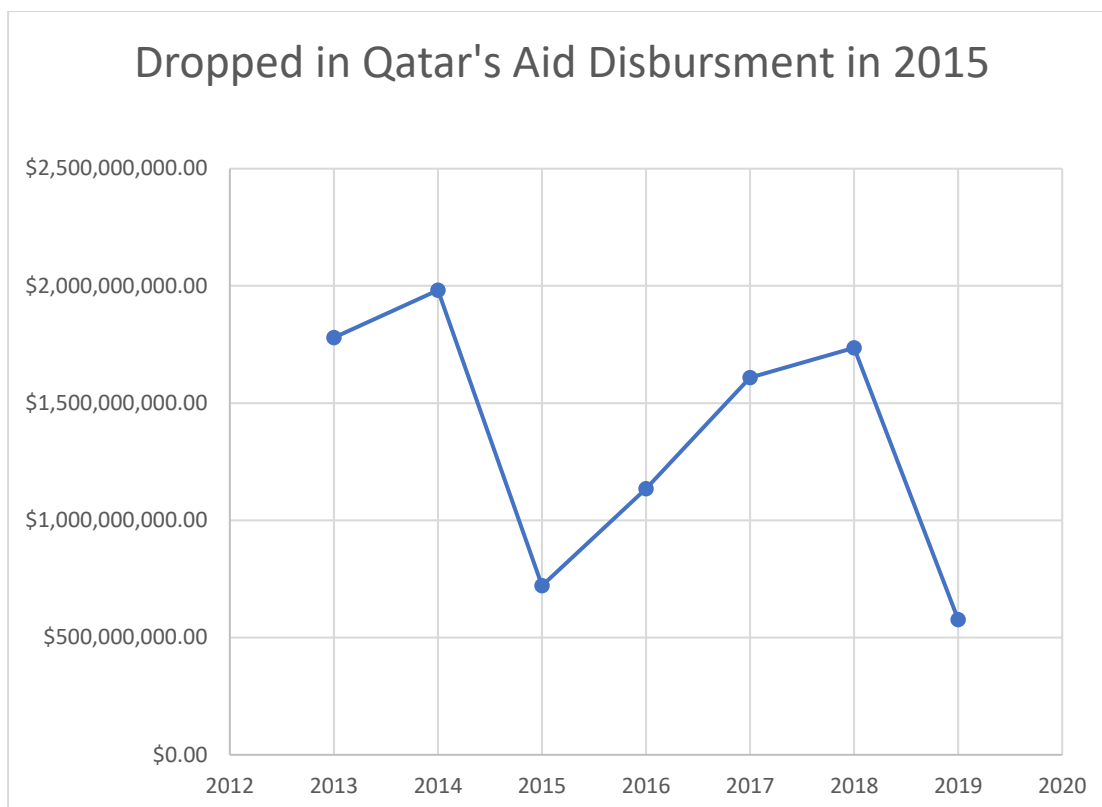


Figure 3. Dropped in Qatar's Aid Disbursement in 2015.2

This data was gathered only from two reports which are Qatar Charity and Education Above All. The reason for the limited data available on Qatar's aid in 2015 was justified to the transition of the management of foreign aid from the Department of International Development in the Qatar Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the QFFD, which become the official governmental institution that manages Qatar's governmental foreign aid since 2014 (QFFD, 2020).

However, since 2015 the Qatar Fund for Development has moved from a small department in Ministry of Foreign Affairs to an independent institution that fully manages Qatar's foreign aid. Despite the fact that Qatar Fund for Development has begun to release more aid data on Qatar's foreign aid, it has a long way to go to meet international standards. It should release information at the project – level data and

² The data in this figure was collected from the published reports of (MoFA, QFFD, EAA, & QC).

description, in which that would improve transparency significantly. For example, Qatar Fund for Development still needs enhancement in defining the sectors in-line with the same standards that DAC members are following. That would help for better comparison and standardization of data between the donors.

Third, it has been noted that Qatar’s foreign aid is politically oriented. Between 2013-2014, Qatar Foreign Aid was managed by a small department under the international cooperation in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During this period the strategy, policy and execution of the foreign aid was decided based on Qatar’s foreign policy. In terms of the volume, Qatar’s foreign aid reached the highest level in 2013 and 2014 with a total of USD 3,395,325,240. (See Figure 4)

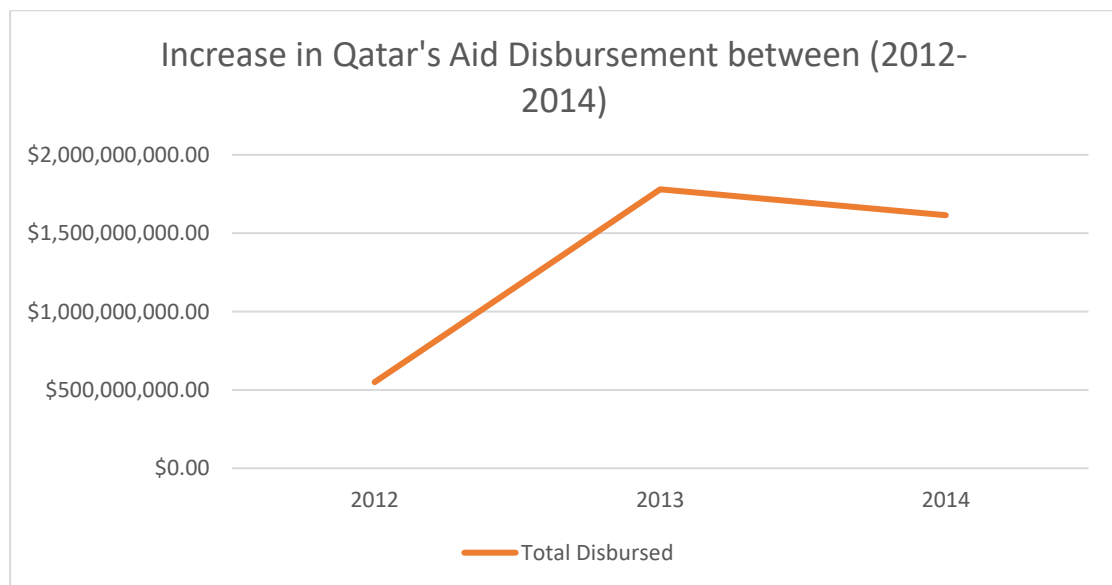


Figure 4. Increase in Qatar's Aid Disbursement between (2012-2014).³

The sudden increase in the volume of Qatar’s foreign aid during this period was linked to Qatar’s foreign policy approach, that is employed during the Arab Spring and the role of Qatar in the Arab Spring countries to support the cause of the people to overthrow the dictatorship regimes. That was clear to notice when most of Qatar’s

³ The data in this figure was collected from the published reports of (MoFA, QFFD, EAA, & QC).

foreign aid including both the Humanitarian and Development aid was allocated to Syria, Palestine, Sudan, and Morocco.

This trend continued in the following years, but to lesser extent. When the Qatar Fund for Development was officially established, its organizational structure of managing foreign aid remained linked and connected to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The chairman of Qatar Fund for Development is the minister of Foreign Affairs. Although it is a separate institution and has a Director General, most of the aid is politically oriented depending on the list of priorities countries from MoFA and has its approval, which is linked and shaped by Qatar's foreign policy and interests.

Fourth, in terms of allocation of Qatar's foreign aid, it is noted that Sub-Saharan region is the top recipient of Qatar's foreign aid followed by the Arab region and North Africa. Qatar's aid to Sub-Saharan Africa during the period 2013–2019 totaled USD 2,877,386,626, which is 24% of Qatar's total aid per region (MOFA reports, QFFD reports, EAA reports, QC reports, 2013–2019). Qatar's total disbursement reached its highest amount in 2014, making the Sub-Saharan region the top recipient of Qatar's aid that year (MOFA report, 2014). (See Figure 5)

It is worth mentioning that the reason for the increase in Qatar's aid disbursement during 2014 was the signed agreement with the UNDP for USD 88.5 million to finance recovery and reconstruction in Darfur, Sudan. This was part of the Darfur peace agreement signed in Doha in 2011 (UNDP, 2014). In addition, it is estimated that Qatar's total aid to Sub-Saharan Africa in 2014 was USD 1,135,015,246, which is 57% of Qatar's total foreign aid disbursement of USD 1,981,436,159 (MOFA report, 2014). On the other hand, during 2016–2018, Qatar's aid to Sub-Saharan Africa was stable and consistent with a total annual disbursement of USD 288,156,014.

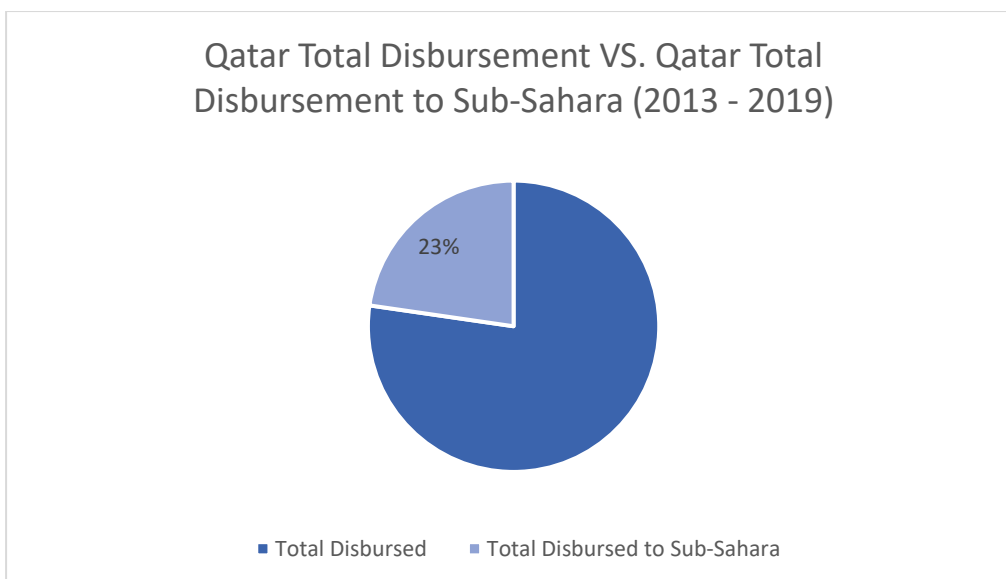


Figure 5. Qatar Total Aid Disbursement vs Qatar Total Aid Disbursement to Sub-Saharan Africa (2014).⁴

The flow of Qatar’s aid to the Sub-Saharan countries has been consistent during the period of 2013-2019 with an average of USD 401,274,357. It is believed that one of the reasons for the Qatar’s government to shift its interest towards Africa and Sub-Saharan countries is ensure its food security and its political and economic stability especially after its political issues with Saudi Arabia, UAE, Bahrain, and Egypt in 2014 and 2017. To this end, figure shows that the top recipient countries of Qatar’s foreign aid in Sub-Sahara are Ethiopia, Congo, Kenya, and Mali.

Table 1. Top Sub-Saharan recipients of Qatar Foreign Aid (2013-2019).

Country	Total allocation.
Ethiopia	81,399,977
Congo	53,125,930
Kenya	49,023,649
Mali	47,608,769

⁴ The data in this figure was collected from the published reports of (MoFA, QFFD, EAA, & QC).

Fifth, education has been one of the important sectors that Qatar has been focusing on when it comes to its development aid. According to the data, there were consistent disbursements to the education sector over the period 2016–2018, with an annual average disbursement of USD 791,274,781, which is 50% of Qatar’s total aid disbursement during this period (QFFD report & EAA report, 2016–2018). (See Figure 6)

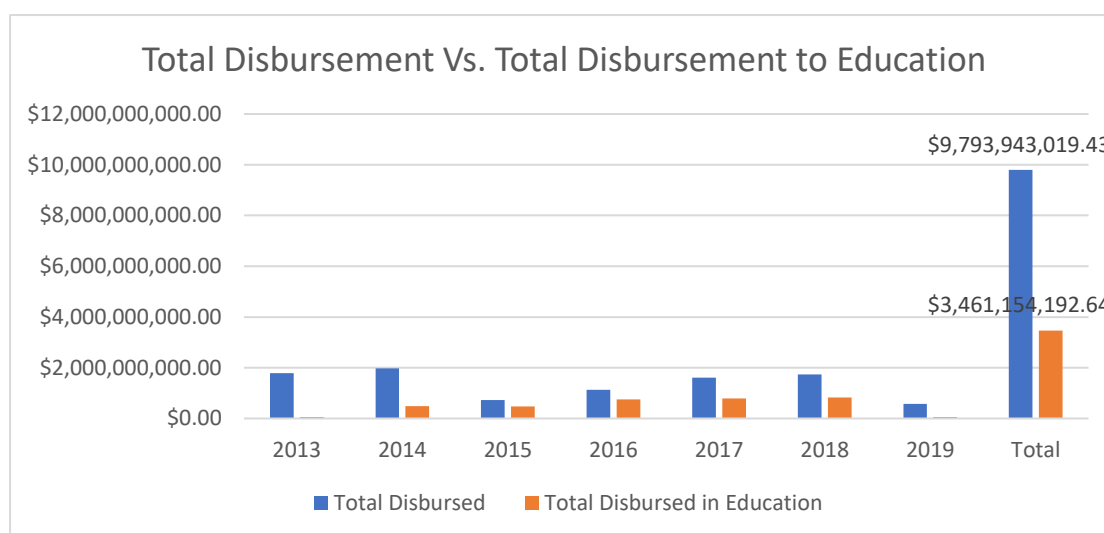


Figure 6. Qatar’s Total Aid Disbursement vs Qatar’s Total Aid Disbursement to Education.⁵

Moreover, as shown in Figure 4, Qatar’s total aid disbursement during the period 2013–2019 was USD 9,538,601,369. In fact, 36% of this total was directed to support the education sector in developing countries. The total disbursement to education reached USD 3,461,154,192. (QFFD report & EAA report, 2016–2019). Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the only available data in 2019 was from the QFFD and QC, which justifies the drop in total aid disbursement in 2019.

⁵ The data in this figure was collected from the published reports of (MoFA, QFFD, EAA, & QC).

On the level of aid per sector, according to the official reports of the Qatari agencies, Qatar’s total aid disbursed to the education sector in Sub-Saharan Africa was USD 1,258,830,328 of the total aid disbursed to Sub-Saharan Africa, which was USD 2,977,386,626 (MOFA reports, QFFD reports, EAA reports, QC reports, 2013–2019). In other words, 42% of the total aid to Sub-Saharan Africa was for the education sector on the continent. Furthermore, the data has shown that education is a main priority for Qatar when it comes to aid, as well as a need priority for the African countries.

Interestingly, the external aid allocated by EAA in 2014 totaled USD 366,158,662 and maintained an average annual allocation of USD 632,410,760 in the following years (EAA reports, 2014–2018). The lowest aid allocation by EAA was in 2014 with a total of USD 366,158,662, before it doubled in 2018 with a total of USD 741,994,189 scoring a growth of 103% from 2014. In addition, the total aid allocated by EAA since 2014 was USD 2,895,801,702, of which USD 1,182,414,245 was allocated to the Sub-Saharan African countries.

Furthermore, the highest education aid allocated to the Sub-Saharan African countries by EAA was USD 347,773,006 in 2018, which is equal to 47% of the total aid allocation during that year (EAA report, 2018) (see Figure 7).

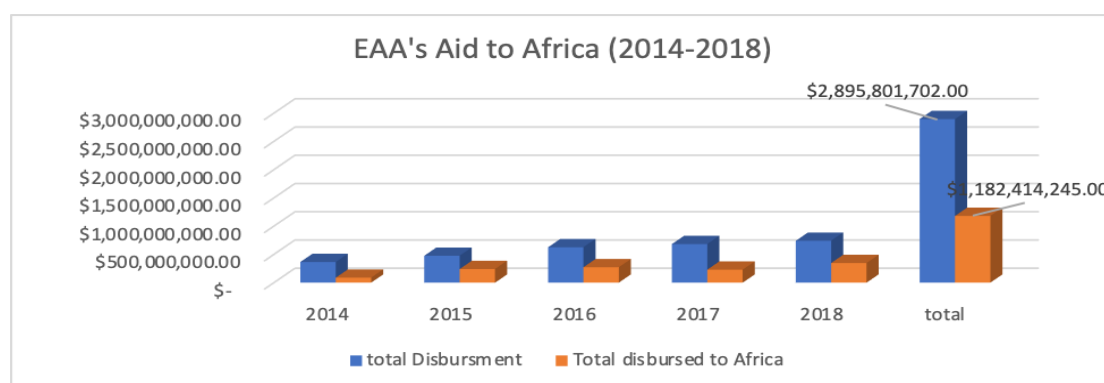


Figure 7. EAA Aid allocation to Sub-Saharan Africa (2014–2018).

Finally, the data from the official reports suggest that Qatar’s foreign assistance has shifted from humanitarian aid to development aid. The trend in Qatar’s foreign

assistance during 2010–2013 was providing humanitarian and emergency responses. It also provided financial support to countries affected by wars and natural disasters (MOFA reports, 2010–2013). However, since 2016, Qatar has focused on funding development programs. In this regard, and within the development, Qatar supported the education sector from 2016–2019. According to the data that different agencies reported, Qatar’s foreign assistance in the education sector from 2013–2019 was USD 3,550,439,870.86, out of a total of USD 9,793,943,019.43 (MOFA report, QFFD report, EAA report, QC reports, 2013–2019). In other words, Qatar spent 36% of its foreign aid on education. Interestingly, in 2018, Qatar allocated 53% (USD 921,700,315) of total aid (USD 1,736,132,821.38) given in that year to education (QFFD report & EAA report, 2018).

Findings

As presented above, one of the main findings of this thesis is the inconsistency of Qatar’s aid during the period of 2013-2019. Although Qatar’s total aid disbursement in 2014 reached the peak with an amount of USD 1.9 billion, this number dropped in the following years. This inconsistency was clear during the period of 2013-2016. At the time, there was no independent institution managing Qatar’s aid.

The main reasons for the fluctuation of Qatar’s aid-flow in this period is the shift in power in 2013 and the fact that Qatar’s leadership focused on internal matters rather than international issues. In addition, Sheikh Tamim Al-Thani institutionalized the administration of foreign aid by establishing the QFFD in 2014. Since 2016, Qatari foreign aid has been consistent, with an annual average disbursement of USD 1,263,942,843.44 (MOFA report, QFFD report, EAA report, QC reports, 2013–2019).

Moreover, the decision-making process on foreign aid has changed. Prior to 2013, Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jaber Al-Thani was the Qatari Prime Minister and

the Minister of Foreign Affairs. During his time in office, the approval process for providing foreign aid was believed to be easier and faster. This led to a rise in Qatar's foreign aid disbursement before 2013. For instance, Qatar's total foreign aid from 2010–2013 was USD 3,356,367,376.50, with an annual average of USD 839,091,844.13 (MOFA report (2010–2013)). However, when Sheikh Tamim assumed power in 2013, he changed the decision-making process and differentiated between the prime minister and foreign minister positions. During the period of the study (2013–2019), the prime minister was HH Sheikh Abdullah bin Nasser Al-Thani. Khalid Al-Attiyah was Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2013 to 2016, and Sheikh Mohammed Bin Abdulrahman Al-Thani has served in this role since 2016. Although Sheikh Mohammed is the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the chairman of the QFFD, the approval process for providing foreign assistance is not easy. It is constrained by the rule that such approval should be given only by the Prime Minister. Despite the fact that foreign aid is one of the political tools of Qatar's foreign policy towards achieving its interests, sometimes this tool is limited when there is a difference in the interests and the directions of the two ministers. The data from the official reports further suggest that Qatar's foreign assistance has shifted from humanitarian aid to development aid.

The trend in Qatar's foreign assistance during 2010–2013 was providing humanitarian and emergency responses. It also provided financial support to countries affected by wars and natural disasters (MOFA reports, 2010–2013). However, since 2016, Qatar has focused on funding development programs. In this regard, and within the development, Qatar supported the education sector from 2016–2019. According to the data that different agencies reported, Qatar's foreign assistance in the education sector from 2013–2019 was USD 3,550,439,870.86, out of a total of USD 9,793,943,019.43 (MOFA report, QFFD report, EAA report, QC reports, 2013–2019).

In other words, Qatar spent 36% of its foreign aid on education. Interestingly, in 2018, Qatar allocated 53% (USD 921,700,315) of total aid (USD 1,736,132,821.38) given in that year to education (QFFD report & EAA report, 2018).

Finally, the data reveals that during 2013–2019, Qatar’s total aid to Sub-Saharan Africa was USD 2,977,386,626.64 (MOFA reports, QFFD reports, EAA reports, QC reports, 2013–2019). However, most of this money was given to Africa in 2014. Qatar’s total aid disbursed to the education sector in Sub-Saharan Africa was USD 1,258,830,328. In other words, 42% of the total aid to Sub-Saharan Africa was for the education sector on the continent (MOFA reports, QFFD reports, EAA reports, QC reports, 2013–2019).

Implications of the Findings

Qatar National Vision is a long-term strategy for the State of Qatar to become by 2030 an advanced society that can sustain its development and provide a high standard of living for its people. It focused on four pillars which are: “Human Development, Economic Development, Social Development, and Environmental Development” (QNV 2030, 2019). With carrying this initiative as a foundation for Qatar’s development plan, the Qatari’s officials emphasized on the importance of transferring this development to the rest of the world especially to the least developing countries.

According to HE Qatar's Permanent Representative to the United Nations Ambassador Sheikha Alia Ahmed bin Saif Al-Thani in the general discussion of the High-level Political Forum on Sustainable Development "Accelerated Action and Transformative Pathways: Realizing the Decade of Action and Delivery for Sustainable Development" indicated that

“The State of Qatar continues with confident and urgent steps in its development process and has made great achievements in the

development field.” She also stressed that, “in line with the pioneering and acclaimed role of the State of Qatar at the international level to ensure the provision of quality education services, especially in areas with conflict, it will continue to work with international partners to ensure continued education in the affected areas” (Information Office, 2020).

Generally, there are economic and political reasons behind Qatar's decision to allocate a quarter of its foreign aid to sub-Saharan Africa. In view of the number of sub-Saharan countries, as in other countries, Qatar has employed political support from African countries in international and regional international organizations.

Economically, Qatar's aid provides leverage in sub-Saharan Africa since it has food security issues. Qatar, thus, was interested in investing in the agricultural sector. In reality, providing foreign assistance to African countries for developing various economic sectors not only will boost economic development, infrastructure and youth unemployment but will also increase Qatar's diplomatic, economic and political credit in Africa (Swaniker, 2013).

Moreover, being a donor in Africa increases the foreign and regional profile of Qatar and positions Qatar in a favorable place to develop mutually beneficial trade in its national interests with the continent. In other words, it is possible to quantify the return on investment to Africa for Qatari foreign assistance with new possibilities for trade and political support.

Furthermore, one of the reasons for the increase of Qatar’s assistance to Africa, especially in 2018, was the Qatar Blockade of 2017. The crisis started in June 2017, when four Arab countries (Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bahrain and Egypt) announced an air, sea and land blockade with Qatar (Al Jazeera, 2019). The blockading countries claimed that Qatar was funding the Muslim Brotherhood and a number of terrorist leaders who are calling for uprisings in the Arab countries, especially in Egypt, the KSA

and Bahrain (Al Jazeera, 2019). This blockade led Qatar to expand its political and economic relations outside the Arab region. In fact, African countries were the best choice for Qatar to fulfill its interests.

The Emir of Qatar's visits to the continent initiated a turning point in Qatar-Africa relationships from providing aid towards investment and mutual interests (QNA, 2019). Indeed, Emir Tamim Al-Thani was positive in his vision of Africa's economic potential. In this context, since Africa has some of the fastest growing economies, the emir's tours of the continent opened doors for Qatar amid the ongoing blockade—providing Qatar with a valuable new tool of soft power.

In addition, Qatar's Minister of Commerce and Industry, Ali bin Ahmed AlKuwari stated, "We see opportunities coming from Africa as huge and we have invested in the banking, mining and oil exploration in East Africa and South Africa" (Mureithi, 2020). Moreover, Qatar has owned around 60% stake of Rwanda's national airport "Kigali-Airport", and almost half of Rwanda's national airline "RwandAir" (Mandela, Webb, Ahren, Baradat, Staff & Schwartz, 2020). One of the reasons for this shift towards Africa is the fact that Africa is a huge market for Qatar's importations, especially for food. Moreover, it is estimated that Qatar imports most of its food needs and it is expected to be more dependent on food importations in the upcoming years due to the increase in its population (Al-Faisal, 2019). Another reason is the importance of Africa geopolitically for the state of Qatar, particularly after the blockade imposed by a number of GCC and Egypt (Mandela et al., 2020).

Finally, the emir's tours to Africa successfully discomfited any attempts by the blockade countries to isolate Qatar. On contrary the visit to Africa showed how Qatar has managed to turn the siege into its advantage. In many respects, the tours have deepened the relationship between Qatar and African countries on different levels.

Why Aid in Education?

In the contemporary time, education is a driving force for economic activity and economic growth for any country. This is the central of the theory of human capital, in which they it believes that education can promote productivity within the workers and as result lead to economic growth. Furthermore, Mincer (1974) also explained the differences in economic growth across countries by highlighting the role of labor, land and the investment in capital (Mincer, 1974).

The theory also adapted with a strong breakthrough to higher education to understand the growing importance of innovation and technology for the economy. Education has thus become more important as a medium for training and the generation of creativity and enterprise than in the industrial age, in the sense of the so-called information economy (Lucas, 1988)

Strong criticism was not surprisingly leveled against the theory of human capital. There are some of these in the economic sector, such as “screening hypothesis”, which claims that productivity is validate by its own qualifications. In other words, people who have already skills can enhance their qualifications through education. Another problem with the theory of human capital is that the job market consumes and rewards people who have certain talents in the same manner (Robertson, 2012).

A more extreme version is that education, by raising the consciousness of learners, is essential to social change. The concept of the masses being educated to see the injustice of their condition, build the abilities to organizing themselves together, and overthrow their oppressors has been a staple of radical political thinking in recent centuries and has led National Governments to considerable caution against spreading education over the populace too liberally.

In summary, in this chapter, I discussed the main trends of Qatar’s foreign aid,

which some of them are inconsistency, non-transparent and political oriented. The chapter then analyzed Qatar's foreign aid in Sub-Saharan Africa, by focusing on educational aid. I concluded the chapter by explaining the importance of educational aid to development.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations

This thesis examined the nature of Qatar's foreign aid in Sub-Saharan Africa over the period of 2013-2019, focusing on the educational aid in terms of volume and recipients. In order to do so, I have analyzed the official reports from the government of Qatar and other local NGOs whose mandate is foreign aid. Moreover, I relied on the relevant literature that discuss foreign aid in general, and in particular educational aid, in order to understand and evaluate Qatar's foreign aid. In the literature, I have explored the concept of foreign aid, its different forms, and its evolution. Moreover, I have explained the theories I used (realism, idealism, and Marxism) as a conceptual framework of foreign aid.

The study has shown that since 2016, the volume of Qatar's foreign aid remained steady and averaged of USD 1.3 billion annually. This corresponded to the establishment of Qatar Fund for Development and its mandate to manage and observe Qatar's foreign aid on behalf of the State of Qatar. Another important finding of the study is the relationship between Qatar's foreign policy and its foreign aid in terms of volume and recipients. The study has shown that since 2013 Qatar's foreign policy to Africa and particularly to sub-Saharan Africa was active giving the sub-Saharan countries a peripheral position in Qatar foreign policy priorities, and to optimize its interests politically and economically.

However, this was not the only case behind the motivation of Qatar's foreign aid. The study has also shown the role of Qatar's foreign aid in supporting the international development agenda, especially towards achieving the SDGs. Due to the fact that Africa is considered as the top continent that deserve help and support at all levels, Qatar is therefore, directing its foreign aid to Africa. Moreover, the reason why

Qatar is focusing on the educational aid is the fact and the beliefs of Qatar's officials on the importance of education on growth and development of any country.

Recommendations

The following are recommendations for the decision makers of Qatar's foreign policy and foreign aid.

- 1- Qatar's educational aid to Sub-Saharan Africa resulted from its activist foreign policy. Lest it does not become temporary, would be temporary, the framework of Qatar's educational aid should be reconsidered. It is desirable to have an independent policy of Qatar's foreign aid and particularly educational aid.
- 2- There should be an independent institution for Qatar's foreign aid. Despite Qatar Fund for Development is considered as an aid institution that is committed on behalf of the State of Qatar to provide foreign aid, there are still many ministries and institutions provide foreign aid. This complicates the decision-making, and it leads to an inefficient system. Additionally, such an institution would be data-house for Qatar's foreign aid.
- 3- Qatar should publish its reports of foreign aid and submit its aid data to OECD DAC including details about the projects. This would make Qatar's aid transparent.

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