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„Japanese and South Korean Official Development Assistance (ODA): A Comparative Analysis of Rhetoric and Behavior“

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims at reviewing the coherence of rhetoric and behavior of Japanese and South Korean aid policy. By using the theoretical framework of role theory, the role conceptions of Japanese and South Korean policy-makers are compared with the actual role performances of the countries. A four step methodological approach was chosen. First, the aid-related rhetoric of policy-makers between 2005 and 2012 was analyzed. By using the methodological approach of qualitative content analysis, six role conceptions were identified (“Bridge”, “Model”, “Respected Member of the International Community”, “Responsible Leader”, “Partner”, and “Newcomer”). This step was conducted by reviewing about 50 relevant policy speeches per donor country, from which these role conceptions and commitment indicators were derived. Second, the found commitment indicators were compared to aid disbursement data from the OECD’s Creditor Reporting System (CRS). Third, two case studies were presented to provide information on indicators that could not be derived from the data. To allow for comparability among recipient regions, an Asian and an African recipient country were chosen for identifying the major characteristics of Japanese and South Korean bilateral aid performance. Finally, role performances were set in the context of the previously derived role conceptions. As a result, role gaps were identified for both donors, whereas in two instances respectively role performance was coherent with role conception. Japan acted as a “Bridge” and “Partner” in the context of ODA, while South Korea was a “Newcomer” and to some extent a “Partner.” A comparison of the identified gaps and role coherences showed how the indicators as identified by policy-makers differed among Japanese and South Korean speeches. Therefore, the importance of using an inductive approach to derive role conceptions was warranted, as it explained differences between the two donor countries. In conclusion, this study proved that the reliability of aid related commitments in the case of Japan and South Korea is overall quite weak. Thus, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of the two countries’ roles in the international aid community by linking the fields of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA), role theory, and Official Development Assistance (ODA).

Keywords: Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA), Japan, OECD Creditor Reporting System (CRS), Official Development Assistance (ODA), Qualitative Content Analysis, Role Theory, South Korea

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die vorliegende Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit der Frage der Konsistenz von Rhetorik und Verhalten japanischer und südkoreanischer Verpflichtungen in der öffentlichen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (EZA). Als theoretische Grundlage diente die Rollentheorie, mit deren Hilfe die Rollenkonzepte japanischer und südkoreanischer politischer Entscheidungsträger mit dem tatsächlichen Rollenverhalten dieser Geberländer verglichen wurden. Dafür wurde ein vier-stufiges methodisches Vorgehen gewählt. Erstens wurde die entwicklungspolitische Rhetorik der Entscheidungsträger im Zeitraum zwischen 2005 und 2012 analysiert, wobei ungefähr 50 relevante, politische Reden pro Geberland beleuchtet wurden. Dadurch konnten Rollenkonzepte und Indikatoren für EZA Verpflichtungen, wie sie von den politischen Entscheidungsträgern definiert wurden, herausgearbeitet werden. Mittels qualitativer Inhaltsanalyse konnten in diesem Schritt sechs Rollenkonzepte identifiziert werden. Zweitens wurden die identifizierten Indikatoren der EZA Verpflichtungen mit Leistungsdaten des OECD Creditor Reporting System (CRS) verglichen. Drittens, da einige Verpflichtungen nicht anhand der Daten herausgearbeitet werden konnten, wurden diese im Zuge zweier Empfängerländer-Fallstudien analysiert. Um die Vergleichbarkeit von Empfängerregionen zu gewährleisten, wurden jeweils ein asiatisches und ein afrikanisches Land gewählt und die Charakteristika des japanischen und südkoreanischen Verhaltens in der bilateralen EZA herausgearbeitet. Abschließend wurde das Rollenverhalten mit Hilfe der zuvor erarbeiteten Indikatoren mit den geäußerten Rollenkonzepten in Beziehung gestellt. Für beide Geberländer konnten bei fast allen Rollenkonzepten Rollenlücken identifiziert werden und nur in zwei Fällen pro Geberland stimmte das Rollenverhalten mit dem jeweiligen Rollenkonzept überein. Weiters zeigte ein Vergleich der Rollenlücken und Rollenkohärenz, wie sich die von den politischen Entscheidungsträgern geäußerten Verpflichtungen zwischen japanischen und südkoreanischen Reden unterschieden. Die Bedeutung des hier gewählten induktiven Ansatzes wurde bei der Herausarbeitung der Rollenkonzepte deutlich, da dadurch die Unterschiede der Ergebnisse der Geberländer erklärt werden konnte. Abschließend hat diese Forschungsarbeit gezeigt, dass das Vertrauen in entwicklungspolitische Verpflichtungen für Japan und Korea im Großen und Ganzen nicht gerechtfertigt ist. Japan verhielt sich als „Brücke“ und „Partner“ im Kontext öffentlicher EZA, während Südkorea ein „Newcomer“ war und sich nur mit Einschränkungen als „Partner“ verhielt. Daher trägt diese Forschung zum Feld der Außenpolitikanalyse (Foreign Policy Analysis, FPA), der Rollentheorie und der öffentlichen EZA bei.

Schlagwörter: Außenpolitikanalyse (Foreign Policy Analysis, FPA), Japan, OECD Creditor Reporting System (CRS), Öffentliche Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (ODA), Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse, Rollentheorie, Südkorea

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List of Abbreviations

ADB	African Development Bank
CAP	Country Assistance Program
CAS	Country Assistance Strategy
CDF	Comprehensive Development Framework
cf.	from Latin <i>confer</i> ; “compare with”
CRS	Creditor Reporting System
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DPRK	Democratic People’s Republic of Korea
EDCF	Economic Development Cooperation Fund
EPA	Economic Planning Agency
EU	European Union
FPA	Foreign Policy Analysis
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEF	Global Environmental Facility
GNI	Gross National Income
HDI	Human Development Index
HIPCs	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDA	International Development Association
IT	Information Technology
JAST	Joint Assistance Strategy for Tanzania
JBIC	Japan Bank for International Cooperation
JEXIM	Japan’s Export-Import Bank
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
KOICA	Korea International Cooperation Agency
KSP	Knowledge Sharing Program
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
LMICs	Lower Middle Income Countries
MADCTs	More Advanced Developing Countries and Territories
MDB	Multilateral Development Bank
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
METI	Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, Japan(=MITI from 2001)
MITI	Ministry of Trade and Industry, Japan
MKUKUTA (NSGRP)	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania (National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty)
MOF	Ministry of Finance, Japan
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan
MOFAT	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Republic of Korea
MOSF	Ministry of Strategy and Finance, Republic of Korea
n.a.	not applicable

NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OA	Official Aid
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OECF	Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund
OLICs	Other Low Income Countries
OOF	Other Official Flows
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
ROK	Republic of Korea
SEDP	Socio-Economic Development Plan (Vietnam)
SWAP	Sector-Wide Approach
TICAD	Tokyo International Conference on African Development
U.S.	United States of America
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UMICs	Upper Middle Income Countries
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UN-OHRLLS	United Nations Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States
USD	United States Dollar
VMDGs or VDGs	Vietnam Millennium Development Goals

1. Introduction

On March 19, 2014, the Guardian reported on a funding gap of the European Union's humanitarian aid of about €480 million, threatening life-saving NGO projects in poor countries and the existence of small NGOs themselves. The source of the gap was the discrepancy between what had been pledged and what was actually disbursed by the EU (Neslen, March 19, 2014). As part of a donors Official Development Assistance (ODA) humanitarian aid, which often answers to immediate need, is especially vulnerable to fluctuations in ODA disbursements. What ODA donors promise to give and what they actually give, cannot be assumed to be the same amount. It is thus essential to understand for which donors and amongst what aspects of their ODA programs such gaps exist as they can have tangible impacts on people in the developing world.

Two donors of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) will be given consideration in this thesis—Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK)¹. Amongst DAC donors Japan stands out not only as one of the largest donors in absolute amounts, but also as one of the most widely criticized due to its aid practice deviating from other DAC donors in the past 60 years. The second donor South Korea is the newest member of the DAC, having experienced a transition from developing to developed country. This research investigates gaps in regard to Japanese and South Korean commitments and disbursements, the former being an established donor country, the latter the newest DAC donor.

The choice of donors can be explained by the large amount of literature that focused on the Japanese ODA program, as well as an emerging new body of academic literature concentrating on South Korea's behavior as a donor. Japan and South Korea have been criticized on similar grounds for their ODA practice. Compared to other DAC members, Japan led with regard to the absolute volume of aid, but only had an average performance with respect to Gross National Income (GNI) (Ensign 1992: 29; Karasawa 1997: 94; Lukner 2006: 208-209; Nishigaki and Shimomura 1999: 200-201). This low ratio of ODA to GNI was similarly criticized in the case of South Korea, which regardless of ever increasing ODA efforts, underperformed in comparison to international standards (Choi 2011: 37, 40; Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 791; Hermanns 2013: 72; Kang 2008: 131; Kwon 2010: 157; Lee and Park 2008: 108, 121).

“[...] in comparison with other major aid-giving governments, the realities of Japanese aid have not always corresponded closely with the policy rhetoric of that aid” (Lancaster 2010: 31-32). As Lancaster's remark showed, Japan is seen to be different from other major donors in terms of gaps between rhetoric and behavior. This study will investigate to what extent these criticisms are justified and hold compared to South Korea. South Korea as a new donor country is seen to be eager to improve its ODA program based on internationally set standards, such as the goal of providing 0.7 percent of GNI in the form of ODA. Ambitious goals of increasing the ODA to GNI ratio to 0.15% by 2012 (Kang 2008: 135), and then again to 0.25% by 2015 were voiced in several instances and was well received in the literature (Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 789; Cha 2000: 230; Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 18, 27; Kalinowski and Cho 2012: 249; Park 2010).

1 From now on referred to in this thesis as “South Korea” or simply “Korea.”

Previous criticism of the two donors' ODA behavior has been insightful, but offered mostly one perspective. International standards served as the reference, from which Japanese and South Korean ODA behavior deviated. So far it has not been investigated whether a gap exists between their own ODA commitments and disbursements. In the following, an overview of the State of the Art on Japanese and South Korean ODA will show this lack of knowledge in the literature. Since ODA policy is understood as a specific field of a state's foreign policy, a look at previous literature has to present the context of foreign policy research for this study and the previous research attempts on understanding a state's rhetoric and behavior.

1.1. State of the Art

The study of the interactions between states in the form of foreign policy has concerned scholars for a long time, resulting in the research field of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA). FPA has its basis in social sciences and provides a theory of human political choice for the field of International Relations as the internal factors of a state's policy are no longer seen as a "black-box" (Hudson and Vore 1995: 210-211).² In the 1950s and early 1960s FPA developed as a subfield of International Relations with a focus on the actors in the process of foreign policy decision-making. During that time, three works set the cornerstones of FPA, namely Snyder, Bruck and Sapin (1954), Rosenau (1966) and Sprout and Sprout (1965). In 1954, Snyder et al. published "Decision Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics", which encouraged other research to question the nation state as a black box and look at the actors behind foreign policy decisions. The process behind foreign policy decisions gained importance over the mere outcomes of policy (Snyder, Bruck and Sapin 2002). About ten years later, Rosenau extended the research by developing an actor-specific theory (Rosenau 1966). Snyder et al. and Rosenau agreed on the fact that foreign policy could best be understood from the various actors involved in the process and from a multilevel perspective. Sprout and Sprout went on to argue that decisions in foreign policy needed to be looked at from the psychological, situational, political and social contexts of the agents involved (Sprout and Sprout 1965).

From the 1960s to the 1980s FPA had reached a broad mass of scholars, resulting in the development of various approaches based on classic, comparative, and psychological and societal foreign policy research. In 1970, Holsti used sociological role theory for FPA by analyzing the roles nation states took in the international system. He undertook a cross-national study with numerous states to understand the perceptions decision-makers have of their own state. The underlying assumption was that role conceptions constitute the direction of choices and explain differences in behavior, which was supported by Wish (1980). Scholars in the 1980s, thus, continued the use of the national role conception methodology (cf. Walker 1987). Edström (1988), for instance, provided a comparison of national and international roles ascribed to Japan based on this concept. Hook (1995) used Holsti's typology for categorizing the roles France, Japan, Sweden and the U.S. played in the international system. Breuning (1995) undertook a cross-national comparison of motivational rhetoric and policy behavior of three DAC donors to find out whether countries were doing

2 Hudson (2005) and Hudson and Vore (1995) provide a comprehensive overview of the origins and subsequent academic developments of Foreign Policy Analysis.

what they promised. The change of a state's identity was the focus of research done by Chafetz, Abramson, and Grillot (1997). With regard to Japan, Klien (2002) focused on Japanese self-perception throughout history based mainly on Japanese sources. Similarly, Kaya (2012) used the sociological role theory approach based on Aggestam (2006) to compare the EU's self-defined role conception in foreign and security policy with its behavior or role performance.

Specific issues such as foreign aid policy or security policy have been the focus of detailed FPA and role theory research. Research on foreign aid was first taken up by Hans Morgenthau (1962), who defined aid as a tool of foreign policy. Postulating that certain interests abroad could not be achieved by military or other diplomatic means, made the use of foreign aid for foreign policy goals essential. Thereby, he explained, foreign policy was restricted to considerations of cost and benefit for the state. Morgenthau classified the various types of aid policies under six categories ranging from humanitarian aspects to bribery and considerations of prestige. For Morgenthau, foreign aid contained the merit that both recipient and donor could gain from interaction.

In the 1960s, the U.S. was the main focus of early studies on state's foreign aid policy. Black (1968) classified four categories of rationales for U.S. foreign aid policy. His categories included the motivations of defense, economic, political and humanitarian considerations, which continue to be used in much of the literature today (cf. Lancaster 2007). Black argued that the U.S.'s perception of the world shaped the allocation of aid to other countries in a way that influenced the long-term economic and political development of the recipients. Nelson (1968) also studied the way the U.S. gave foreign aid at the time, but added more specific criteria for aid allocation to aid recipients to the debate. For him aid was a "multipurpose instrument."

Since the 1970s and 1980s, a variety of scholarly literature concentrated on questions of aid motivations and ideas from economics to explain foreign aid policy. On the one hand, there is a widely held consensus in the literature that a donor's political, strategic and economic considerations based on national interests were the most influential determinants for giving bilateral aid (cf. Alesina and Dollar 2000; Burnside and Dollar 2000; Hook 1995; Kilby and Dreher 2010; Lancaster 2007; Lebovic 2005; Maizels and Nissanke 1984; McKinlay and Little 1977; Neumayer 2003; Powell and Bobba 2006; Roodman 2006; Younas 2008). On the other hand, some scholars were not content with the political explanations of foreign aid and used ideas from economics to justify the use of aid. Econometric models were established which looked into assumed purposes based on various indicators (cf. Dudley and Montmarquette 1976; Maizels and Nissanke 1984; McKinlay and Little 1977; Mosley 1985; Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1998).

Expanding the topic of aid motivations, Ruttan (1989) brought previous categories in correlation with the dichotomy of a donor's economic and strategic self-interest and the ethical-moral dimension of recipient need. He argued that the lack of knowledge on how to achieve development and the neglect of the moral obligation by donors to assess their projects and their projects' effects on development, resulted in ineffective aid programs (Ruttan 1989: 415, 422). As a result, research on aid effectiveness started in the late 1980s and early 1990s, where aid projects were criticized for not bringing about the intended objectives for which they had been designed. One group of scholars argued that aid was only effective if the economic policy environment of the recipient country was appropriate (cf. Boone 1996;

Burnside and Dollar 2000), even though others did not find such a correlation in their studies (Easterly, Levine and Roodman 2004). A third group focused on the impact of donor interests on recipient economic growth (cf. Alesina and Dollar 2000; Bearce and Tirone 2010; Bobba and Powell 2007; Headey 2005; Minoiu and Reddy 2010).

From the 1990s, a large body of literature focused on seeing aid policy as dependent on domestic policies (cf. Stokke 1989). For Lumsdaine (1993) morality was a main determinant for donor's aid allocation based on domestic political orientations and ethical concerns. Noël and Thérien (1995), Thérien (2002) and Tingley (2010), then, researched the influence of political parties on a country's foreign aid policy, concluding that domestic political and economic ideologies played a significant role in aid decision-making.

The emergence of Japan as a foreign aid power in the late 1980s and during the 1990s sparked a large debate in domestic and international academic circles. Studies from Japanese scholars typically concentrated on public policy and Japan's global contribution (cf. Nishigaki and Shimomura 1999), while scholars outside Japan focused on the effects of Japanese aid. Such latter studies concentrated on various issues including the effects of Japan's aid on U.S.-Japan relations (Islam 1991; Orr 1990) and the effects of domestic and international components on policy-making (Söderberg 1996). The overall consensus in many studies was that Japanese aid served the purpose of furthering commercial interests and lacked a global vision (cf. Arase 1995; Ensign 1992). Rix (1989-1990) examined whether Japan was able to show "leadership" in its aid policy, which was further taken up by Sawamura (2002) and in a study on Japan's identity shift from "merchant nation" to "leader" in the international development NGO debate (Lee 2011). Lee (2011) also provided an argument for the role of domestic forces in influencing policies, while Katada (2001) examined the overall importance of domestic debates and public opinion in foreign policy making especially with regard to aid policy. Other studies, rather than focusing on overall characteristics of Japanese aid practice, concentrated on the determinants of Japanese aid (cf. Cooray and Shahiduzzaman 2004). Aid to specific recipient countries or in specific issue areas was mostly looked into by case studies. For instance, several scholars targeted Japanese environmental foreign policy and aid in more detail (cf. Hall 2010; Karasawa 1997; Kim 2012; Ohta 2000). Hatakeyama (2008) investigated the question of Japan as a leader in knowledge aid in Vietnam. Lehman (2010a) and Tuman and Ayoub (2004) provided an insight into Japanese aid to Africa in general, while Carvalho (2011) compared the two recipient countries Angola and Mozambique. Yamaguchi (2005) concentrated on the energy sector of Japanese ODA in developing countries. The reform of the Japanese ODA charter in 2003 resulted in scholars such as Palanovics (2006) examining the latest developments and voicing critique of continued bad practices.

As a rather new actor in the international donor architecture, scholarship on South Korea's ODA remained comparatively limited with two main objectives. First, South Korea's transition from an aid recipient to an aid donor was widely being discussed (cf. Choi 2011; Kim, Kim and Kim 2013). Second, the way Korean ODA was provided, was critically analyzed, especially with regard to OECD DAC membership, which Korea gained in 2010 (cf. Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010; Kim and Oh 2012). Recently, studies have taken different approaches to South Korea's ODA. Kim (2011) highlighted the tensions between stated ethical rhetoric and reality of aid, while the role of domestic values in changing aid approaches was the main focus of research by Lumsdaine and Schopf (2007). Kalu and Kim

(2012) looked into South Korea's relations with Africa. Hermanns (2013) was the first to use the concept of role theory to analyze South Korea's foreign policy in general, but only marginally referred to the country's ODA policy.

Direct comparisons with other donors were especially numerous in the case of Japan, with regard to motivations and practices of DAC donors (cf. Hook 1995; Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1998; Lancaster 2007; Lebovic 2005). Raposo and Potter (2010) reviewed the aid relationship between Japan and Africa, and China and Africa concluding that the two Asian countries pursued different goals. South Korean ODA was mostly compared to other emerging donors (Jerve and Selbervik 2009) or DAC donors' practices before its succession to the OECD DAC (Lee 2012). Iain Watson (2012) tried to distinguish South Korean ODA from other "Asian ODA" based on specific criteria. Only Kang, Lee and Park (2011) directly compared South Korea with Japan in regard to ODA. They added Foreign Direct Investment practices to their empirical analysis with the purpose of showing similarities between these two countries and comparing them to other donors.

1.2. Research Intention

It is thus obvious that a comparative analysis of Japanese and South Korean ODA is lacking in the recent scholarly literature. The presentation of the State of the Art has shown that there is a gap in the knowledge on Japanese and South Korean ODA. Further, only very few attempts have been made to apply role theory to Japan and South Korea, while never specifically in the context of ODA. Specifically the lack of role theory research in the field of ODA policy stands out, and even more so with regard to the two donors investigated in this research. Therefore, the aim of this study is to compare Japanese and South Korean ODA rhetoric with actual behavior. To do so, first Japanese and South Korean rhetoric in the field of ODA has to be categorized. The guiding research question states as follows:

1. How do Japan and South Korea portray themselves in the international donor community?

To find answers to this research question, a qualitative content analysis is applied to derive the way Japan and South Korea see themselves as donors. In this regard, an inductive approach is chosen over a deductive approach to refrain from imposing standards and norms on the donors and allowing the policy-makers to set the reference points. Therefore, a variety of about 50 policy-makers' speeches and statements for each country on ODA issues are analyzed based on Forschauer and Lueger's (2003) topic analysis approach. As a result, a comprehensive understanding of the policy-makers' conception of their countries role is given. From these results, the actual ODA behavior has to be examined and the question answered:

2. In what way do actions undertaken by Japan and South Korea with regard to Official Development Aid support the stated rhetoric?

The second question looks into the sectors, regions or mechanisms of how aid is being disbursed by the two donors. In order to define which aspects are important, the commitments made in the speeches and statements serve as indicators to interpret quantitative data. Quantitative data from internationally recognized databases helps to gain the disbursement

data, while two recipient country case studies look into the qualitative aspects of Japanese and South Korean ODA disbursements. Based on the findings, conclusions can be drawn on the whether actions are in line with stated rhetoric. In the final step, the possible gaps between rhetoric and behavior are identified and compared among Japan and South Korea, following the third research question:

3. To what extent is a gap between rhetoric and behavior evident and which similarities and differences between the two donors can be derived?

This question can only be answered by combining the previous results. It is analyzed whether gaps exist at all and if so, whether the two donors share some of them and to what extent. As a result of this approach, conclusions can be drawn on Japanese and South Korean ODA rhetoric and behavior, as well as their status as donors in the DAC community.

From these research questions it is clear that certain aspects of Japanese and South Korean ODA will not be targeted in this study. First, DAC rules, norms and standards are acknowledged but they do not serve as the main reference point for assessing the two donors ODA. Therefore, it cannot be investigated to what extent they respect these standards. Second, the external view of other donors, international organizations or media is not included in the research design due to timely constraints of the author. The focus clearly lies on the donors' self-conception and their behavior in the field of ODA.

By answering these questions the research will contribute to the understanding of Japan and South Korea as actors in the international community and more specifically in the aid community of OECD/DAC donors and aid recipients. Furthermore, by identifying the way these states see themselves in the mentioned issue area the commitments they make are better understood. In this regard, it will be left to the policy-makers of the two states to decide how they define their country's role in ODA policy and what commitments have to be compared with disbursements. This approach stands in contrast to previous studies that imposed international norms on the analysis of Japanese and South Korean ODA behavior and criticized them based on these norms. However, whether other donor countries show the same behavior has not always been the focus of attention. Therefore, the overall comparative approach chosen here allows for a more comprehensive understanding of actual ODA policy as it is practiced by DAC donors. The consistency of commitments with aid disbursements and specific policy choices are significant for finding possible gaps. Studying consistency of rhetoric and behavior will prove the reliability of aid related commitments and the extent to which these commitments can be trusted to be fulfilled. Consistency of these two aspects is essential for the reliability of foreign aid commitments, on which developing countries and international organizations depend. Thereby, scholarship on Japan's and South Korea's role in the international ODA system will create additional, scientifically relevant information. A gap between commitments and disbursements could harm a donor's international reputation and prestige, which is assumed to be contrary to Japan's and South Korea's identified policy goals.

1.3. Organization of Thesis

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. After this introduction, a short overview of the general characteristics of Japanese and South Korean ODA as found in previous literature is

given to set the subsequent role conceptions and role performances into a wider context. The overview is followed by the research design, which will be explained in the third chapter by providing a detailed background of the theoretical framework of FPA, role theory and their link to foreign aid. The same chapter further elaborates on the methodology applied. In the fourth chapter, the results of the qualitative content analysis for the deduction of Japanese and South Korean role conceptions are presented. Chapter 5 goes on to compare quantitative commitments with actual disbursement data as derived from the OECD Creditor Reporting System and other databases. Qualitative indicator categories that cannot be found in such databases are obtained by analyzing two recipient country case studies in Chapter 6. The same chapter further combines the results of the previous two chapters. The seventh chapter relates the gaps and consistencies between commitments and disbursements back to the role conceptions. Thereby Japan's and South Korea's actual roles are assessed and a comparison of the gaps, consistencies and overall ODA role of the two donors are presented. The implications of the results are provided. Finally, the concluding chapter serves as a summary of the findings and analysis, and sets them in context with the previous literature.

2. Characteristics of Japanese and South Korean Aid in Previous Literature

The qualitative content analysis resulted in the identification of five role conceptions shared by both donors, and one individual role conception for South Korea. To be able to better understand the findings of the content analysis in context with the following quantitative data, a look at the previously identified characteristics of Japanese and South Korean aid from the literature is necessary. This literature review will identify the quantitative indicators upon which Japanese and South Korean ODA were assessed before and how the two donors performed with regard these indicators. In addition, a short history of their donor positions and general characteristics of the ODA administration are presented to provide a framework for the interpretation of the qualitative and quantitative data.

2.1. Characteristics of Japanese ODA

Japan has held the status of a distinctive donor in the DAC group, both in positive as well as negative terms (Leheny and Warren 2010: 2). Japan's experience as a donor was seen to provide a new perspective on the global aid debate and aid practices (Ohno 2010: 98), with its own experiences and ideas (Bloch 1991: 76). The donor country has to balance the pressure from other DAC members to adhere to established norms while maintaining the substance of a proven economic cooperation system (Arase 1995: 51; Raposo and Potter 2010: 183). In the following an overview of Japan's donor history based on previous literature on Japanese ODA will be presented. Widely held views are highlighted of Japan focusing its assistance on Asia, economic infrastructure development and the provision of loans (Ohno 2010: 79-80), which are set in the context of Japan's own development experience from a recipient to a donor country (Fukushima 2000).

After World War II, Japan was obliged to pay war reparations as an ethical debt to the Asian neighbors it had invaded during the war (Asanuma 1991: 105-106; Takahashi 2010a: 40). These reparation payments were soon followed by a voluntary engagement in the Colombo Plan³ in 1954, marking the initiation of Japanese foreign aid (Lancaster 2010: 36; Takahashi 2010a: 41; Yanagihara and Emig 1991: 37). In the 1960s and 1970s, a domestic interest for developing new markets and ensuring the provision of raw materials resulted in an expansion of the aid program, which was enhanced by the first oil crisis (Ensign 1992: 8-9). These interests continued throughout the 1970s, while in the 1980s a further expansion of Japanese aid was used as a means of recycling its trade surplus (Ohno 2010: 80). During that time foreign criticism of Japanese aid practice increased and foreign perceptions of Japan's assistance had to be taken into account (Arase 1995: 203). Due to the trade surplus, Japan became a major donor, surpassing the U.S. in 1989. This donor status was upheld during the 1990s through the creation of policy initiatives in the international community. However, from 2001 onwards, a shift in international aid diplomacy and domestic aid policy occurred towards convergence with international norms (Ensign 1992: 3; Islam 1991: 1, 210-211;

3 “Colombo Plan is a regional economic organization established in 1951. It focuses on the social and economic development of the South, Southeast Asian and Pacific nations.” (Palavonics 2006: 366).

Lancaster 2007; Nishigaki and Shimomura 1999; Orr 1990; Sato 2010: 10-11; Yanagihara and Emig 1991: 37; Yasutomo 1995).

These historic developments are said to have been influenced both by domestic and external pressures. As early as 1961 Japan became a founding member of the DAC, even before joining the OECD (Fukushima 2000: 156; Yanagihara and Emig 1991: 38). Ever since, “[t]he DAC has influenced Japanese ODA policy making [...]. Japan has aspired to be a well-performing donor and has striven to align its aid policy as much as possible to the DAC agreed rules and norms” (Fukushima 2000: 158). This is underlined by the transformation of reparations into voluntary transfers because of such external expectations (Lancaster 2010: 35). In contrast, domestic interests focused on trade promotion in the 1960s and 1970s. Foreign opinion on Japanese assistance still highlights these domestic interests, however, in the 1980s political and security interests became more prominent together with concerns of prestige and acceptance by the international community (Ensign 1992: 8-9; Islam 1991). Based on the perceived influence of foreign expectations on Japanese ODA policy it was seen as a reactive instrument (Asanuma 1991: 106). Regardless, individual policy choices were perceived as departures from accepted ideologies and policy objectives of the Western aid debate (Lehman 2010a: 1-3; 2010b: 25). Thus, Japan sought its own leadership position in the donor community by presenting its distinctive path as a model for other recipients such as South Korea (Lehman 2010b: 25; Nishigaki and Shimomura 1999: 142).

Japan’s own search for leadership in foreign aid was hampered, on the one hand by others’ perception of its practices and on the other hand by the ODA administrative structure (Rix 1989-1990). For one, Japan did not clearly articulate its aid philosophy and lacked a long-term vision due to the existent bureaucratic structure (Ensign 1992: xi, 10; Islam 1991: 227). As a result, the ODA-Charter was presented in 1992 as a response to external pressures that had called for a change in Japan’s indifferent approach to poverty reduction and environmental issues. Therefore, the Charter amended the ideological approaches of Japanese aid (Fukushima 2000: 164; Lukner 2006: 210). The revision of the Charter in 2003 extended on these issues, but the charter remained merely a vague guideline (Leheny and Warren 2010: 8; Lukner 2006: 213). With regard to structure, the four main ministries and agencies were the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) providing a general foreign policy perspective, the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI; previous Ministry of International Trade and Industry, MITI) with a focus on commercial aspects, the Ministry of Finance (MOF) responsible for the budget and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) with only a vague agenda on overseas assistance (Arase 1995: 6; King and McGrath 2004: 160; Lancaster 2007: 111; Nishigaki and Shimomura 1999: 179; Orr 1990: 19; Yanagihara and Emig 1991: 53). In the overall decision-making process another 17 to 19 ministries were involved. Insufficient communication, coordination and competition among all these ministries resulted in vertical sectionalism, which prevented a unity of purpose and made aid an administrative decision (Fukushima 2000: 166-167; Lancaster 2010: 37; Raposo and Potter 2010: 181; Takahashi 2010a: 44; 2010b: 130; Yasutomo 1995: 147). Each ministry had its own complex idea of what national interest meant, resulting in ODA becoming a multidimensional, political instrument serving multiple objectives (Hatakeyama 2008: 362; Yasutomo 1995: 23).

As implementation agencies the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC; previous Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund, OECF) and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) were active; they merged in 2008 to become the “New JICA.” Due to a highly

centralized yet fragmented bureaucracy these agencies were not sufficiently involved in decision-making (Ensign 1992: 12; Lancaster 2007: 111, 220; 2010: 33, 37-38). In reality MOFA was held responsible for aid activities as perceived by international actors and the domestic public as exemplified in the Marcos corruption scandal 1985 (cf. Hanabusa 1991: 96-99). When METI's active role in aid policy decreased, MOFA became the most important ministry in aid policy making (Hatakeyama 2008: 356; Lancaster 2010: 45; Raposo and Potter 2010: 182).

Regarding the choice of recipients the share of LDCs was found to be small and Asian countries were clearly preferred (Ensign 1992: 32; Lukner 2006: 208), which was also reflected in Japan's prominent role in the ADB (Newman 2000). This focus on Asia was explained by geographic proximity, and historical, cultural, and economic and trade relations, resulting in Asia being Japan's major sphere of responsibility in global burden sharing. However, aid to countries where previous engagement existed was a general trend in the aid allocation of most donors (Asanuma 1991: 107; Bloch 1991: 76; Drifte 1996: 111; Nishigaki and Shimomura 1999: 213-214; Tuman and Ayoub 2004: 52; Yanagihara and Emig 1991: 47). An important aspect of international burden sharing was multilateral assistance, where Japan remained one of the largest donors for a long time (Ensign 1992: 28).

The previous involvement of METI, however, resulted in a coordination of Japanese foreign assistance with financial, trade, investment and industrial policies (Arase 1995: 6-7). As a result, the private sector served as a vehicle to developing economic relationships with ODA being a "harmonizer" (Islam 1991: 210). The interests of the private sector were reflected in aid practices through official and unofficial links to the bureaucracy (Drifte 1996: 114), while aid was focused to resource rich countries (Fukushima 2000: 168). These links were based on the understanding that aid, trade and the private sector together contributed to economic growth and thus development (Ensign 1992: 15, 22). This economic emphasis together with a shortage in personnel resulted in a focus on economic assistance, which is "less labour intensive than social assistance projects" (Raposo and Potter 2010: 181). Thus, the Japanese approach focused on project-type aid rather than program aid, the physical transfer of materials and personnel, tied grant aid and tied technical assistance (Kweku 1996: 115; Takahashi 2010a: 54-55; 2010b: 122-123, 130). Loans were officially untied, but it was found that at the procurement level most contracts still went to the Japanese private sector (Ensign 1992: 21; Yanagihara and Emig 1991: 51). The grant element was said to be below the DAC average (Ensign 1992: 29; Karasawa 1997: 93-94; Lancaster 2007: 127; Lukner 2006: 204; Nishigaki and Shimomura 1999: 201-202; Yanagihara and Emig 1991: 50-51). Bilateral aid was given to a large extent to economic infrastructure projects, making Japan the largest provider in this sector (Ensign 1992: 15, 20; Lancaster 2007: 127; Yanagihara and Emig 1991: 46). As a result, Japan established itself as "a niche player" rather than an aid leader (Lancaster 2007: 110). This sector was further perceived as a basis for private investments, due to a preference of capital projects and export-sensitive sectors in middle-income countries (Bloch 1991: 75; Drifte 1996: 115, 120-122; Ensign 1992: 19-20; Lancaster 2010: 33). The role of the private sector in Japanese economic relations with developing countries was underlined in this regard (Islam 1991: 210). Japanese aid was found to be based on mercantilist interests since the 1950s (Takahashi 2010a: 45). The involvement of the private sector had always been part of the "government's fundamental goals of prosperity, autonomy and international respect" (Lancaster 2007: 110). Such characteristics of Japanese

aid created the impression that commercial interests were the main drivers behind aid giving. Nonetheless, mercantilist tendencies were found in the aid programs of many other donors and were thus not a uniquely Japanese trait (Islam 1991: 204; Orr 1990: 68). It was further argued that such criticism referred to early perceptions of Japanese aid and did not reflect more recent changes in policy (Ensign 1992: 32-33; Nishigaki and Shimomura 1999: 211-213). However, the image of Japanese aid has remained widely unchanged in the literature.

In contrast to these allegations of commercial interests, the extensive use of loans over grants was attributed to Japan's own experience of a recipient of loans in the post-war period and its own efforts and discipline (Ensign 1992: 22, 29; Hanabusa 1991: 90; Lehman 2010a: 1-2, 4; Nishigaki and Shimomura 1999: 155; Orr 1990: 57; Raposo and Potter 2010: 182; Yanagihara and Emig 1991: 51). This experience resulted in the core principles of Japanese aid being self-help through industrialization and recipient ownership, partnership through a request-based system, unwillingness for comprehensive debt cancellations and the recognition of the importance of loans (Hatakeyama 2008: 347; Hashimoto 2010: 107; King and McGrath 2004: 158; Lehman 2010a: 1-2; Ohno 2010: 79-80; Sato 2010: 12). The principle of self-help was seen as the unique trait of Japanese development thinking and experience, which was emulated by the other East Asian economies (Takahashi 2010a: 47, 49). In this regard, Japanese aid was understood to help those who help themselves (Nishigaki and Shimomura 1999: 152-153), with the purpose of supporting the industrial development of recipients (Takahashi 2010a: 62). The recipient government should, thus, take the active role in development by ensuring a favorable environment for industry, which required discipline on the recipient side and shared responsibility (Lehman 2010b: 28-29; Ohno 2010: 80-82).

The request-based system was based on the understanding that recipient countries should identify their own development priorities (Lehman 2010a: 3). This approach limited aid activities to mostly economic or technical matters (Takahashi 2010a: 59-60), as the private sector brought project ideas directly to recipient governments, who then requested financial support from the Japanese government with the intention of implementation by a certain company. The lack of expertise in many recipient countries enhanced this mechanism (Ensign 1992: 13; Fukushima 2000: 167; Lancaster 2007: 112; Orr 1990: 60). This approach undermined Japan's statement at the Paris Conference 2005 that aid should be aligned with recipient government policies (Hashimoto 2010: 107). The principles of self-help and requests were, however, perceived to reflect Japan's hesitation to openly intervene in recipient policies, especially in East Asian countries (Hashimoto 2010: 107; Takahashi 2010b: 132). This approach was adopted also in the case of aid to Africa through the TICAD (Lehman 2010a: 3).

During the 1980s and 1990s Japanese aid practice was highly criticized for its negative environmental impacts. Japanese infrastructure projects were said to prioritize economic incentives while neglecting consequences for the natural and social environments (Ensign 1992: 89; Fukushima 2000: 168; Islam 1991: 209; Lukner 2006: 255). Japan answered by starting to export environmentally friendly equipment to developing countries and linking its ODA policy to concerns over the environment (Drifte 1996: 118-120). Environmental protection, thus, turned into one of the pillars of Japan's ODA (Hall 2010: 167), as exemplified in the ODA Charters of 1992 and 2003. The consideration of social environments turned into a focus on human security, a concept first introduced in the Human Development Report of 1994 (UNDP 1994). Human security refers to the security of people instead of

states or territories and has a strong focus on development concerns. In the late 1990s to the early 2000s, this concept became an important aspect of Japanese ODA policy and was integrated in the revised ODA Charter in 2003. The 2005 Medium-Term Policy further strengthened human security aspects in the Japanese ODA policy (JICA 2010a: 2; Palanovics 2010). In the Japanese context, human security was specifically defined as “[...] the safeguarding of people’s freedom from fear and want, ensuring that they can live in safety and dignity” (JICA 2010a: 2).⁴ This approach entails the intention of aid being directly channeled to the population in need through projects implemented by UN agencies (Lukner 2006: 214-215). Japan’s aid identity has clearly developed around global themes of human security in the 2000s (Leheny and Warren 2010: 2), which is reflected in the TICAD’s prioritization of “human-centered development”, exemplified by the cancellation of USD 3 billion in debts (Raposo and Potter 2010: 180, 193-194). This was interpreted as a sign of convergence with DAC norms at the policy level (Lancaster 2010: 34).

Many studies found a mix of motives behind Japanese aid. Among such motives were political, security and economic concerns, as well as certain domestic and foreign factors (cf. Arase 1995; Ensign 1992; Orr 1990; Rix 1989-1990; Tuman and Ayoub 2004). Lancaster attributed this mix to the divergence of “the realities of Japanese aid [that] have not always corresponded closely with the policy rhetoric of that aid” (2010: 31-32). While government statements suggested an intention to improve ODA on quantitative and qualitative terms (Karasawa 1997: 95), others concluded later that the increased proliferation of Japanese aid resulted in a low effectiveness of projects (Takahashi 2010b: 130). Nonetheless, as the only Asian donor for a long time Japan could serve as a bridge for the East and West, and traditional and emerging donors (Takahashi 2010a: 68). The presented variety of conducted research reflects the prevailing views of Japanese aid practice with regard to recipient countries, priority sectors, mechanisms used and aid philosophy in scholarship from the 1990s until today. This understanding is necessary to interpret the quantitative data with regard to important indicator categories used in the policy speeches.

2.2. Characteristics of South Korean ODA

South Korea was often portrayed as the only country that successfully transformed from an aid recipient to an aid donor (Choi 2011: 47), due to its rapid economic development in less than half a century (Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 789). For more than 40 years, between 1945 and the 1990s it received international support mostly through bilateral channels from the U.S. and Japan, and served as a precedent for successful poverty reduction (Cha 2000: 225; Choi 2011: 37, 40; Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 790-791; Lee and Park 2008: 108; Park 2010). However, Korean aid activity started as early as the 1960s with training programs funded by the United States (Choi 2011: 39; KOICA 2009: 92; Kwon 2010: 156-157) and expanded throughout the 1970s by technical assistance and cooperation projects with international organizations (Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 790; Kwon 2010: 156-157). Due to the rapid economic development, foreign pressure to contribute increased. Therefore in the late 1980s a full-fledged ODA program was established with the Economic Development

4 The term of human security is not strictly defined in the context of development and can thus serve as a tool for actors to emphasize their own concerns under the umbrella of human security (Leheny and Warren 2010: 19).

Cooperation Fund (EDCF) Act in 1987 and the creation of the Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) in 1991 (Choi 2011: 37, 39-40; Hermanns 2013: 71-72; Kang 2008: 132; Kwon 2010: 157; Lee and Park 2008: 108). In 1991, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)⁵ and South Korea joined the UN, resulting in increased Korean aid commitments due to a feeling of indebtedness to the UN and the international community as a whole (Kwon 2010: 155; cf. Sesay 2002). Even though Korea remained an ODA recipient up to the 1990s, it increased its own efforts as a donor from the 2000s (Choi 2011: 39; Kang 2008: 132). As a result, South Korea joined the OECD/DAC in November 2009 (Choi 2011: 37; Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 788; Hermanns 2013: 72; Park 2010).

Korean aid activities were attributed with various underlying intentions for providing ODA. Korean assistance to developing countries was interpreted as a means of increasing exports and developing new markets for Korean companies. Especially under the Lee Myung-Bak Administration economic and political interests dominated ODA goals under the slogan of "Global Korea" (Choi 2011: 40-41; Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 15; Kalinowski and Cho 2012: 243, 248; Kang 2008: 134; Steinberg 2010: 10-11). Korea further committed itself to prioritizing recipient need when it applied for DAC membership, calling for a harmonization of commitments and national interests, as well as common interests with recipients (Kang 2008: 135; Lee and Park 2008: 124). Thus, Korean aid was perceived to be a mix of national economic interest and perceived global responsibility under the slogan of "mutual benefit." This slogan indicated that South Korean interests were equally weighted to the benefits for recipients. In this regard, South Korean ODA was an instrument of "resource diplomacy" (Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 18, 26; Kalinowski and Cho 2012: 249). Korea's increased engagement in ODA was further seen as a means of achieving international recognition and enhancing Korea's diplomatic influence in the international community (Cheong 2010: 143; Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 34). It has to be noted that aid to North Korea is not officially recorded as ODA because of the understanding that North Korea is a territory of the ROK and relations with North Korea are a domestic affair (Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 797; Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 14; Kwon 2010: 171).⁶

Allegations of economic interests underlying aid have previously been ascribed to Japanese aid, which draws attention to the fact that Korea's ODA system was based on the Japanese model with Japan's assistance (Drifte 1996: 120-122; Kwon 2010: 157). In this regard, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MOFAT) and the Ministry of Strategy and Finance (MOSF) were responsible for aid policy-making, while the Economic Development Cooperation Fund (EDCF) and Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) were the main implementing agencies. Additionally, approximately 30 institutions, organizations, ministries, government-affiliated agencies and local autonomous bodies were active in aid implementation, but they implemented only 10 percent of Korean ODA. The Korean administrative structure was deemed non-efficient due to its large fragmentation and insufficient resources for implementing agencies leading to inadequate capacity of agencies. An open rivalry between the MOFAT and MOSF, as well as a power struggle between the MOFAT and KOICA, resulted in a lack of coherence and coordination of the ODA program.

5 From now on referred to in this thesis as "North Korea".

6 By excluding assistance to North Korea provides a distorted picture of South Korean aid. The substantial aid to the North would, if counted in aid statistics, account to almost 50% of South Korean aid (Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 14, 18).

Therefore, no unified strategy could be identified, which was said to undermine efficiency, effectiveness and the potential of Korean ODA (Choi 2011: 43, 48; Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 791; Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 23, 27-28; Kang 2008: 133; Lee and Park 2008: 108; OECD 2008b; Park 2010; Steinberg 2010: 10). Due to a lack of national consensus on ODA, South Korea had neither an ODA charter nor a clear overarching policy guiding aid objectives and principles in operational terms (Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 26; Kang 2008: 134; Lee and Park 2008: 115). Nonetheless, a shift in the wording of ODA policy occurred towards centralizing MDGs in ODA regulation (Kalinowski and Cho 2012: 249) and an ODA Midterm Strategy was created for 2008–2010. This Midterm Strategy was intended to increase ODA efficiency and building a foundation for policy coherence, and thus more trust in Korea's ODA policy (Cheong 2010: 143).

The main characteristics of South Korean aid were reflected in the distribution of aid and the means of delivery. In this regard, South Korea lacked poverty orientation in its aid giving approach (Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 20). Most of Korean ODA was disbursed to Asian countries, especially East Asian developing countries, on a low to middle income level. In cumulative terms, ASEAN countries received the largest amount of aid between 1987 and 2006. This regional preference was based on geographical and cultural proximity as well as the belief that South Korea's own development experience was most relevant to other countries in the region (Cheong 2010: 143-144; Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 27; Kalinowski and Cho 2012: 249; Kwon 2010: 155, 160, 163; Lee and Park 2008: 111; Park 2010). In recent years, the share to Asia decreased somewhat in favor of African recipients, for which a doubling of aid was promised. However, oil-producing countries received the largest amounts (Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 794; Kalinowski and Cho 2012: 250). The total number of ODA recipients of South Korea ranges between 114 and 159 countries, resulting in a smaller amount of assistance per recipient (Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 795-96; Choi 2011: 40; Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 26; Kang 2008: 134; Kwon 2010: 159; Lee and Park 2008: 110; Sesay 2002: 208). In the literature the argument was made for reducing the number of recipients so that the limited aid resources would ensure better aid quality and impact (Kang 2008: 137; Lee and Park 2008: 122).

With regard to target sectors, Korea concentrated almost three-fourth of its aid to the social sector, while investment projects increased from the 1990s (Lee and Park 2008: 111-112). Recently a further increase of aid to economic and production infrastructure and services was noted, which spread the idea that Korea intended to reap economic benefits from aid (Choi 2011: 47). The high share of tied aid points in the same direction and only slowly decreased as it was used domestically as a justification for ODA (Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 793; Kalinowski and Cho 2012: 249; Kang 2008: 134-135; Kwon 2010: 171). This was especially problematic in light of the preference for bilateral aid over multilateral aid. The latter share remained below the DAC average, decreasing in the 1990s after a sharp increase in general ODA levels (Choi 2011: 44; Kalinowski and Cho 2012: 249).

Other delivery aspects of South Korean ODA referred to the grant-loan ratio. Even though grants were favored over loans, the grant ratio remained below that of other DAC members (Choi 2011: 44; Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 792; Kang 2008: 135; Kwon 2010: 172). The focus of grants was set on emergency relief and reconstruction funds (Choi 2011: 39), while human resource development through technical cooperation and knowledge transfer were characteristics of South Korean loan disbursements (Park 2010). It was noticeable that the

poorer a recipient country was, the more likely it was to receive concessional loans rather than grants (Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 793), providing a disadvantage for the poor recipient who had to repay these loans. Such means of delivery could explain low effectiveness of South Korean aid, as it showed a contradiction between stated objectives and actual allocation policies (Lee and Park 2008: 118, 120). Similarly, a discrepancy existed between stated rhetoric and behavior with regard to concerns over human rights and democracy (Steinberg 2010: 13).

South Korea's development assistance is based on an aid philosophy said to have been a replica of Japan's philosophy and practices (Kalinowski and Cho 2012: 249; Kang 2008: 134). A rather new aspect of South Korean aid philosophy was the understanding that sharing its own development experience was a distinctive and unique strength of Korea's ODA (Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 798; Sesay 2002: 208). Aid was crucial for Korea's rapid economic development (Choi 2011: 40), which explained the preference of grants over loans and brought the belief that loans led to greater fiscal prudence (Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 792-93; Kwon 2010: 172). To share this experience the Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP) was initiated, turning the country's economic success story into a political asset for leadership (Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 35; Kalinowski and Cho 2012: 243, 250; Kwon 2010: 156). As a result, KOICA and MOSF focused on technical assistance, training and exchange programs (Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 35). It was, however, cautioned that a risk of over-confidence in Korea's own success could be perceived as arrogance by recipients and other donors (Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 798-799). This presents a possible reason for the lack of references to this experience in aid documents other than by emphasizing the importance aid played in Korea's development (Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 36).

Finally, the small scale and poor organization of South Korean ODA was seen as a major problem by scholars (Kang 2008: 136). Thus, a lot of hope was put into the Paris Declaration and especially Korea's succession to the DAC with regard to the fulfillment of commitments and improvements of the aid system as a threshold for aid policy (Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 791; Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 27; Kwon 2010: 162; Park 2010). As a recipient turned donor, South Korea could bridge developing and developed countries, and new and traditional aid donors based on its own experience and expertise (Chun, Munyi and Lee 2010: 800; Cha 2000: 224; Park 2010). Regardless, norms of responsibility might have been prominent in rhetoric, but the rationalization of aid was still said to follow previous diplomatic principles of self-interest (Cha 2000: 230; Lee and Park 2008: 123). Referring to itself as a "freshmen" in the aid business underpinned efforts to reform ODA management (Jerve and Selbervik 2009: 35). Overall, Korea was seen to diverge from international ODA norms and standards, with the intention of developing a distinctive Korean model of assistance (Choi 2011: 47; Kwon 2010: 160).

This chapter focused on the characteristics of Japanese and South Korean ODA as identified in previous literature. It was found that both donor countries showed similarities with regard to the administrative structure of their ODA systems and deviated in some aspects from established DAC norms or the practices of other DAC donors. Nonetheless, most of the previous literature looked at aspects that were defined solely by DAC norms, and therefore did not acknowledge the donors' self-defined indicators. By relying on the external expectations of the international community, the agency of decision-makers in the two donor

countries in shaping role conceptions was not considered. The qualitative content analysis as presented in Chapter 4 will identify these role conceptions and the indicators connected to them. Therefore, the content analysis will lead to the creation of a much wider set of indicator categories for the quantitative analysis, which will be presented in Chapter 5.

3. Research Design

In order to answer the research questions, first, the theoretical considerations on which this study is based are elaborated. Thereby the framework is defined that puts this research into the broader perspective of academic writing. The academic traditions in the form of theories and concepts chosen for this study explain previous theoretical considerations of foreign policy, role theory and foreign aid. Second, a methodology is presented, which served as the research strategy for the empirical analysis. The complexity of the research questions required a qualitative as well as a quantitative approach, thus a multi-step analysis was conducted.

3.1. Theoretical Framework

As postulated in Chapter 1.1., foreign aid is understood as an instrument of foreign policy (cf. Islam 1991: 215; Lancaster 2007; Morgenthau 1962), thus all further discussions of the topic need to be set in the context of foreign policy. For this study the specific approach of sociological role theory was used, which itself relies on the academic tradition of FPA. In the following a short history of the relation of FPA with role theory research and research on foreign aid will be provided.

3.1.1. *Foreign Policy Analysis*

According to Rosenau (1976a: 16), foreign policy has been defined as the external behavior of states making it possible to identify concrete steps undertaken by officials as a means of foreign policy. Furthermore, Rosenau described foreign policy to entail three different conceptions: 1. the orientation of an actor towards the external world, 2. commitments and plans for action, and 3. the day-to-day behavior of governments. Orientation refers to foreign policy as tendencies and principles based on attitudes, perceptions and values of actors that are derived from historical experience and the strategic environment. Defining foreign policy as commitments and plans for action explains foreign policy as a framework for promoting and preserving situations in the external environment, which guide actions. This understanding of foreign policy is observed in formal pronouncements, remarks at press conferences or diplomatic communications as forms of day-to-day behavior of governments.⁷ Underlying these conceptions is the assumption that nation states remain the main actors within the international system due to their control over instruments of coercion and violence (Rosenau 1976b: 5). With this understanding the necessity emerges to view the world as seen from the perspective of those agents that formulate foreign policy plans and undertake them. Possible discrepancies between intended actions and actual behavior call for a distinction between the actors' perceived environments and the actual material or operational conditions (Rosenau 1976a: 17).

Thus, the traditional theories of realism and liberalism used for foreign policy analysis are to some extent not sufficient to portray such an approach. Structural realism and neoliberal institutionalism take international anarchy as the key component for any analysis (Katzenstein 1996a: 11), and thus neglect the role of internal factors in foreign policy decision-making.

⁷ For a discussion of the problems of incomplete or purposefully misleading verbal behaviour, see Chapter 3.2.1.2, Choice of Text Samples.

Therefore, one of the key points criticized in neorealist and neoliberal theories is the assumption that collective identities are the basis of a state's interests and exogenously given. The focus of these theories lies on behavior and objective circumstances generating certain outcomes, however, as interests are perceived to be static, changes in practice are not accounted for (Finnemore 1996: 155; Katzenstein 1996a: 12-14; 1996b: 201; Rosenau 1976a: 15; Wendt 1992: 391-392). Especially problematic is the need to specify assumed interests before analysis (Finnemore 1996: 157), without being able to clearly state the foundations for these assumptions. Realists grant no "independent explanatory power" to culture and identity, and rationalists assume them to be strategically used to further self-interests (Katzenstein 1996a: 17). In such rationalist models, interests underlying human behavior are seen to come prior to a state actor's beliefs (Goldstein and Keohane 1993: 4). Thus, the sources of such interests are not further questioned, rather the effect of material power in international relations is relevant. Katzenstein (1996a: 2) disagrees that material power is not the only source of power and the question arises what other sources are present in the international system. Even though power effects a state's calculations, it is not the sole determinant for actions. Rather, "[...] collective meanings constitute the structures which organize our actions", and thus state identities are related within an anarchic context. Individual, domestic, systemic, or transnational influences are central aspects (Wendt 1992: 424). Therefore, Jepperson, Wendt and Katzenstein (1996: 40) claim culture to be a determinant of material power and coercion. Similarly, Goldstein and Keohane (1993: 4) see ideas and interests as causal variables of human action. More generally, for Rosenau (1976a: 15, 18-29) sources of foreign policy include anything from size and geography of a state actor over culture and history to social structures and political accountability, which portrays actions as responses to various internal and external stimuli. As a result, many forms of actions are generated leading to a host of outcomes.

With this in mind, constructivism provides a valuable perspective for this study. In constructivism, a state's identities are seen as the constituting basis for interests, endogenous to interaction and thus to policies. A linear relationship is assumed between identity, interests and foreign policy (cf. Jepperson, Wendt and Katzenstein 1996; Wendt 1992, 1999). Nonetheless, constructivism lacks "causal and empirical questions of how identities and interests are produced by practice in anarchic conditions" (Wendt 1992: 425). Thus, there is a need to use role theory and explain these underlying concepts and the way they are constituted, both on an individual and a structural level of behavior. The three main approaches to the research on roles have concentrated on structural aspects, interactions and motivational aspects. The first refers to how institutions define and constrain roles and expectations, the second to processes of social interactions in shaping behavior, and the third to agents' roles and their intentions as independent from interaction (Searing 1991: 1245-1248). The basic concepts underlying these three approaches are explained in the following.

3.1.1.1. *The Structural Environment: Institutions and Norms*

Norms represent collective expectations about appropriate behavior of actors and define and/or prescribe behavior (Jepperson, Wendt and Katzenstein 1996: 54; Katzenstein 1996a: 5; Klotz 1995: 14). They can be commonly shared by some actors of a system, or collective in the sense that they are institutionalized or prominent in public discourse (Jepperson, Wendt

and Katzenstein 1996: 54). As such, they are intersubjective and shape the conceptions of interests, while being either moral or functional and can even be unethical in their origins and purposes (Finnemore 1996: 154; Klotz 1995: 14). Sources of norms derive from internal characteristics, interaction between an actor and its environment, and interaction between state actors (Kowert and Legro 1996: 470). Norms can result from the domestic environment as well as from the international one (Lee 2011: 531), and thus they “do not float freely in social and political space” (Katzenstein 1996a: 21).

Institutions are codified structures of norms or formal rules that only exist in the context of an actor’s ideas about the world and are thus cognitive entities (Wendt 1992: 399). They do not only mirror power relations through the combination of principles, norms, rules and procedures, but also allow for own dynamics (Katzenstein 1996a: 19). Norms as institutions are either general or specific sets of activity. As such, prescriptions and expectations for accurate behavior are formulated that can constrain actors. Institutions differentiate actors based on their expected role performance, and a change in the rules to certain behavior also changes the basis on which such actions are undertaken (Keohane 1988: 383-384). When norms are institutionalized they are reflected directly or indirectly in law and culture and as a result social or individual action is embedded in such an institutionalized repertoire of action. This entails the notion that strategies are more persistent than the goals they are set to achieve (Katzenstein 1993: 267). Institutionalized norms play an important role in the constitution of political interests and constrain the set of available policy choices (Katzenstein 1996b: 3, 201). For this analysis, the assumption that such institutionalized norms limit policy choices of state actors will be important.

Katzenstein (1996a: 4) therefore coined this approach sociological institutionalism, which allows for showing the character of a state’s external environment as well as the “contested nature of political identities.” The question is, thus, not whether, but how identities matter (Goldstein and Keohane 1993: 6), as they similarly determine the policy choices acceptable under normative considerations (Kowert and Legro 1996: 464). The understanding of norms among scholars and policymakers can change over time (Katzenstein 1996a: 10). In the context of identities, the international environment is important as constituted norms affect an actor’s interests and identities and even change them, which can lead to the creation of regulative norms that constrain or enable policy choices (Klotz 1995: 26-27). Thus, the means an actor uses for certain policy goals are based on the understanding that inappropriate means based on norms should be rejected while appropriate ones chosen (Kowert and Legro 1996: 463, 468). How behavior is justified through norms is the framework in which political conflict and cooperation happen to the extent that “actors can try to convey a particular image in order to minimize any negative repercussion of community criticisms” (Klotz 1995: 31). Justifications do not reflect motivations, but are rather a pretext for interests, which makes the study of motivations extremely difficult. When justification is required within a set of institutionalized norms, the ideas that actors have reflect the normative context as it is perceived. As a result, institutionalized ideas serve as generalized rules and a linkage between issues (Finnemore 1996: 158-159; Goldstein and Keohane 1993: 23). In detail,

ideas influence policy when the principled or causal beliefs they embody provide road maps that increase actors’ clarity about goals or ends-means relationships, when they affect outcomes of strategic situations in which there is no unique equilibrium, and when they become embedded in political institutions (Goldstein and Keohane 1993: 3).

In other words, the world is put into order by ideas, which shape agendas, which then shape outcomes. However, the choice of some ideas rather than others causes differences in policies. Policies are, therefore, a combination of interests and power with an understanding of human beliefs, while ideas come from human beliefs and constitute interests and how such interests can be achieved (Goldstein and Keohane 1993: 12-13, 16).

Norms enable new types of behavior but do not obligate compliance and thus do not determine action. The focus lies on how action is justified. Violating norms does not invalidate them up to a certain threshold, thus an actor has a choice whether to comply with specific norms. New or changed norms stipulate different types of behavior, but compliant action with them is not ensured (Finnemore 1996: 158; Jepperson, Wendt and Katzenstein 1996: 5; Katzenstein 1996a: 20, 22). In the international system, norms coordinate values, expectations, and define collective standards for behavior, on which dissimilar actors are held accountable. As mentioned before, norms do not obligate compliance, thus actors might violate the norms and standards that they themselves expressed (Finnemore 1996: 157-159; Katzenstein 1996a: 19). Such international norms were created by the convergence of national legislation and international treaties and reflect “standardized models of collective identity and authority” (Katzenstein 1996a: 20). Multilateral norms entail benefits for compliance and costs for ignoring them, which serves as a structure of incentives for international actors (Finnemore 1996: 183; 185). These international norms constitute the basis on which state identities and interests are transformed and set the framework in which reasons for action are required from state actors. Thus, state actors strive to argue within the prevailing set of norms, while they restrict their self-help behavior and interests (Goldstein and Keohane 1993: 24; Katzenstein 1996a; Wendt 1992: 394).

The question how systemic norms influence an actor’s interests remains unsolved (Klotz 1995: 18). If interests are not taken as given, but rather seen as deriving from a process of social interaction, they have to be examined from a sociological perspective (Katzenstein 1996a: 2). A sociological approach allows for explaining the stability as well as the changes of interests and identities within the internal and external normative framework of a state actor (Kowert and Legro 1996: 488). The constitution of such a framework is strongly influenced by the interaction with other actors and the environment, “[...] cultural and institutional structures cannot be divorced analytically from the processes by which they are continuously produced and reproduced and changed” (Jepperson, Wendt and Katzenstein 1996: 63). It is thus necessary to further explain the notions of interactions among state actors and between actors and their environment.

3.1.1.2. *Interaction between Self and Other*

Going beyond the static and abstract concepts of assumed interests and analyzing the relations of self and other in international relations, can help to answer essential questions such as “who ‘the actors’ are, how they were constituted, how they maintain themselves, and under which preconditions they may thrive” (Neumann 1999: 37). Such relations explain how certain state identities were formed through self-reflection or based on a process of interaction and constitution of others (cf. Katzenstein 1996a; Neumann 1999; Wendt 1992, 1999). Through discursive social practices between self and other, the structures of conflict or peace can be reshaped by actors (Copeland 2006: 1). Intersubjectivity of shared ideas, norms and

values of actors is crucial here, which through interaction shape an actors' perception of self and other (Wendt 1999: 327-336). Agents and their practices effect and create the existing structure (Wendt 1999: 185). Therefore, identities, agency and the environment are mutually constitutive and co-determined (Copeland 2006: 4; Jepperson, Wendt and Katzenstein 1996: 41; Wendt 1992: 399; 1999: 184).

State identity derives from and simultaneously builds social structures. More specifically, a state identity is formed by continued mirroring practices of significant others, self-reflection and how the actor is evaluated by the significant other (Wendt 1992: 404-406; 1999: 327, 341). Thus, what other actors in the system do, influences the decisions of a specific actor (Wendt 1992: 404). As a result, identities can either be intrinsic to an actor and independent from the outside structure, or defined through interaction with other actors (Jepperson, Wendt and Katzenstein 1996: 59). At the same time, the self needs to become active in the identity formation of others as its own identity depends on how the other is perceived (Neumann 1999: 35). The capability of an actor to be self-reflective and interpret itself and the world is as much a necessity for identity formation as the competence of sharing these interpretations with others (Katzenstein 1993: 268). Self and other can thus merge into one another, leading to collective identities being multifaceted, accounting for the "*multidimensionality* of identity formation" (original emphasis; Neumann 1999: 34, 36).

The state has to be acknowledged as a social actor (Katzenstein 1996a: 25), who takes up varying roles that are played in a path-dependent way (Neumann 1999: 34). Practice, thus, constitutes the intersubjective conditions of the existence for actors (Wendt 1992: 413). However, the representational practices of others take up a more important role in identity formation than the choice of a state actor whether to take, reject or modify the given identity (Kratochwil 2006: 33). This is a quite limited view, thus, taking up a role is as much a cognitive process as it is a behavioral one (Wendt 1992: 399). Practice and interaction shape the formation of self and other, but states bring their own constituted identities and interests to the interaction with others (Wendt 1992: 424).

The international community influences a state's identity by recognizing its legitimacy as a nation state or by admitting it to international organizations. However, a state's identity is both formulated through interaction with the international as well as the domestic environment (Katzenstein 1996a: 24-25). More specifically, a link is assumed between external others and domestic debates (cf. Jepperson, Wendt and Katzenstein 1996; Wendt 1992, 1999). The state actor is not only set within a system that is defined by interactions with the international community, but its identity is also constituted by a domestic system of interactions defining its status (Copeland 2006: 4). Within the domestic environment a host of collective identities constitutes a state's identity and thus domestic sources of foreign policy moreover show the relation of state and society in identity formation (Jepperson, Wendt and Katzenstein 1996: 51). For instance, the emergence of welfare states is seen to have influenced the moral and humanitarian concerns that brought foreign aid on the international stage (Lumsdaine 1993).

In conclusion, several forms of interactions can be summarized: the structure shapes interests and policies, as well as state identities, while identities shape interests and policies as well as the structure, and policies influence the structure (Jepperson, Wendt and Katzenstein 1996: 52-53). However, state actors do not depend solely on social interactions, certain needs

are given through the egoistic nature of actors (Copeland 2006: 8), which will be presented in the following section.

3.1.1.3. *Agent-based Motivations and Intentions*

In previous chapters it was explained that motivations of state actors derive from norms and institutions as well as through the interaction with others. It can also be assumed that the structural environment is inherently rational, however, foreign policy agents acquire motivations and intentions before interacting with the environment or other actors. Thus, actions can also be independent of norms and interactions due to additional agent-based rationality. In this light, it is necessary to account for the political reality as experienced by the agents themselves, as a dynamic interaction of norms and motivations inherent to the state actor (Searing 1991: 1248). In this respect, state identities reflect national ideologies about statehood, which are constructed domestically and portrayed internationally. They thus serve as a marker for differences in the creation of nation- and statehood (Katzenstein 1996a: 6). A state identity “is a set of meanings that characterizes an actor in a role” and helps the agent to interpret the social environment and prospects for adequate actions (Nabers 2011: 74). As such, state identities are the basis for an actor’s motivations, which are defined through the process of assessing situations by the agents. Roles help to define situations and intentions, and are thus an important part of state identity (Wendt 1992: 398-399).

The commitment to and prominence of certain identities vary according to issue areas based on the influence of history, cultural, intellectual and institutional contexts and consequently the role (Aggestam 2006: 17; Katzenstein 1996a: 22-23; Wendt 1992: 398). The importance lies on the agents of the actor in actively constructing a state’s role based on rational calculations and reasoning (Aggestam 2006: 17). By means of self-reflection and practice, agents can change state identities and intentions, which then reflect on the structural environment. As a result, “[e]ven in the most constrained situations, role performance involves a choice by the actor” (Wendt 1992: 419). Similarly, self-reflection, through which agents construct identities, suggests motivations and intentions in relation to the perceived identities of others (Jepperson, Wendt and Katzenstein 1996: 60).

None of the three presented concepts—structural environments, interactions nor motivations—explain sufficiently in themselves how foreign policy agents interact with their environment. The underlying hypothesis is that norms constrain and enable state actors, whose identities are shaped by the interaction with others. In contrast, the interpretation of these circumstances and the choices made continue to lie with the agents. Thus, we need to look at role theory, which combines these three concepts.

3.1.2. *Role Theory in Foreign Policy Analysis*

The theoretical concepts explained in the previous chapter are linked in this chapter to the analytical model of role theory. Role theory is rooted in psychological and sociological theories and related to constructivist work on identity, self-images, culture and norms (Breuning 2011: 22). The underlying assumption of role theory in FPA is that individuals and states as social collectives can be compared. Even though this analogy entails problems, it serves as a useful analytical tool (Wendt 1992: 397; Harnisch, Frank and Maull 2011a: 1).

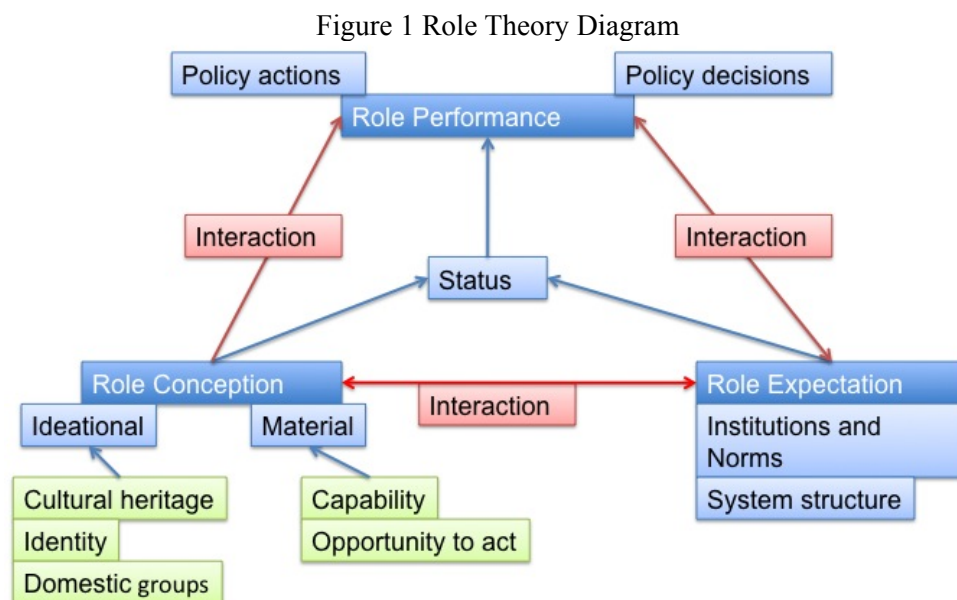
States operate as actors, who create and portray the collective identities inherent in state formation (Jepperson, Wendt and Katzenstein 1996: 59). As a result, states are constitutive elements of the international community only by mirroring the roles of states in the system (Wendt 1999: 327). Role theory strives to understand the cognitive aspect of how roles are perceived by actors in the international environment through the interaction of domestic ideational and material sources (Breuning 2011: 26). Agents are socially and culturally embedded in institutions of their states as foreign policy decision-makers. It is the attitudes, perceptions and values formed through history and strategic situations that mark a state's place in the international system. The international system and the roles in it are a result of the interaction and division of labor among states. Through various expectations a hierarchy for integration emerges in the international system. Each state sees the other state, its alter, to take a certain role, and can thus be integrated into a causal understanding of foreign policy behavior. Therefore, role theory empirically links agents and structure by explaining a state actor's identity, self-perception with regard to others, and means for deciding upon mechanisms of interaction (Copeland 2006: 13; Edström 1988: 101; Harnisch 2011a: 37-38; Harnisch, Frank and Maull 2011a: 1-2; Breuning 2011: 16).

Roles are not based on detailed prescriptions, but entail a process by which actors "take" a particular role, and are thus not constant or predictable (Aggestam 2006: 16). Actors have the choice and ability to self-reflect upon their roles, which allows for "character planning" (Wendt 1992: 419). They are dynamically reconstructed and recreated, but the degree of actual change depends on material and immaterial sources that can hold them constant over a long period of time (Harnisch, Frank and Maull 2011a: 2). State identities are the basis for meaningful roles (cf. Wendt 1999). These identities represent a framework in which the social position is seen as given by the social situation and external expectations for behavior. As such, the linkage between identity and role is one where identity constitutes role, which leads to observable behavior. The possible choices for behavior are limited through the given role, which ultimately feeds back to identity (Nabers 2011: 83). Being embedded allows for roles to derive meaning and reasons for actions from social circumstances (Harnisch 2011b: 8).

The first to adapt a role theoretical model to political science research was Holsti (1970). His analysis of the decision-maker's perceptions provided a subjective dimension of foreign policy (Aggestam 2006: 12). Holsti found that decision-makers reflected several roles depending on issue areas, regions or relationships. Of the 17 roles identified by Holsti, a state had on average 4.6 (Holsti 1970: 278), which suggests the existence of various sources of roles other than the distribution of power (Aggestam 2006: 13), thus linking the previously explained FPA concepts from Chapter 3.1.1. to role theory terminology described in the following.

Roles are the dynamic aspects of a state actor's positions in the structural environment (Edström 1988: 8). They entail the social positions as well as the socially recognized category of actors constituted by ego and alter expectations about which purpose an actor should fulfill in a given group. The function of such a position depends on time and scope, and the structure and purpose of the group (Harnisch 2011b: 8). It is assumed that behavior happens within a position or a system of prescribed alter expectations (Holsti 1970: 240). Nonetheless, a position also relies on pre-defined functions, duties, rights and privileges, and does not apply to roles in the framework of unorganized bilateral and multilateral relations. Thus, the use of status seems more appropriate here, because "states are aware of international status

distinctions” reflected in their policies, while the agency of choosing the appropriate behavior still lies within the power of the decision-maker and is not predetermined by a strict set of rules or laws (Holsti 1970: 242; 244). Roles can be analyzed from a structural perspective, the subjective understanding of actors or the actions undertaken. Thus, three different role concepts—role expectation, role conception and role performance—can be distinguished as portrayed in Figure 1.



Source: Author’s adaptation based on Breuning 2011: 26; Holsti 1970: 245; Aggestam 2006: 26

3.1.2.1. *Role Expectation*

Role expectations or prescriptions are held by other state actors in a system and prescribe or set expectations for the behavior of an actor (Aggestam 2006: 18; Holsti 1970: 240). They can be norms and cultural, societal, institutional or group expectations for certain positions or statuses in the international system (Holsti 1970: 239). Expectations can be either implicit or explicit and vary in their scope, specificity, communality and obligation (Harnisch 2011b: 8). The alter can either be another actor in the system or a formal or informal institution, which defines or constrains roles or expectations of roles (Goldstein and Keohane 1993; Keohane 1988; Searing 1991). By studying normative expectations that are a requirement for the membership in certain institutions the perception by alter actors of appropriate foreign policy behavior for specific roles can be derived (Aggestam 2006: 19; cf. Edström 1988). Therefore, a strong prescriptive notion of alter roles exists that is assigned to state actors (Edström 1988: 97). However, such expectations can have differing impacts on the individual actor. The international environment does not determine behavior, actors have to rely on their own definitions of interests and standards of behavior. Thus, explanatory power of role expectations or prescriptions does not suffice, especially in conflicts (Holsti 1970: 243).

For the purpose of this study, international norms for foreign aid as defined by international organizations, international agreements and foreign aid scholarship are assumed to reflect alter role expectations. These role expectations set a framework for the interpretation of a donor’s reasons when publicly justifying foreign aid behavior. Through interaction between actors, role expectations influence how actors see themselves and how

action should be perceived. At the same time, international foreign aid standards are subject to the active contribution of actors and their practices, which again shape what is expected. Thus, international foreign aid standards serve as a baseline for research, but the extent to which they influence conceptions and behavior cannot be assessed in this study.

3.1.2.2. *Role Conception*

Role conceptions are an actor's self-defined status in the international system. They are formed in relation to others as well as the actor's perception of others' expectations, and are thus closely related to the concept of foreign policy (Edström 1988: 100; Harnisch 2011b: 8; Holsti 1970: 240). In foreign policy, as well as in role theory, responsibilities and obligations are defined through an actor's subjective, normative views of its own behavior and provide guidelines and standards that influence decision-making (Aggestam 2006: 19; Wish 1980: 533).

Different sources and factors were found to influence role conceptions. On the one hand, material capabilities of states are claimed to constrain the range of a states' role, based on the perceived importance given to them by the actors (Aggestam 2006: 22; Breuning 2011: 18, 33). These material or cognitive characteristics determine roles and their stability is a cause for action (Harnisch 2011b: 7). On the other hand, the international structure and the actions of others establish the external environment, which influences role conceptions and performances, while public opinion, parties, and pressure groups constitute domestic sources (Goldmann 1976: 293). Thus, an actor's social identity and cultural heritage are as much a determinant for role conception as the interaction with others through their actions and perceptions (Breuning 2011: 25; Harnisch 2011b: 8; Searing 1991: 1246). There exists an interplay between external environment and domestic sources in the production of roles (Elgström and Smith 2006: 6; Goldmann 1976: 307). The relation is such that external sources have an effect on internal sources, which in return influence foreign policy. In this understanding, the state far from being a rational unitary actor is driven by the domestic agents that serve as intermediates for processing information about the external factors (Goldmann 1976: 299-303).

Conceptions are held by agents, who speak on behalf of a state, constitute decisions, commitments, rules and actions for the state and define its functions in the system. Decision-makers' interpretations of the collective understanding of norms, identities, self-images or culture are thus decisive (Breuning 2011: 20). In this sense, role conceptions have an explanatory power for policy behavior. Wish (1980: 544) showed that policy-makers' perception of their state holding leadership and dominance in a foreign policy field resulted in more active involvement in the international community. Nonetheless, role conceptions are no determinants for policy action, but provide the state actor with a set of options and strategies within which it can operate. Depending on the formalization of institutions that guide action, agents have flexibility for interpretation (Aggestam 2006: 20-21).

Within the context of role theory, Breuning (2011: 24) argues for the necessity to understand role conception as a reaction to the international structure in order to be a useful instrument for distinguishing role expectations and as a basis for role performance. She criticized Holsti (1970) for not systematically analyzing the background factors of role conceptions. Roles can be forced upon states as much as they can be enabled by the external

environment and choices made in response by agents (Breuning 2011: 33). An actor's behavior reflects the choice of a role from a possible repertoire as perceived appropriate in a certain situation (Edström 1988: 98). The importance attributed to each role depends on the situation, issue and institutionalization within which it is embedded (Aggestam 2006: 20).

It can be assumed that conceptions are relatively stable as actors have an interest in constant role identities, which have the power to decrease uncertainty and anxiety. Further, actors understand the costs entailed in breaking commitments to others both on the domestic as well as the external front (Eulau 1964: 43-44; Wendt 1992: 411; Wish 1980: 547). As a result, role conceptions can be studied based on the continuities and patterns or changes in foreign policy (Holsti 1970: 306). Role conceptions may provide an idea of the orientations and approaches to issue-based foreign policy on which certain behavior is based. The methodological approach of qualitative content analysis of policy-makers' speeches will derive these role conceptions on foreign aid.

3.1.2.3. *Role Performance*

Role performance refers to the characteristic patterns of behavior of actors, including attitudes, decisions, and actions, for the implementation of a certain policy. Thus, both verbal and non-verbal political behavior—decisions and actions—is relevant. It is assumed that role performance originates from or is consistent with role conceptions of national needs and demands, while role expectations and critical external events and trends influence both role performance and role conceptions (Aggestam 2006: 20-21; Breuning 2011: 25; Holsti 1970: 240; 243-245). Due to the fact that the importance attributed to external role expectations differs among different situations, the perceptions, values and attitudes of actors themselves are more important for explaining role performance than international norms (Edström 1988: 97; Holsti 1970: 239; 243-246). Behavior is, thus, induced by meaning and certain actions depend on the meaning attributed to them by state actors, “[r]oles as normative expectations of an actor himself concerning his conduct or of others provide meaningful criteria of evaluation that would otherwise remain quite arbitrary” (Eulau 1964: 44).

Actions need to be interpreted within a context that implies causal and effectual relationships, as they themselves do not suggest how they are to be interpreted (Graber 1976: 16; 19). The interpretation of role performance is, thus, given by an agent's verbal presentation of roles (Edström 1988: 100). In this regard, the agents are expected to mean what they say, even though the vagueness of statements as a tool for policymakers can also provide valuable information (Edström 1988: 128; Graber 1976: 18). It needs to be acknowledged that many possible actions are never completed and remain at the verbal stage, therefore the ability of verbal commitments to shape policy action should be equally recognized (Graber 1976: 8; 11-15). Thus, the connection of verbal and non-verbal behavior invites circularity (Kowert and Legro 1996: 484-485), as actions are similarly limited as guide to an actor's performances; both rhetoric and behavior become important variables for this analysis. Therefore, quantitative data analysis and case studies are used to show role performance in the form of non-verbal political behavior. Together with the qualitative content analysis, this approach allows for the representation of the mentioned circularity in foreign aid policy.

3.1.2.4. *Role Incompatibility and Change*

Role conceptions are no final determinant for foreign policy decisions and actions, and neither conceptions nor expectations dictate the foreign policy behavior. Some decisions do not correspond with the preferences of domestic constituencies or other states, national policy or treaty obligations, but rather depend on individual decision-makers and the context of the issue area (Holsti 1970: 298-299; 304). The notion of multiple role conceptions connected to issues and geographic regions comes into view (Breuning 2011: 33), where “role and issue must be perceived to be linked before knowledge of role conceptions can be used to predict typical responses, decisions, and actions (role performance)” (Holsti 1970: 298-299). As a result, the study of role conceptions, expectations and performances in specific policy areas should be fruitful (cf. Breuning 1995: 237). Incompatibilities between these three role concepts can arise as a consequence of change and were analytically categorized in previous role research as follows.

Adaptation to change happens when the external or domestic environments undergo fundamental transitions as it is often the case during economic recessions, ideological changes of political and economic doctrines or societal crises (Stokke 1989: 10). A change of strategies and instruments in role performance is called *role adaptation*. In role adaptation, the role conception of an actor remains stable and change does not have constitutive effects for the actor or social order in which it operates. In the case that beliefs are changed through the observation and reinterpretation of experiences, *role learning* appears. Role learning results in domestic debates through which foreign policy issues become salient for domestic constituencies. Adaptation to change thus becomes an important determinant for role performance and identity formation (Harnisch 2011b: 9-10, 14-15). *Role imbalance* occurs when various role conceptions are imbalanced or stand in conflict with each other. As a result, foreign policy is not efficient as role performances contradict each other. When role expectation stands in contrast to the role that is enacted, it is called *role incongruency* (Edström 1988: 109-111).

Most interesting for this study, however, is the notion of *role gap*. Role gaps occur when differences exist either between the role conception of an actor and the role expectations by external actors (Edström 1988: 109-110), or between role conception and performance of the state actor (Elgström and Smith 2006: 248; Harnisch, Frank and Maull 2011b: 254). In case of the latter, incoherence can be found on a horizontal level, between policy domains or the institutional contexts, as well as on a vertical level between rhetoric and actual behavior. Former scholarship on roles identified the need for further individual and comparative research on the relationship between role conceptions and performances (Elgström and Smith 2006: 248-250; Harnisch, Frank and Maull 2011b: 261).

In this study, the existence of role gaps is assumed with a specific focus on the vertical level within the issue of foreign aid. Only when role performance is seen within the context of issue specific role conceptions and role expectations can it be fully understood. For this study, role conceptions in foreign aid serve as the main reference point to assess role performance in this issue area. Before the methodology for identifying vertical role gaps in this study is presented, the issue area of foreign aid is introduced.

3.1.3. *Foreign Aid*

Foreign aid is considered a novelty and a unique political innovation of the twentieth century with tremendous effects on world politics (Morgenthau 1962: 301; Thérien 2002: 449). While foreign aid did not exist as such in the 1950s, “[b]y 2000 it was widely accepted and uncontested” (Lancaster 2007: 5). The reasons behind giving aid are diverse and even controversial. While for some foreign aid was an end in itself—the duty of the rich to support the poor—others perceived it as a waste of much needed resources without serving anyone’s interests (Morgenthau 1962: 301). Regardless of negative opinions on aid, developed countries have provided aid for more than sixty years and economically emerging countries soon followed their example. Over the years, the issue at hand has concerned scholars of many disciplines over the years, who criticized how aid was given but never aid itself (cf. Lancaster 2007). This chapter provides a definition of foreign aid as well as some core debates in the field, before linking foreign aid to role theory.

3.1.3.1. *A Definition*

In the debate on foreign aid the terms used and the mechanisms described can vary considerably. In the literature development assistance, aid and foreign aid are all used to describe the same mechanism of money transfers from richer state actors to developing country governments through official public agencies. It is, nonetheless, essential to clearly define what aid is and what it is not. As is common in the literature, in this paper “Official Development Assistance (ODA)” is used as defined by the OECD and in previous studies (cf. Alesina and Dollar 2000; Boone 1996; Dollar and Levin 2006; Dudley and Montmarquette 1976; Easterly and Williamson 2011; Thérien 2002). Several conditions apply for money transfers to be ODA. First, ODA has to be provided to developing countries and territories on the DAC’s list of recipients or to multilateral development institutions. Developing countries are classified in this list based on their income levels with a maximum GNI per capita of USD 12,275 in 2010 (OECD 2013). Second, transfers must be made by official public agencies, either from state or local governments directly or from executive agencies. Third, transactions have to have the purpose of fostering economic development and welfare, and must be concessional with a grant element of at least 25 percent, with a 10 percent discount rate (OECD 2008a: 1). Aid going to countries not mentioned on the “DAC List of ODA Recipients”, such as Eastern European or richer non-DAC members like Israel and Singapore, receive Official Aid (OA) rather than ODA. OA is not included in DAC statistics because, as Roodman (2006: 4) suggests, it could over-stretch the actual intent of aid. Similarly, subsidies to private companies are not included in ODA due to their supposed commercial objective, but are recorded under Other Official Flows (OOF). Transactions to international NGOs are accounted for separately, whereas transfers to national or private NGOs are only eligible if these organizations pursue developmental objectives (OECD 2008a: 3). In order to ensure for a developmental purpose of aid giving more specific criteria can be found in the OECD’s Statistical Reporting Directives (OECD 2010; cf. OECD 2008a: 2-3).

After identifying an eligible activity, necessary resources can be provided in cash or in kind as commodities or services. In case the donor transfers a loan of more than one year to a recipient, this loan is counted as negative flow, until the loan is repaid. As a result, the net

flow of loans account to zero because even though interest rates are recorded, they are not included in net flow statistics (OECD 2008a: 3). The DAC approach has been criticized to give a distorted picture of how much money is actually being transferred due to the way debt forgiveness is recorded (Roodman 2006: 7-11). Nonetheless, this study relies on the OECD's understanding of ODA flows. The OECD definition of aid widely used in the literature "[...]" is considered a reasonable measure of the actual transfer "[...]" (Chong and Gradstein 2008: 5) and adopted in this study.

3.1.3.2. *Domestic Influences on Foreign Aid Policy*

The detailed definition used today by the OECD and DAC member countries is the result of numerous international as well as domestic debates in the last decades. From an ideological point of view, the political Left advocated for a strict definition to clearly distinguish aid and its developmental purpose from other transfers. In contrast, the political Right added other costs, including administrative costs, assistance to refugees and educational costs of developing country nationals in donor countries, to the definition of ODA (Thérien 2002: 451). These ideological debates have defined the way ODA is used in the literature today⁸ and indicate the role of traditions, norms and interests in the ultimate outcome of aid policy, its motivations and purposes (Stokke 1989: 9; Tingley 2010: 48). Concordantly, it is argued that the basis of the aid regime as well as the changes it underwent can be found in the ideological environments, societal values and government practices of donor countries (Thérien 2002: 462; Hook 1995). How values are understood and institutionalized in a donor country builds the basis for domestic debates and decisions on foreign aid policy (cf. Noël and Thérien 1995; Lumsdaine 1993). In addition, it was found that economic ideology is a determining factor at play with regard to overall amounts committed (cf. Imbeau 1998; Tingley 2010). Chong and Gradstein (2008: 12) argued that the size of a donor economy and the effectiveness of donor governments in handling domestic corruption influence the amount of aid provided, seemingly independent of recipient country characteristics. Systemic interests such as export promotion, foreign policy considerations and a donor's administrative machine can form aid policy as much as private sector interests. Nonetheless, policy-makers take up the important role of combining public attitudes into policies, making socio-political values the main determinants of aid policies (Stokke 1989: 283-284; 309). As values internalized in a society are slow to change, conceptions of foreign aid remain constant for 15 to 20 years (cf. Stokke 1989; Noël and Thérien 1995; Imbeau 1998). Ultimately, a donor country's aid program can be subject to minor, gradual changes based on national interests, but can be considered to maintain the principle characteristics over a longer period of time restricted by institutionalized values. Based on this understanding, the study at hand focuses on the speeches and statements by policy-makers over an eight-year period, as they are assumed to reflect the long-term interests of a country in foreign aid policy.

8 For a detailed account of the evolution of development thinking see King and McGrath 2004, Lancaster 2007, Stokke 2009, or Thérien 2002.

3.1.3.3. *Donor Motivations behind Aid Allocation*

The academic discussions on donor motivations underwent many changes in the past sixty years with arguments ranging from self-interest to mutual benefits. When Morgenthau (1962) discussed aid in the context of foreign policy, he argued that states pursued aid based on their national interests. Consequently, since the 1970s and 1980s scholarly literature focused on questions of aid motivations and underlying interests. The overall consensus in the literature remained that donor nations gave aid first and foremost based on their own interests (Maizels and Nissanke 1984). Dudley and Montmarquette (1976) described the motivations of giving aid with a model of demand and supply. For them people only gave to others because they expected something in return. Thus, a donor's demand for certain aid effects, determined the supply of assistance. This finding was later disputed by Mosley (1985), who took up the supply and demand model for his analysis, but concluded that aid responded to the domestic economy of a donor only to a limited extent. McKinlay and Little (1977) established "an analytic foreign policy model of aid allocation", based on the assumption that states pursued external interests that they wanted to protect, explaining donor commitment and recipient dependency. They found that the amount of aid was an indicator for donor commitment towards a recipient. Stokke (1989) argued that donor interests could broadly refer to measures of mutual benefits between donors and recipients as well as narrow donor interests considering employment or export markets.

As a result, a variety of purposes were identified to be inherent in aid giving, including security and diplomatic, commercial, developmental or altruistic and humanitarian interests, as well as the intent of spreading religious or ideological beliefs, or maintaining colonial or geographical ties through aid (cf. Lancaster 2007; Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1998; Stokke 2009). For instance, Berthélemy (2006) found that most donors provided at least some of their aid to their most significant trading partners. Such results underlined the argument that aid is a multipurpose tool of foreign policy (Lancaster 2007: 61). It was thus assumed that both egoistic self-interest and notions of altruism influenced aid allocations (Neumayer 2003: 650). The mix of interests on which aid policy is based explains noticeable differences among donors' aid allocations (cf. Alesina and Dollar 2000).

3.1.3.4. *Aid Effectiveness*

In the 1990s, both the donors and the academic community turned their attention to the actual effects of foreign aid on the development of poor countries. Easterly and Pfutze (2008: 2) defined aid effectiveness as "the extent to which foreign aid dollars actually achieve their goals of reducing poverty, malnutrition, disease, and death." Boone (1996) found that aid financed consumption instead of investment. Aid did not contribute to the economic development of a country unless it was conditioned upon policy and political reforms by the recipient country. In support, Burnside and Dollar (2000) found that recipient country situations had a more positive impact on economic development, if aid was used in recipient countries with good economic policies. Many aid agencies quickly adopted this approach and became more selective based on recipient's policy environment (cf. Development Assistance Committee 1996; The World Bank 1998). Later, such concerns found their way into debates of the international donor community and were addressed in the High-Level Forums on Aid

Effectiveness (Paris 2005, Accra 2008, Busan 2011).⁹ However, Easterly, Levine and Roodman (2004) questioned the findings of Burnside and Dollar (2000) as they could not find a correlation between foreign aid allocation, economic growth and sound policies by using the same data set.

Whereas Boone's findings highlighted aid conditionality, Stokke (1989: 306) argued that for aid effectiveness contrasting motivations for aid giving within the donor community were as problematic as differences in the objectives of donor and recipient governments. In the new millennium, the academic debate was then highly influenced by the study of Alesina and Dollar (2000), who found that the lack of aid's effect on economic growth could be explained by the strategic and political objectives of donors, which did not pursue the goal of recipients' development. Combining both arguments, McGillivray (2003) was convinced that aid worked, but depended on recipient country conditions and policies as well as donor governments upholding developmental purposes of aid. Headey (2005) observed that aid did not contribute to economic growth between 1970 and 2001, which he also attributed to non-developmental purposes of bilateral aid. In contrast, multilateral aid was in his opinion more effective. Addressing the issue from another angle, Bobba and Powell (2007) asked whether political interests of donors could improve aid effectiveness. Their results showed that aid to non-allied recipients positively affected economic growth, whereas aid to political allies did not. Minoiu and Reddy (2010) looked at donor characteristics and found that some donors' aid had a positive effect on economic growth, while others' did not. A donor's developmental focus would thus lead to a greater impact on growth. In short, if donor countries did not pursue the goal of enhancing a recipient's economic development, aid would not be effective for economic development.

Clemens, Radelet and Bhavnani (2004) criticized the use of aggregate aid data to assess aid's influence on growth within a short time frame. They found that aid focused on short-term, economic impacts had a powerful effect on growth within a four-year period, while human development initiatives contributed to growth over a long period of time. Rajan and Subramanian (2005a) disaggregated aid by sector, intended timely impact and type of donor, concluding that neither political, institutional or geographical circumstances nor kinds of aid were better than others. In another study, they showed that aid could even have negative effects on recipient country competitiveness and cautioned to expect more from foreign aid than it could deliver (Rajan and Subramanian 2005b). Similarly, Dollar and Levin (2006) found no direct link between the amount of aid and its effect on growth; furthermore Thiele, Nunnenkamp and Dreher (2007) argued that increasing the volume of aid would not bring sufficient results.

All three arguments seem to have merits as no final conclusion was reached in the literature on what makes aid most effective. Even though this study does not focus on aid effectiveness itself, the arguments were influential with regard to donor rhetoric as will be shown in Chapters 4 and 5. Before being able to look into donor rhetoric, the two issue areas of role theory and foreign aid need to be theoretically linked in the following section.

9 For more details on the High Level Forums on Aid Effectiveness see the OECD's homepage: <http://www.oecd.org/dac/effectiveness/thehighlevelforaonaideffectivenessahistory.htm>

3.1.4. *Linking Role Theory with Foreign Aid*

In previous chapters, foreign policy analysis and the position of role theory within this research area has been described, and can therefore now be connected to the issue area of foreign aid, which was defined in Chapter 3.1.3. Foreign aid was found to be an important tool of the foreign policy of countries (cf. Morgenthau 1962; Stokke 1989; 2009). By giving ODA, countries could enhance their international position, regardless of their economic capacities (Stokke 1989: 277). An essential assumption is that rhetoric can influence behavior and thereby positions or roles.

Understanding statements made by political decision-makers as a *speech act*—developed by the Copenhagen School¹⁰—helps to conceptualize rhetoric as a manifestation of state actors' role conceptions. *Speech act* statements do not simply describe role conceptions, but constitute them (cf. Kratochwil 1995; Onuf 2013).¹¹ It can therefore be recognized that the definition of an issue area is socially constructed; subsequently objective definitions of international norms and standards do not suffice as reference points for donor's ODA behavior (cf. Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde 1998). The focus on the *speech act* highlights the decision-making process and creativity of political action (Williams 2003: 520-521). For example, by explicitly choosing to portray something as a security issue for a state actor, an agent could emphasize the threat enough to justify an immediate policy to alleviate it (Balzacq 2005: 173). The role of agency is important in this regard, as statements are assumed to be actions with a real or potential consequence (Balzacq 2005: 186; 188). In this context, the Copenhagen School is linked to the constructivist tradition (Watson, S. D. 2012: 292; Williams 2003: 514). While the School concentrated on securitization as an important issue of foreign policy, ODA seems similarly applicable.

Graber (1976: 7) claimed that the importance of ideas only becomes apparent once these ideas are presented through verbal behavior to a receptive audience. Notwithstanding, verbal outputs are only significant if their agents are conducting major political affairs, meaning that their position supports pronouncements and influences policy consequences (Graber 1976: 20). In this regard, the officially stated perceptions of political elites “form the conceptual settings into which political contests are cast”, even if they do not reflect their individual perceptions or deeds (Graber 1976: 21; 192). It needs to be acknowledged that agents adapt their statements to the audience and what they assume their audience wants to hear. Consequently, the audience influences the choice of justifications and definitions used by policy-makers. If they are not properly considered, the credibility of the actor is threatened (Balzacq 2005: 184-185). Furthermore, verbal behavior of high-ranking decision-makers is conceived as a commitment or basis for action and pressure exists for maintaining consistency (Graber 1976: 189-190). As a result, policy-makers as agents can actively contribute to the way their state is seen by others (Breuning 1995: 236).

As policy-makers represent domestic constituencies, they must adhere to national norms and standards (Breuning 2011: 24; Graber 1976: 194). Thus, they are embedded in the socialization of their state's role conceptions in the historical and social structures and there remains little room to reinterpret these roles. Decision-makers have to reflect on the

10 Most influential in the establishment of the Copenhagen School were Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde (1998), who used the analytical tools of *speech act* theory (Watson, S. D. 2012: 283).

11 The Copenhagen School is not restricted to verbal speech acts, but can also be extended for instance to visual statements (cf. Williams 2003: 526).

interactions of rules and reasons, and between institutional constraints and their own preferences (Searing 1991: 1248), arriving at compromised statements representative for role conceptions. Wish (1980: 547) came to the conclusion that within the same state, great similarities of role conceptions of decision-makers were apparent supporting the assumption of longevity and stability of established role conceptions.

It can therefore be put forward that statements by decision-makers influence ODA policy behavior (Stokke 2009: 16; cf. Breuning 1995). Criticism voiced by previous studies with regard to research on ODA policy underlines the value of the presented theoretical framework. The focus of most research on foreign aid was on its effects on recipient countries, while empirical research of the donor side was largely lacking in the general aid literature (Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1998: 296). Descriptive country case studies were criticized for their noncomparability between donor countries, leaving no room for generalization (Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1998: 301), whereas, quantitative models were considered to be imprecise, too intertwined, and misleading leaving scholars to add their interpretations in order to understand purposes (Lancaster 2007: 16-17). Furthermore, the majority of empirical research concentrated on the analysis of the aid policies of a single donor country, namely the United States. Concurrently, there remains a need to combine quantitative and qualitative research designs and compare individual donors (Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1998: 301-302; 319).

In summary, the Copenhagen School only serves as a tool rather than a guiding theory for this study. By constituting ODA policy as a *speech act*, issues linked to this policy in the rhetoric of Japanese and South Korean policy-makers can be identified. The usefulness of role theory when examining aid practice becomes evident, as many studies found discrepancies between donor's commitments and their behavior (cf. Easterly and Williamson 2011; Neumayer 2003; Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1998; Yamaguchi 2005). At the same time, a comprehensive comparison of Japanese and South Korean aid, based on their self-defined role conceptions in aid policy, has not been attempted. This study, thus, provides a new approach to Japanese and South Korean foreign aid policy as well as a contribution to the scholarship of role theory in foreign policy analysis.

3.2. Methodological Approach

The objective of this study is to examine the coherence between role conceptions and performances of Japan and South Korea in foreign aid. The overall approach chosen is a comparative one, allowing for differences and similarities between these donors to present a wider picture of aid policy than an individual donor study could. To arrive at roles for comparison a four-step analysis was chosen to identify role conceptions, role performance and possible gaps between rhetoric and behavior. From a theoretical point of view the focus lies with the agency of donors not with the structure of the international system or the interaction of actors in the system.

The first step of analysis was the identification of Japanese and South Korean self-defined role conceptions, for which an inductive approach was chosen. A similar methodology was applied by Holsti (1970), which was then adopted by others (cf. Edström 1988; Kaya 2012; Wish 1980). The center of interest was the political reality as experienced by agents, such as policy-makers (Aggestam 2006: 13; Kaya 2012: 20). Edström highlighted the problem arising

from defining a state's role based on previous theories, stating that an agent's perspective should provide a less ambiguous clarification of roles (Edström 1988: 114). The identification of role conceptions in foreign aid was achieved by a qualitative content analysis of speeches by Japanese and South Korean policy-makers between 2005 and 2012. In the second step, a cross-comparison of relevant scholarly work on the measurement of donors' aid practices and stated commitments by the two donor states was conducted. As a result, indicator categories for examining the quantitative disbursement data were developed and analyzed accordingly. Role performance could then be compared to the commitments. However, some comparisons could not be made based on quantitative disbursement data, requesting the analysis of additional case studies. The case studies of the two major recipient countries during the time period were undertaken in the third step. Finally, role performances were set in the context of the previously derived role conceptions. Thereby the coherence of roles could be analyzed and possible role gaps identified. This final step further allowed comparing Japanese and South Korean roles and role gaps in foreign aid.

The time period of examination ranged from 2005, when the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness was endorsed by the international donor community, including the both donor countries (OECD 2005/2008: 12), and 2012, which marked the most recent disbursement data available. During this time period no new major crises emerged that would have triggered an increased focus of aid to a specific country or region, thus allowing for a rather unbiased analysis of aid disbursements. South Korea joined the DAC in 2009, allowing for a comparison of the rhetoric and behavior shortly before and after the succession. In the following, the four steps are explained in detail.

3.2.1. Qualitative Content Analysis

The purpose of the qualitative content analysis was to observe the claims and justifications for action, which were assumed to be based on beliefs. This approach was preferred over deriving the beliefs of decision-makers on the issue area of aid, as beliefs cannot be observed in contrast to claims (Goldstein and Keohane 1993: 27). Thereby it was possible to answer the question which roles Japan and South Korea defined for themselves as donors in the international community. This qualitative and sharply focused approach was chosen over a quantitative one, as individual decisions in the field of ODA policy were looked at. Such decisions on foreign aid were derived by applying a systematic, directed search of selected speech documents (cf. Graber 1976). In addition, qualitative content analysis was chosen based on the methodology of previous role theory research (cf. Edström 1988; Klömpges 2006; Kaya 2012; Wish 1980). The specific type of content analysis in this study was based on Forschauer and Lueger's *topic analysis* (Forschauer and Lueger 2003: 158-164).

3.2.1.1. Topic Analysis based on Forschauer and Lueger (2003: 158-164)

Topic analysis is helpful for deriving a general understanding of topics in a text, summarizing core statements and understanding the context, in which a statement was made. It distinguishes attitudes of individuals, groups or collectives to certain issue areas and is especially useful when analyzing great amounts of texts. Further, the apparent content of

statements formed in opinions or evaluations builds the center of attention.¹² Limitations of this approach include the lack of the coverage of the evolutionary background and the disregard of concealed meaning behind statements or texts. The focus on obvious content therefore minimizes the possibility for interpretation, and thus personal coloring of the content by the researcher, allowing for an impartial presentation of results.

There are two ways of using topic analysis: text reduction and coding. Text reduction is used to obtain a general overview over the diversity of topics, the way they are presented and their relationship to each other. Characteristic elements of the topic presentation are derived from the text to show their differences. In the first step, texts that can be connected to the topic under scrutiny must be identified, followed by presenting related text sections in a summarized form. Following points should be considered when analyzing text sections:

- Type of text or conversation, including the speaker and context
- Traits of a topic, the contexts in which it was mentioned and the actors involved
- Connection between topics and their social relationships
- Identification of differences within texts or between various texts on the same topic

By using the method of coding, the conceptual structure of topics and their relationship can be further analyzed. Thus, the derivation of categories from texts serves as an analytical extension of text reduction and can be applied to obtain hypotheses for a quantitative analysis with new material. However, explicit hypotheses are not needed for this method as a first analytical step. Coding is conducted in the following way:

- Topic coding: coding text sections by applying categories of characteristic concepts
- Analysis of subcategories: establishing hierarchical networks of subcategories, their properties or evaluation in the context
- Structuring: distinguishing the importance of the category in the text or for the research question and interlacing the various topic categories
- Combining subcategories based on characteristic concepts or attributes
- Interpretation: developing a theoretical concept for the research question
- Comparative Analysis: including the comparison of similarities and differences among topics and structures, text-overlapping categories, substructures and connection with other categories, analysis of content dimension, connection with text analysis software and quantitative content analysis

For this study the method of text reduction was first used to identify the types of speeches in which development aid and the role of Japan or South Korea in this issue area were mentioned. Thus, a sense for the various role conceptions and their contexts could be developed. From this first orientation, the steps explained for coding were undertaken. The categories and subcategories were reanalyzed and summarized until a small set of specific role conceptions could be defined. The context in which certain roles were voiced, were later analyzed to derive a set of indicators used for comparing quantitative data with the role conceptions. The issue of frequency of statements was not relevant for this study due to the

12 Topic analysis can further show the red line of argumentation in a conversation or discussion, which was not relevant for this study.

focus on the identification of general role conceptions rather than their importance for the actors.

3.2.1.2. *Choice of Text Samples*

For the purpose of the qualitative content analysis, speeches and statements by Japanese and South Korean decision-makers relevant for the national aid architecture were analyzed. According to the literature, role beholders that represent role conceptions are authorized spokesmen that speak on behalf of an actor or observer (Edström 1988: 115). The key decision-makers for development aid policy in Japan and South Korea were identified as follows: within the Japanese ODA structure, the prime, foreign¹³ and finance ministers were chosen, whereas in South Korea the president, foreign and trade, and strategy and finance ministers best reflected the decision-making authorities on ODA.¹⁴ These individuals represented the top of the hierarchy of ODA decision-making of both countries and served in official government capacity (Edström 1988: 118-120), which made their statements representative for role conceptions.

The inductive approach left the choice of a topic's importance with the high-ranking decision-makers rather than the analyst (Edström 1988: 115). Even though such statements allow making inferences about an agent's perception of her state's role conception (Graber 1976: 75), this study goes with Balzacq (2005: 190) with regard to intentions being difficult to pin down. However, the arena, in which statements and speeches were made, had to be chosen by the analyst based on the context of announcements. Due to the international aspect of foreign aid, speeches to the international public, including donors and recipients of aid, were favored. Official statements at conferences in international organizations and press conferences were given specific priority. Nonetheless, in the course of the analysis it was found that verbal behavior on foreign aid policy in the Japanese national Diet and South Korean radio broadcasts similarly reveal the importance of policy decisions by reflecting justifications of decisions towards domestic audiences. As a result, statements targeted at both domestic and international audiences were included (cf. Edström 1988: 122-123; Holsti 1970). However, only statements available in English¹⁵ were used for the analysis, accounting for the international aspect of the topic. In this regard, it was assumed that the role conceptions as portrayed towards the international community could be better derived from verbal behavior in English, which was easily available to a foreign audience.

3.2.1.3. *Conduct of Analysis*

To allow for the manageability of materials, a sample 55 Japanese and 46 South Korean speeches and statements was chosen.¹⁶ The purpose was to derive sufficient material to identify the broad outlines of role conceptions rather than providing a complete set of

13 Stokke found an important administrative role for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for almost all donor countries (Stokke 1989: 275).

14 For a more detailed discussion of ministries active in ODA policy decision-making in Japan and South Korea see Chapter 2.

15 This choice was made to allow for a comparability of how role conceptions were portrayed by the two donor countries towards an international audience, as well as for the replicability of the presented research.

16 cf. Holsti (1970) analyzed a minimum of ten sources per state and Kaya (2012) 60 speeches and official documents.

characteristics (cf. Edström 1988: 134). To this end, only statements specifically related to ODA were considered.

The search for sources of speeches and statements was limited intentionally to the official websites of the Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet (www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/index-e.html), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (www.mofa.go.jp), and the Ministry of Finance of Japan (www.mof.go.jp/english) in case of Japan, and the official website of the Republic of Korea (www.korea.net), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Korea (www.mofat.go.kr/eng), and the Ministry of Strategy and Finance (english.mosf.go.kr/). All these websites were available in English and had specific sections dedicated to ministers' and presidents' speeches and statements. For all decision-makers data was available from 2005 to 2012, except for the South Korean presidents, for whom the collection of speeches and statements started from 2008. Thus, one speech from 2005 by the South Korean president was derived from the homepage of the UN directly (un.org).

In the first stage of analysis, all speeches with a possibility of containing ODA related statements were downloaded from the websites. As a result, about 100 speeches per country were accumulated, which were then sifted according to the mentioning of ODA and other key words¹⁷ with the help of the qualitative content analysis software MAXQDA.¹⁸ In a second revision of the data, role conception inclinations were distinguished from mere references to ODA by looking for "role" as a keyword. Additionally, the ODA-relevant speeches were read to allow for role conceptions without the specific mentioning of "role" to be found. Subsequently, the identified passages were codified based on similar role conceptions, which allowed for the development of basic categories. The contexts, in which the identified role conceptions were mentioned, were then more closely read and analyzed to help refine the categories. For some role conceptions, subcategories could be identified. Due to the variety of contexts in which role conceptions were mentioned, it was necessary to further search the texts for references to these contexts. Thereby, a more detailed understanding of the concepts and contexts related to specific role conceptions could be reached. Finally, the categories and subcategories were summarized, combined and named to obtain specific role conceptions for further analysis.

3.2.2. Development of Indicator Categories and Quantitative Data Analysis

The approach used to identify role performance based on decisions and actions was a comparative analysis of aid standards as defined in the role conceptions of the donors themselves as well as by previous academic literature on donor aid practice. Accordingly, a preliminary literature review identified the core categories and indicators by which aid practice has been measured and compared by international organizations and scholars. The obtained categories were then combined with the commitment categories and mentioned indicators derived from the role conceptions. These served as a framework for the quantitative data analysis. From this approach five categories and two subcategories were identified, which were assembled based on a variety of quantitatively measurable indicators. For one

17 Keywords included "development aid", "foreign aid", "aid", "Official Development Aid", "development assistance", and "foreign assistance."

18 For further information on this software see the MAXQDA homepage: <http://www.maxqda.de/> (accessed February 2014)

category only qualitative indicators could be identified, for which an analysis of case studies as indicated in the next section was conducted.

Similar to other studies on aid practice, the quantitative data was derived from the OECD Creditor Reporting System (CRS) (OECD 2014a)¹⁹ on official aid flows by donors due to consistency and comparability, as well as official enforcers and standardized data collectors (cf. Breuning 1995; Clemens, Radelet and Bhavnani 2004; Easterly and Pfutze 2008; Easterly and Williamson 2011; Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1998; Thiele, Nunnenkamp and Dreher 2007). However, it is acknowledged that OECD data are subject to the voluntary declaration of donors and, thus, could be limited in their objective resemblance of aid disbursements. Even though official definitions for ODA are provided by the DAC and its standards and requirements supposedly agreed to by donors (Easterly and Williamson 2011: 1946), donors might include or exclude certain aspects such as operating costs (Easterly and Pfutze 2008: 2), resulting in misleading information. Similarly, repayments of interests were found to be inconclusive in the DAC data (cf. Roodman 2006). Easterly and Williamson (2011: 1946) concluded that aid data for many donors was of poor quality, but still served to draw conclusions. The lack of any other complete dataset of donor disbursements limited the possible sources for data collection. It is, hence, assumed that the OECD data still provided a more objective view of donor's aid data than national datasets, which are not subject to international standards of data collection. For the sake of comparability with previous studies on Japanese and South Korean aid, OECD data served as the principal source for data in this study. For indicators not sufficiently included in the OECD data, NGO datasets (cf. Freedom House 2014a; The Heritage Foundation 2014a) were used as referred to in previous studies on aid practices.

3.2.3. Case Study Approach

From the comparative analysis of Japanese and South Korean major recipient countries over the research period, the two most important recipients were selected for two qualitative case studies. Aspects of role conceptions that could not be derived from the quantitative OECD data could be exemplified in the case studies. For this purpose, specific country programs and projects were first presented and then analyzed in the context of recipient country development strategies. The focus and importance given to development interventions by the recipient country strategies thereby served as the indicators, on which Japanese and South Korean ODA policies were analyzed. In addition, the case studies provided an additional perspective on the aggregated data from the individual country level. As a result, more comprehensive conclusions could be drawn and set into the context of the results from the quantitative data analysis.

3.2.4. Comparative Analysis of Roles

In the final comparative analysis, the role conceptions and role performances of both donor states were linked with the results of the respective other donor in regard to existing similarities and differences. To answer the third research question, then, role conceptions were compared with role performances for each individual country and gaps in individual

19 All data were derived from the CRS unless otherwise indicated.

categories were identified. Both gaps and fulfilled roles were compared to the ones of the respective other state, and similarities and differences recognized. Finally, the importance of identified gaps in contrast to fulfilled roles for the overall understanding of Japanese and South Korean foreign aid policy was discussed. As a result, implications of these findings for the international foreign aid regime in general could be drawn.

4. The Rhetoric of Japanese and South Korean Political Decision-makers on Aid

The results of the qualitative content analysis of 55 Japanese and 46 South Korean policy speeches on foreign aid are presented in this chapter. Even though the analysis was inductive, the policy speeches of representatives of both countries showed similar role conceptions. Through a comparison with previous inductive role research on general foreign policy role conceptions, similar overall roles could be identified for the two countries. Thus, this chapter presents the definitions of role conceptions based on previous research and the specific interpretations of them in a Japanese and South Korean context. However, each country's specific characteristics are presented as well to allow for a more comprehensive understanding of role conceptions. Some role conceptions could not be found in previous research while a few were relevant only for one country.

In general, five role conceptions ("Bridge", "Model", "Respected Member of the International Community", "Responsible Leader", "Partner") in the case of Japan and six (the previous five as well as "Newcomer") in the case of South Korea were identified in the issue area of foreign aid. Of these role conceptions, five were found for both countries, explained with examples from Japanese and South Korean policymakers. Only one role conception was unique to South Korea. In the case of South Korea all three policy decision-makers, namely the President, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Minister of Strategy and Finance, expressed all six roles in one way or the other. On the other hand, the Japanese Minister of Finance voiced far less examples of role conceptions in case of foreign aid than the Prime Minister or the Minister of Foreign Affairs. A detailed list of the sources of each role can be found in the Appendix (Table A1).

4.1. Bridge

The role of "Bridge" was found both among Holsti's 17 foreign policy role conceptions of various countries as well as Edström's research on Japanese foreign policy roles. Holsti described it as a role with a communication function, either as a translator or conveyor of messages and information, but often expressed by role beholders in vague terms (Holsti 1970: 266-267). In the case of Japan, this communication function was found to refer to two parties or a regional or global context (Edström 1988: 145).

Both Japanese and South Korean policy-makers specifically mentioned their countries' roles as "Bridge" in various settings. The most prominent context was bridging between the developed and developing countries, G20 member and non-member states or advanced and emerging economies. However, Japan went further to represent itself as a bridge between different civilizations and cultures. In a few cases both countries expressed this role by using the term "mediator", indicating that the two parties in question were somehow in conflict. The wider contexts for the role conception of "Bridge" differed for each country.

In particular, as a recipient-turned-donor country in terms of international aid, Korea will play a role of bridging between developed and developing countries and solidify G20's standing on the global stage by reflecting the voices of non-G20 countries (Minister of Strategy and Finance Yoon, February 24, 2010).

Based upon the spirit of *yu-ai*, or ‘fraternity’, Japan will make utmost efforts to become a ‘bridge’ for the world, between the Orient and the Occident, between developed and developing countries and between diverse civilizations (Prime Minister Hatoyama, September 24, 2009).

4.1.1. Japan bridges Civilizations

In the case of the Japanese role conception, a reference was made to the Japanese principle of “fraternity”, as in the citation above, upon which Japan intended to act on this role. In this context, following key areas were identified: global economic crisis, climate change, nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, peace building, development and poverty, and an East Asian community. Nevertheless, how Japan would act as a bridge in these areas was not explained. In the area of peace building, development and poverty, “shared security” was said to be sought after based on the concept of “fraternity” (Hatoyama, September 24, 2009). Other notions of this role can only be found in the context of the Middle East, where Japan planned to play the role of a mediator between conflicted parties.

The realization of peace in the Middle East is one of the most challenging diplomatic issues in the world. Japan wishes to be a mediator fostering confidence and trust, which are scarce resources in the Middle East (Prime Minister Aso, June 30, 2009).

4.1.2. South Korea as a Bridge between Developing and Developed Countries

South Korean policy-makers referred to their country’s unique development experience, from an aid recipient to a donor that qualified it to convey messages between various parties, including between donor and recipient countries (cf. Ban, October 24, 2005; Kim, November 30, 2011a; Shin, September 25, 2010; Yu, October 20, 2008). The indebtedness of Korea to the UN in its early years of existence as a Republic was often mentioned. Examples of developing countries’ representatives that wanted to learn from Korea were chosen to exemplify international support for Korea to play the role of “Bridge.” In this role Korea would contribute to the creation of a new international order (Lee, February 8, 2010).

At the GCF council meeting on October 17, a South African delegate praised Korea with emotion saying that he wants to share Korea’s experiences in national development and green growth. By playing the role of a bridge between the developing and developed worlds, our country can contribute to the international community and find our own future there (President Lee, October 29, 2012).

In international forums or conferences Korea wanted to present the voices of the less developed countries with the intention of promoting balanced development (Lee, November 30, 2009). Korean policy-makers felt that their country was successful in fulfilling this role (Yoon, November 19, 2010). The specific task of mediating between developed and developing countries, however, was only mentioned within the context of the IMF and the World Bank (Yoon, October 14, 2010).

4.2. Model

Being a “Model” was seen by Holsti to entail the importance of promoting a country’s prestige in the international community by simultaneously pursuing domestic policies (Holsti 1970: 268), while Edström found this role to be evident only in alter role expectations of

Japan (Edström 1988: 146). The qualitative content analysis at hand showed that Japan and South Korea specifically expressed the conception that their country would represent a model for others. Model functions were found in the case of economic development or correct behavior as donors. Even though it seemed to be an ego conception, they were often presented to be alter expectations, held by others about Japan or South Korea.

Korea is the only country in the world to join the ranks of advanced nations after being one of the poorest nations in just the span of a generation following the end of the War. For this reason, many ASEAN member nations want to take Korea as their development model rather than advanced nations since they are in a similar situation as Korea was (President Lee, December 10, 2012).

[...] I have been told that for a great many developing nations and emerging economies, Japan is the model at which they are aiming. [...] In that regard I feel that it is altogether appropriate for us to have much more pride in the fact that Japan has been engaged in some very solid activities until now, in the role of a “big brother” to these emerging economies (Prime Minister Kan, January 20, 2011).

4.2.1. Japan as a Model for Other Donors

Japanese political leaders mentioned how developing countries had referred to Japan as a model for their own development, while Japan itself was calling upon African nations to find their own model for economic development inspired by the Japanese experience and that of other Asian countries (Fukuda May 28, 2008). For Foreign Minister Machimura Japan’s developmental experience put his country into a unique and superior position as a donor, or, as exemplified above, established Japan as a “big brother” for emerging economies (Kan, January 20, 2011).

Japan has itself experience of moving up the ladder of development from an aid recipient to one of the largest aid donors in a relatively short period of time. I think this experience has put my country in a unique position, in our humble effort, to assist developing countries (...) (Minister for Foreign Affairs Machimura, April 29, 2005).

Japan also portrayed itself as a donor nation determined in its efforts to help Africa, which served as a model for other donors to do the same (Nakasone, March 21, 2009). Specific areas for improvement in developing countries based on Japan’s experience were mentioned (Koumura, November 25, 2007), as well as the necessity to live Japan’s values on the ground for the recipient to emulate (Aso, January 19, 2006). Key points of Japan’s aid philosophy in this regard were promoting the self-reliance of recipients, ownership and partnership, its believe in growth as an engine for sustainable development and human security.

Having recovered from the devastation of World War II with assistance from all over the world, Japan is better placed than any other country to demonstrate the significance of ownership and partnership, poverty reduction through economic growth and human security in promoting development (Minister for Foreign Affairs Machimura September 17, 2005).

4.2.2. Korea as a Beacon for Developing Countries

South Korea was portrayed as the only country so far that had graduated from a poor country to a member of the aid donor community. As such, Korea’s development experience was unique, but served as an example of how development could be achieved through aid and

cooperation. In both economic and environmental terms South Korea was seen as a model for other developing countries that found themselves in situations that Korea had been able to overcome in a short period of time. In order to share Korea's experience, various commitments were made over the years to increase ODA (Ban, September 21, 2006; Lee, February 8, 2010; October 9, 2012; December 10, 2012).

To this end, we plan to triple Korea's official development assistance by the year 2015. Furthermore, more programs will be implemented to share Korea's development experience of overcoming poverty and underdevelopment in a relatively short period of time (Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade Yu, June 2, 2009).

As mentioned above, the role "Model" was sometimes portrayed as alter expectations of Korea's stance in the world. Developing countries appreciated Korea's experience, which gave them hope, and had chosen to use it as a model for their own development (Lee, January 11, 2010). In the case of Indonesia the goal of imitating Korea's development model was brought forward, which resulted in extensive Korean support for the country (Lee, December 10, 2012).

Korea is the only country that rose to a member of the G20 from a poverty-stricken nation in a matter of a generation. Many developing countries are benchmarking Korea as a role model (President Lee, October 29, 2012).

The fast economic development of Korea could not have been possible without the contributions of the international community, which built the foundation of Korea's own motivation for providing development aid. The UN's role in Korea's development was often mentioned in the context of Korea's support for UN efforts. In this regard, specific target areas for realizing the "Korean model" were mentioned: education and the empowerment of women, especially with regard to achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in Africa (Ban, September 21, 2006). By sharing its knowledge, Korea intended to assist developing countries to pursue their own development model by increasing ODA. Therefore, this uniquely Korean development model lit the way for developing countries.

The Republic demonstrated that the assistance and collaboration from the international community was never wasted and that it was only right for such aid to be further expanded. In this regard, Korea was an exemplary beneficiary of international aid and cooperation in the 20th century. In the 21st century, the nation stands as a beacon for developing countries (President Lee, November 30, 2009).

4.3. Respected Member of the International Community

For both Japan and South Korea the appreciation of their efforts in the international community and respect for their country by others was underlined in various policy statements. In this sense, Japan underlined its long-standing contributions to the international community through ODA as a basis for respect. Korea highlighted its proactive engagement in holding international high-level conferences, such as the G-20 Summit in 2010 or the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in 2011. Through these conferences Korea's experience was shared and many countries voiced their interest in learning more about the country. As neither Holsti nor Edström stated a role with similar characteristics, all information on the role conception is derived from a careful analysis of the policy speeches. Due to numerous reiterations of gaining trust and respect from other actors of the international

community, this role conception was termed “Respected Member of the International Community.”

Japan has been making, for a long time, international contributions in various forms such as ODA. This willingness of the Japanese people to contribute to the international community is appreciated throughout the international community (Minister for Foreign Affairs Maehara, January 24, 2011).

The Republic’s efforts to help bring about world peace and common prosperity are a joint investment to ensure a better future for all humanity. This is also the most effective way for our nation to win affection and respect in the international community (President Lee, November 30, 2009).

4.3.1. A trusted Japan

The specific focus on ODA as a means of ensuring respect of the international community has to be understood in the context of Japan’s constraints on contributing through military means (cf. Leheny and Warren 2010; Palanovics 2010). Japan was presented as a “Peace Fostering Nation”, which thrived to be trusted by other nations and held already established relationships of trust in high esteem (Koizumi, April 22, 2005; Koumura, January 18, 2008). Thus, policy-makers often referred to the Preamble of Japan’s Constitution and the desire of the country to occupy an honored place in the world (Koizumi, January 20, 2006; Nakasone, January 28, 2009; Machimura, September 17, 2005).²⁰ In order to do so, effective contributions to peace and stability by other means than military ones had to be undertaken.

From the present, Japan will contribute to the well-being of the international community through not only activities in the economic field but also those in the areas of the environment, peace, culture, science and technology, creating a country that is trusted by the international community (Prime Minister Hatoyama, September 16, 2009).

Even though the above statement focuses on many different areas through which Japan intended to engage with the international community, the context was more often than not ODA. For instance, in 2006 Foreign Minister Aso stressed India’s wish to receive Japanese assistance, while it was cautious with regard to other foreign assistance, indicating India’s trust in Japan’s efforts (Aso, January 19, 2006). The decrease of the ODA budget during the first years of the 21st century was thus seen as a problem. Foreign Minister Gamba (April 5, 2012) highlighted in 2012 his domestic fight for increasing ODA in order to elevate Japan’s standing in the international community.

4.3.2. Korea as an “Honest Broker”

The hosting of such high-level international conferences, the succession to the OECD/DAC and Korea’s proactive engagement in development issues supported Korea’s perception that it was respected and trusted by the international community (Lee, November 30, 2009; January 11, 2010; February 8, 2010; January 3, 2011; October 29, 2012). Especially the unprecedented high-level participation of many countries at the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness underlined this perception (Kim, November 30, 2011b). Korea’s claimed active contribution to the international aid regime was specifically noteworthy for this study.

20 For an English version of the Preamble see the Ministry of Defense’s website, http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/d_policy/dp01.html (accessed March 28, 2014).

In order to honor the international trust in Korea, policy-makers ensured Korea's role as an "honest broker." In this regard, Korea voiced its commitment to international issues, such as human rights and democracy, and its aspirations of being a faithful representative for global interests as the chair of the G20 and host of the Fourth High Level Forum (Shin, September 25, 2010; Yoon, February 24, 2010; November 19, 2010; Yu, March 1, 2009).

Also, as an "honest broker," Korea will do its utmost for the G20 to produce concrete and substantial results (Minister of Strategy and Finance Yoon, February 24, 2010).

Such a role was further based on its good relations with other countries in the past due to a lack of a colonial history, which differentiated Korea from other donor countries.

Korea's national standing throughout history has never been higher than now. What makes us all the more proud is the fact that we pulled off such an achievement only with our own sweat and tears without doing any harm to others or taking anything away from someone else (President Lee, October 9, 2012).

The second statement by President Lee further highlights the increased standing of Korea in the world, which was argued to have led to Korea's admission to the OECD/DAC in 2009. In this instance, the pursuit of world peace and common prosperity was seen as the most effective way to acquire the respect of others, which was especially important for the nation. As a result, President Lee promised in 2008 to lift South Korea's international standing to an advanced country by making friends and by increasing ODA, resulting in the creation of the brand "Global Korea" (Lee, August 15, 2008; November 30, 2009). The respect of the international community continued to play an important role for Korea up to the end of the research period.

More than anything else, the global confidence in Korea and the recognition of Korea as a leading advanced country is also very meaningful, indeed (President Lee, October 29, 2012).

4.4. Responsible Leader

The role of "leader" can be held by both ego and alter, and entails a special duty or responsibility to assume leadership in a certain issue area or restricted domain (Edström 1988: 144). Holsti named this role "regional leader", referring to a country's perceived responsibility in relation to other states in the region or subsystems, such as communist movements (Holsti 1970: 261). Policy speeches by both countries in question showed signs of perceived responsibility and the wish to obtain leadership in foreign aid. In the case of Korea, the way towards leadership was more strongly highlighted than already established leadership, while Japan was very specific in referring to itself as a leader in issues of international development.

To be able to identify the survival and prosperity of the global village with that of the nation is the marking of global leadership and the condition of becoming an advanced society. We are already on that path (President Lee, January 3, 2011).

Japan will continue to work comprehensively on development assistance in accordance with the concept of human security and lead the efforts of the international community towards meeting the MDGs (Prime Minister Kan, September 24, 2010).

To put this role further into perspective, the role of "developer" as defined by Holsti and Edström was inherent in many of the statements made in the context of leadership. A

“developer” expressed the notion of duty or obligation to assist other countries, often in the same region (Edström 1988: 145). The skills and advantages to fulfill such a duty of helping “underdeveloped countries” were often mentioned in this instance (Holsti 1970: 266). In the cases of Japan and South Korea, the role of “developer” was more evident in the notion of being a “Respected Member of the International Community” by assisting developing countries through ODA. Therefore, a strict definition of leadership was used for this role conception.

4.4.1. Japan leads the International Aid Agenda

Japan specifically expressed its role as leader in creating a peaceful world through ODA and peacekeeping measures. The focus of Japanese engagement lay with furthering international efforts towards achieving the MDGs by leading in the fields of education, health, disaster risk reduction, water and sanitation, climate change mitigation or defining the post-2015 agenda²¹ (Gemba, January 24, 2012; September 25, 2012; Hatoyama, September 16, 2009; Kan, June 11, 2010; September 22, 2010; Koumura, February 22, 2008; Matsumoto, May 1, 2011). All these efforts were closely related to the concept of human security, which Japan was a main advocate for. Human security built a core philosophy of Japanese aid on the rhetoric level and was often mentioned in relation to Japanese conceptual leadership in international development issues. It entailed the necessity for the protection of individual lives and dignity for furthering societal development. By promoting the concept of human security, policy-makers hoped to enhance Japan’s presence in the international community (Gemba, December 14, 2011; February 28, 2012; May 24, 2012; Koumura, January 18, 2008).

Based on the concept of “human security,” Japan will continue to play a leadership role to resolve global challenges, including the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals for which all the international community is working together, countermeasures against infectious diseases and environmental problems including climate change, and peacebuilding (Minister of Foreign Affairs Aso, January 26, 2007).

Japan’s leadership in the field of development aid seemed quite extensive judging from the qualitative content analysis. Other areas included the highlighting of Japan’s large contributions to Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs) and specifically its leading role in the establishment of the ADB for achieving the poverty reduction globally (Jojima, October 13, 2012; Noda, October 9, 2010). By holding international conferences such as the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) or the G8 Summit, Japan led the creation of strategies for development by coordinating international diplomatic efforts (Koumura, January 18, 2008; Nakasone, September 25, 2008). With regard to the UN, the active role Japan played through its contributions to the multilateral organization on various levels became apparent and the continued commitment to the body was often emphasized.

Japan views the reform of the United Nations in a comprehensive manner, and believes that the United Nations must be strengthened to address various challenges such as development, human rights and peace-building. To this end, Japan has played, and will continue to play, an active role (Minister of Foreign Affairs Aso, January 20, 2006).

21 The goal for achieving the MDGs was set for 2015. Since 2013, international discussions have commenced on establishing new sustainable development goals (SDGs) to be pursued from 2015 onwards (United Nations 2014).

Leadership was referred to in the context of contributions to Afghanistan's or Myanmar's democratization processes and economic development, or by promoting democratic values in the whole Asian region (Azumi May 4, 2012; Gemba, February 28, 2012; May 24, 2012; Noda, October 28, 2011). Assistance to Iraq in the form of ODA and by supporting international measures was described as an obligation (Aso, January 26, 2007). In general, a balance between multilateral and bilateral initiatives was aimed for.

We will develop a proactive foreign policy, backed by a long-term ability to formulate initiatives as well as to take action, while rejecting extreme bilateralism or a simplistic view of United Nations supremacy (Prime Minister Hatoyama, September 16, 2009).

Another characteristic of Japan's perceived responsibility towards the international community was the emphasis on proactive or active engagement. It seemed that Japanese policy-makers wanted to address the previous labeling of Japan as a "reactive" state in international affairs (cf. Calder 1988; Drifte 1996: 130-131; Newman 2000: 48; Orr 1990: 20-21; Takahashi 2010a: 52; Yasutomo 1995: 35-42). This was suggested by the latent use of the adjectives "proactive" and "active" in the context of foreign policy, such as "Proactive Diplomacy", or as exemplified by the statement above. Such statements were often made in the context of commensurate measures with a focus on development issues (Abe, January 26, 2007; Fukuda, October 1, 2007; January 18, 2008; Kan, June 11, 2010; Koizumi, January 21, 2005).

Japan is determined to tackle global challenges even more actively than before as a leading member of the international community (Minister for Foreign Affairs Matsumoto, May 1, 2011).

Closely connected was the pursuit of global peace and stability as a means of achieving national safety and prosperity, and the strategic use of ODA (Koizumi, April 22, 2005; September 26, 2005; January 20, 2006; Koumura, September 27, 2007; January 18, 2008; January 24, 2008). Thus, Japan's international responsibility was emphasized in the context of mutual benefits oriented towards Japan's national interest (Aso, January 26, 2007).

Japan's diplomacy aims at ensuring national interests, namely the security and prosperity of our country and the lives and property of the Japanese people. The peace and prosperity of the world are essential towards that end, and Japan has great responsibility also in bringing them about (Minister for Foreign Affairs Nakasone, January 28, 2009).

With regard to regional issues, seemingly cautious statements were made on Japan's engagement with Asia, where the role of leader was never specifically mentioned. Policy-makers focused on expressing Japan's responsibility towards actively assisting Asian countries in their development efforts (cf. Hatoyama, December 10, 2009).

Whether it be the development fields of poverty reduction, global health, water and sanitation, or education, Japan will fulfill its befitting responsibility alongside our rapidly growing regional neighbors (Minister for Foreign Affairs Koumura, June 2, 2008).

Even though Japanese regional engagement was long focused on Asia, its involvement in Africa through ODA increased since the 1990s. The basis for such a regional involvement was the establishment of the TICAD, which has been held every five years since 1993. By holding these conferences Japanese policy-makers highlighted Japan's leading role in issues of African development, from economic growth over human security to environmental issues

(Fukuda, May 28, 2008; Gemba, February 28, 2012; Koumura, January 18, 2008). As a result, the increase of aid to Africa was often promised through various doubling plans.

Japan, as the top donor country over the past decade, will strive to achieve a strategic expansion of its ODA volume in order to ensure a credible and sufficient level of ODA. I would like to mention [...] my government's intentions to [...] double aid to Africa over the next three years. Japan is not only increasing the volume of its ODA, but also improving its quality and effectiveness based on the action plan for implementing the Paris Declaration (Minister for Foreign Affairs Machimura, September 14, 2005).

This statement further demonstrated Japan's commitments at the beginning of the research period to increase the ODA volume in general, double aid to Africa and work on quality and effectiveness criteria as established by the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness the same year. In another speech in 2009, effectiveness was further promised to be achieved by increasing grants and JICA technical cooperation (Nakasone, January 28, 2009; see also Koumura, January 18, 2008). Towards the end of the research period, the Great East Japan Earthquake in March 2011 resulted in Japan emphasizing even more its responsibility to repay the assistance received by the international community through contributing to a better future for all human beings. In this regard, the role of human security and relations with others were emphasized (Noda, September 23, 2011; October 28, 2011).

The only way is for us to get through this time of difficulty and regenerate Japan into an even better country. It is to make Japan a country that can contribute even more to the international community. I am convinced that this is the way to truly return the favor (Prime Minister Kan, June 2, 2011).

How Japan contributed to international efforts and kept its promises in the past, was extensively explained by Foreign Minister Machimura in 2005, emphasizing the concepts of human security and self-help efforts, as well as contributions of up to 20 per cent to global ODA (Machimura, April 20, 2005).

4.4.2. Korea on the Path towards Leadership

South Korean policy-makers spoke of Korea's dream of becoming a leading, advanced nation, undergoing a transition from a rule-taker to a rule-maker or changing position from the international periphery to the center stage. Active contributions as well as the setting of agenda items on aid in conferences were seen to help Korea develop ODA leadership (Bahk, November 30, 2011; Kim, November 30, 2011a; Lee, June 16, 2008; June 17, 2009; January 11, 2010; October 9, 2012; October 29, 2012; Shin, September 25, 2010). Such contributions included references to universal values of human rights, democracy, women and children, the increased disbursement of overseas volunteers, as well as innovative financing for development, such as the establishment of an air-ticket solidarity contribution (Lee, July 14, 2011; Song, September 3, 2007; October 24, 2007; October 30, 2007; Yu, March 1, 2009).

Over the years, the Republic of Korea has grown into a greater country, and its global leadership has been further cemented (President Lee, August 16, 2012).

When it chaired the G20 Seoul Summit last year, Korea strongly took the leading role in adopting the development agenda for developing and emerging economies. I am seeing that Korea stands at an inflection point to take a more important role as a responsible member of the international community (Minister of Strategy and Finance Bahk, July 6, 2011).

All these references were made in the context of Korea's contribution to the international community in the form of ODA, based on Korea's international responsibilities to assist other nations. In this regard, Korea was committed to play a bigger role in the developing world and in general world affairs (Bahk, October 12, 2012; Ban, October 24, 2005; October 24, 2006). Under the administration of President Lee this responsibility was incorporated in the policy of "Global Korea" (Lee, September 23, 2009).

As far as I am concerned, to give helping hands to other countries is the Republic's responsibility and duty. (...) We received assistance from many other countries when we were having a hard time ourselves. We should not look the other way when other nations are undergoing the same kind of hardships we had. (...) It is our natural duty to support the efforts to maintain global peace for the sake of all peoples (President Lee, November 30, 2009).

The often-mentioned responsibility was set in the context of Korea's own experience as an aid recipient, when it received a great amount of bilateral and multilateral assistance. Owing to international support, Korea graduated from recipient status and, thus, held a unique position for sharing its experience with other developing nations. Such statements often referred to Korea's economic capacity or achieved economic weight, which needed to be balanced by corresponding international contributions in the form of ODA and the wish to become a member of the DAC. As the global financial crisis did not hit South Korea as hard as others, its duty to assist such nations through international financial institutions was similarly highlighted (Bahk, November 30, 2011; Lee, June 17, 2009; Yu, October 20, 2008; March 1, 2009). In some cases, specific commitments, such as the increase of ODA to one billion USD by 2009 or to 0.25 per cent of GNI by 2015, were made, which were promised to be "honored" by the Korean government (Bahk, September 23, 2011; Ban, September 18, 2005; October 24, 2005; September 18, 2006; Lee, June 16, 2008; Song, October 30, 2007; December 29, 2007).

Against this background and under the current administration's objective of "Contributing to the International Community," Korea places emphasis on strengthening Official Development Assistance (ODA) and participating in UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs). We believe that our own experiences of rebuilding the nation in the aftermath of a devastating war enable us to play a unique role in these areas. (...) As I have explained, Korea wishes to contribute to the international community, playing a role commensurate with our national capacity (Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade Yu, October 20, 2008).

For instance, South Korea was said to be a responsible member of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and a substantial portion of ODA was reserved for developing countries in the region (Yoon, May 5, 2010); Korea was "ready" to contribute to peace and prosperity in the region (Lee, June 5, 2010; Roh, September 14, 2005; Yu, April 5, 2008). Similarly, the assistance extended to South Korea by the UN was the foundation for Korea's relations with the multilateral institution. As a result, it had a responsibility to contribute to UN efforts commensurate with its economic capacity (Ban, September 18, 2005; October 24, 2005; Song, September 28, 2007; October 30, 2007; Yu, March 1, 2009).

As a responsible member of the international community, Korean policy-makers highlighted their country's commitment and efforts in promoting human rights and democracy, as well as the need to meet internationally established goals of ODA quality (Roh, September 14, 2005; Shin, September 25, 2010; Song, October 24, 2007; Yu, March 1, 2009). In this regard, Korea already played an active role in multilateral initiatives on global

issues such as fighting poverty or climate change (Lee, August 16, 2012; Yu, October 19, 2009).

In particular, we must bring our overseas assistance, both for development and for humanitarian activities, to a level that befits our share of the global economy and meets internationally established goals (Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade Ban, October 24, 2006).

4.5. Partner

The concept of engaging with recipient countries based on mutual respect and partnership was found in both Japanese and South Korean statements. Recipients were thus seen as equals and their national policies taken into consideration by the donors rather than focusing solely on the donor's national interests. At the same time, emotional words were regularly used when addressing the issue of partnership, such as referring to "cordial bonds" or solidarity and empathy with developing countries. However, partnership also pointed to equal benefits for both parties involved and national interests were mentioned as legitimization for providing ODA.

For Japan, the process of reconstruction after the Second World War taught us how important support from our friends is, and how much that support helped us in our reconstruction and development. This is the true nature of "partnership." This idea of partnership should be shared beyond Japan. I would like to see an exchange of insights and experiences between Africa and Asia, and I hope very much that we can build such partnerships (Prime Minister Fukuda, 28 May, 2008).

We are in the process of forging a new partnership that is based on mutual respect, benefit and sincerity. It is a partnership bound together by similar historical experiences. There is much to share and gain from this partnership (Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade Yu, November 24, 2009).

With these characteristics in mind, two role conceptions from previous research could be linked to some extent to the role conceptions of Japanese and South Korean policy-makers. Holsti's "faithful ally" committed in his statements to support the policies of another government (Holsti 1970: 267), while the "active independent" was said to actively pursue efforts of national interest and developing relations with other actors (Edström 1988: 144). Even though national interest and the cultivation of relations played a role, the support for others' policies based on equal cooperation led to this role conception being termed "Partner" rather than following previous research.

4.5.1. *Japan as a Partner for Asia and Africa*

The Japanese understanding of development partnership was closely related to its aid philosophy of ensuring human security. The argument of providing aid was therefore set around Japan's sympathy, rather than empathy as in the Korean case, for other human beings in developing countries and the hardships they had to endure (Okada, October 26, 2009; January 29, 2010; May 2, 2010). The sympathy of the international community was experienced by Japan in the reconstruction process after the Second World War, which was seen as the "true nature of 'partnership'." Japan now intended itself to extend such partnership to other countries in need (Fukuda, May 28, 2008). Similarly, after the Great East Japan Earthquake, such partnership was meant to be shared through "cordial bonds" or *kizuna* with

friends. In the aftermath of the earthquake, Japan was even more determined to stay true to its word in extending *kizuna*, as true form of partnership, to countries in need.

As I stated earlier, the people of Japan experienced the cordial “bonds” (*Kizuna*) with the international community. This has made Japan all the more determined to act with the rest of the world and contribute to the achievement of the MDGs. Thus, I hereby reconfirm my unwavering determination to continue to faithfully implement the international commitments we have made, including the “Kan Commitment” (Prime Minister Kan, June 2, 2011).

In order to achieve the MDGs, Japan extended the notion of partnership to international organizations as well as NGOs, while strengthening its commitment to improve the quality and quantity of assistance to recipient countries. Such efforts were especially pronounced in the context of the TICAD process (Hatoyama, September 24, 2009). Thereby, Japan underlined its solidarity with African nations as well as Asia (Koizumi, April 22, 2005). However, solidarity with developing countries in the form of ODA referred to the promotion of self-help efforts and human security, cornerstones of Japanese aid philosophy (Aso, January 19, 2006; Machimura, April 20, 2005).

Another cornerstone of Japanese foreign policy was partnership with Asian countries (Kan, June 11, 2010). Thus, the rhetoric of the “Partner” role differed slightly with regard to the region of reference. Policy-makers emphasized Japan’s role as a “strong partner” in Asian development and its intention of continuing such partnerships based on a feeling of solidarity with other Asian nations. Clear intentions of increasing Asia’s prosperity with references to possible “win-win” solutions were made (Omi, April 15, 2007; Tanigaki, May 5, 2006).

Japan has been a strong partner in the development of the Asia-Pacific region. Japan is firmly committed to continuing in this direction (Minister of Finance Omi, May 6, 2007).

In a speech made in the Diet, the use of ODA for the promotion of economic diplomacy was explained by benefitting both Japan and its partners, underlining the national interest in providing ODA (Maehara, January 24, 2011). Similarly, ODA served first and foremost to build a favorable international environment for Japan. In this regard, ODA had a greater meaning for Japan as a policy measure than, for instance, military force. The national interest was therefore highlighted as a justification for using ODA (Aso, January 19, 2006).

There are advantages, of course, to providing assistance through utilizing international organizations. However, I think that when nation-states provide assistance to other countries, the essential fact should not be forgotten that we implement ODA for our own benefit in the end (Minister for Foreign Affairs Aso, January 19, 2006).

In the context of engagement with Africa, solidarity was a key pillar, which policy-makers said Japan had shown through the TICAD process. At the same time, TICAD served as an opportunity for Japan to show its solidarity with the international community as a whole. In this case, solidarity was understood as equality between donor and recipient countries (Gemba, September 21, 2011; Machimura, May 3, 2005; Matsumoto, May 1, 2011).

Japan has advanced cooperation towards Africa, based on the spirit of solidarity, through TICAD process. [...] Japan has been implementing its development assistance in the spirit of solidarity without taking a paternalistic approach. Indeed we believe in solidarity, because we believe that donors and recipients are equal partners (Minister for Foreign Affairs Machimura, May 3, 2005).

Japan indicated its respect towards recipient countries as partners by supporting African self-help efforts and “ownership” through TICAD (Machimura, April 29, 2005; Nakasone, March 21, 2009), a word prominent in development rhetoric since the Paris Declaration.

First, Japan places great emphasis on the strengthening of partnerships in the areas of poverty reduction and development. To achieve nation-building, the most critical thing is each nation’s determination to bring about development through its own will and its own efforts. Japan respects and supports such efforts (Prime Minister Koizumi, April 22, 2005).

In many statements Japanese policy-makers emphasized Japan’s role as an equal rather than top-down partner, who supported recipients’ national policies with regard to poverty reduction. This concept was anchored in Japanese aid philosophy with the emphasis on assistance for self-help efforts. Later on, the words of “ownership” and “partnership” were used in the same context, based on the standards of improving development assistance in this area by the Paris Declaration (OECD 2005/2008).

4.5.2. Korea’s Empathy with Developing Countries

South Korea perceived partnership to entail a variety of relations including partnership between traditional and emerging, state and non-state donors, and between recipients and donors of ODA (Yu, April 5, 2008). Regardless, the concept was used to a great extent for the relationship between recipient countries and Korea as an aid donor. Respecting recipient countries as equal cooperation partners was seen as a new trend in Korean development cooperation. The process through which Korea achieved the status of donor thereby needed to be shared with developing countries, because only Korea understood the humiliation felt by recipient nations. In the process, friendships should be established (Bahk, November 30, 2011; Lee, June 5, 2010; July 14, 2011; Song, September 18, 2007).

Last year, the Republic of Korea, once a recipient of international aid, became a donor country. This is a proud historic feat accomplished during one generation and is unprecedented. For this reason, many countries are eager to learn the development experience of Korea. In the process, our country will seek to become a genuine friend of developing and emerging nations (President Lee, January 3, 2011).

As mentioned above, emotional language was often used to emphasize Korea’s motivation for providing assistance to foreign countries. In this context, policy-makers spoke of “heartwarming Korean development cooperation” or the “universal love for humanity” as a foundation of Korea’s ODA, and provided examples for addressing basic human needs in development projects (Bahk, November 30, 2011; Lee, November 30, 2009).

At the same time, international assistance is a way to translate universal love for humanity into action. [...] The Republic’s efforts to help bring about world peace and common prosperity are a joint investment to ensure a better future for all humanity (President Lee, November 30, 2009).

In more practical terms, Korea sought to make its aid programs more effective and partner-oriented by ensuring self-sustained growth of partner countries (Kim, November 30, 2011c). However, the way the role was perceived depended on the partners to whom Korea was referring. In the context of its relations with Asian nations, Korea emphasized its role as a “true friend” and its empathy for their pursuit of self-sustaining growth based on its own experience (Lee, May 30, 2009; Yoon, May 5, 2010).

With regard to African nations, the focus lay on expanding relations to the region as one priority of Korea's foreign policy and on assuring Africa that South Korea was committed to become an active partner, amongst others by deploying development aid. The foundations for this partnership were mutual respect and benefits as well as Korea's empathy for developing countries' experiences (Ban, June 30, 2006).

Three years ago, Korea hosted the First Korea-Africa Forum in Seoul. [...] The small steps that have since been taken, have laid the groundwork for more far-reaching developments, as we worked together to build a new partnership based on mutual respect and benefit. During the last three years, Korea gave its best efforts to promote friendship with Africa by tripling its Official Development Assistance (ODA), [...] (Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade Yu, November 24, 2009).

It further needs to be noted that in the course of addressing recipients as equal partners, the necessity to enhance and support their capabilities was emphasized. Only if developing countries truly developed their capacities, a relationship based on mutual benefits and prosperity could be achieved. Thus, it was in South Korea's national interest to support developing countries through ODA (Lee, July 14, 2011).

President Lee Myung-Bak defines Korea's ODA as "assistance provided with both hands." The "both hands" here would signify two things, the first being respect for partner countries, and the other mutual growth. "Korean-style ODA" takes the friendly perspective of a peer, respecting the partner country's culture and discussing ways to achieve self-sustainable growth. Its ultimate goal would be the joint prosperity of Korea, partner countries and the international community (Minister of Strategy and Finance Bahk, October 15, 2012).

4.6. Newcomer

The various role conceptions that were found by the inductive approach to the qualitative content analysis could mostly be related to general foreign policy role conceptions as found in previous research. The new role conceptions of "Respected Member of the International Community" and "Partner" were clearly reiterated by Japanese and South Korean policy-makers. This section now presents another new role conception that was held only by South Korean policy-makers and could also not be connected to previously identified role conceptions by Holsti (1970) or Edström (1988).

Having been a donor country for a rather short period of time, South Korea's role as a "Newcomer" in the international donor community was emphasized in policy statements. This role can be situated before and shortly after Korea joined the DAC as an advanced donor nation. References were made to Korea's accession to the OECD in 1996, an organization through which it could learn from "traditional donors." This phrase distinguished Korea's approach from that of OECD/DAC donors in the view of policy-makers, who also referred to Korea's unique contribution of its own development experience. Similarly, Korea called for more flexibility in international forums for new, emerging donors (Yu, April 5, 2008).

At the same time, I also believe it is important to acknowledge the differences the new donors have in terms of their experiences, resources and the level of economic and political development. If the global community wishes these new donors to abide by the guidelines developed basically by traditional donors, it may be necessary to allow a room of flexibility to the new comers [sic!] (Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade Yu, April 5, 2008)

For instance, Korea voiced its commitment of increasing ODA to 0.1 per cent of GNI by 2010 (Ban, October 24, 2005), which was later extended to 0.25 per cent by 2015 (Song, October 30, 2007). On the other hand, Korea's active engagement in the UN—although it joined the organization only in 1991—was highlighted (Ban, October 24, 2005). This engagement helped the nation to become a mature member of the international community (Lee, February 8, 2010). In this regard, this role was closely connected to Korea's aspirations of becoming a leader in the field of development aid. Efforts towards achieving internationally agreed standards were highlighted as a way to further Korea's stance in the international community.

The hosting of the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan in 2011 played an important role for Korea as a "Newcomer." Again, references were made to learning from other donors, while emphasizing the need to work towards leveling with "traditional donors" in aid quantity and quality (Kim, November 30, 2011c).

To the Korean government, still in the learning process in the field of development cooperation, this Forum represents another valuable learning opportunity and experience and I greatly welcome this. [...] Furthermore, Korea's contribution is still modest and needs to be improved compared with those of traditional donor countries. [...] For beginners such as Korea, this Forum serves to generate further momentum to improve its aid quality (Minister of Foreign Affairs Trade Kim, November 30, 2011c).

The qualitative content analysis resulted in the identification of a variety of role conceptions for Japan and South Korean. Even though these role conceptions could be identified to have overarching characteristics, the specific definitions varied between the two countries. These variations have brought up several commitments, upon which each country based its argumentations and justifications for certain roles. Before it is explained how these commitments were categorized and are compared to the specific references identified in the statements and speeches of policy-makers, a short overview of the characteristics of Japanese and South Korean ODA in previous research will be provided.

5. Comparison of Rhetoric Commitments and Actual Disbursements

The qualitative content analysis showed the variety of positions Japan and South Korea perceived to take in the international aid regime or set as their goal for policy. All role conceptions entailed aid commitments that have to be considered in order to compare them with role performances. In the following the commitments are clustered into certain categories, which corresponded with identified aid standards in academic literature or by international organizations. Table 1 summarizes how the various clusters of commitments are linked to role conceptions. Data of gross aid disbursements were collected from the OECD CRS and compared with the identified commitments. These commitment categories are set within the wider debate on aid issues based on a preliminary literature review. In this chapter, each indicator category is first explained by citing previous research in this area. Then, the made commitments are linked with the relevant quantitative data to allow for further analysis in Chapter 7.

Table 1 Overview of Indicators as found in Role Conceptions and Previous Literature

Name of Categories	Indicators	Role Conceptions
Overall ODA Disbursements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gross ODA disbursement in USD millions ODA to GNI ratio of donor 	Model Respected Member of the International Community Responsible Leader Newcomer
Distribution of ODA Regional Distribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Share of ODA per region and income category ODA distribution to top 10 recipients 	Model Responsible Leader Partner
Recipient Need	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GNI per capita of recipient Share of LDCs among recipients Human Development Index (HDI) of recipient 	Model Respected Member of the International Community Partner
Mutual Benefit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic openness Sectors allocation 	Model Respected Member of the International Community Responsible Leader Partner
Universal Values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Human Rights (political freedom and civil liberties) 	Respected Member of the International Community Responsible Leader
Quality of Aid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Share of grants and loans Share of tied aid Share of aid to multilateral institutions Type of aid Number of recipient countries and sectors 	Bridge Model Respected Member of the International Community Responsible Leader Partner Newcomer
Aid Philosophy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Self-reliance Partnership Ownership 	Bridge Model Partner

5.1. Overall ODA Disbursements

Over the research period Japanese and South Korean policy-makers often promised to increase their country's ODA within a certain time period. They committed to doubling or tripling the amount in general or for specific regions. Especially prominent were commitments in relation to the role of "Model", "Respected Member of the International Community", "Responsible Leader" and "Newcomer." For the last two role conceptions policy-makers often referred to aid levels commensurate to the economic capacity of their country.

As part of its commitment to doubling overall ODA by 2009, this year my government launched "Korea's Initiative for Africa's Development". Under this initiative, we will substantially increase our development assistance to Africa (Ban, September 21, 2006).

In previous literature on foreign aid the overall volume of donor's ODA was used as a general indicator for comparing donor countries' aid efforts and the importance of a certain donor in the international aid architecture. Nevertheless, in the debate on the quality of aid, overall volumes were seen as less indicative than the share of aid within GNI. ODA as a share of GNI allows for a better understanding of the perceived importance of aid in foreign policy and the acceptance of internationally agreed standards (Hook 1995). This indicator was institutionalized in aid targets of the OECD DAC community based on UN standards (Noël and Thérien 1995: 528), where 0.7 percent of GNI should be allocated to ODA. Such targets were shown to have an impact on donor performance (Stokke 1989: 284), as "an apparatus of social control", which regardless of being non-binding, impeded countries from truly being independent in aid policy decisions (Mosley 1985: 377-378).

The reference to such international standards of measuring ODA was found in both Japanese and South Korean rhetorical commitments. Japanese commitments to overall volumes were less pronounced, mostly promising general increases in the amount (Nakagawa, January 28, 2009) or mentioning the trend of declining ODA (Aso, June 30, 2009; Gemba, December 14, 2011; February 28, 2012). Only one specific commitment was voiced, namely increasing Japan's ODA volume by ten billion USD over five years from 2005 (Aso, January 19, 2006; January 20, 2006; January 26, 2007; Koumura, January 18, 2008; Machimura, September 14, 2005; September 17, 2005). With regard to the ODA to GNI ratio, Prime Minister Koizumi underlined Japan's efforts towards achieving 0.7 percent, which was reiterated by various Ministers of Foreign Affairs (Aso, January 19, 2006; Koizumi, April 22, 2005; Machimura, April 29, 2005).

South Korean decision-makers promised to increase the ODA to GNI ratio to 0.1 percent by 2010 (Ban, October 24, 2005), and again to 0.25 percent by 2015 at various occasions (Shin, September 25, 2010; Song, October 24, 2007; October 30, 2007; Yoon, October 8, 2010; Yu, October 19, 2009). Similarly, these commitments were made with regard to absolute contributions in U.S. dollars (USD). First, a doubling of overall ODA by 2009 to one billion USD was promised in 2006, with the long-term goal of reaching around three billion USD by 2015 (Ban, September 18, 2006). Again, these commitments were reiterated by the majority of subsequent decision-makers (Ban, September 21, 2006; Kim, November 30, 2011c; Lee, September 23, 2009; November 30, 2009; Song, September 28, 2007; October 24, 2007; October 30, 2007; Yu, June 2, 2009), while Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade Yu (October 20, 2008) optimistically expected an ODA volume of 3.3 billion USD by 2015.

Depending on the focus of the research the share of ODA within a donor's GNI has either been measured from commitment or disbursement data. For instance, commitment data were used as a "proxy for foreign aid supply", whereas disbursement data were subject to compromises between recipients and donors (Dudley and Montmarquette 1976: 138). Contrary, Roodman argued that commitments reflected misconceptions by donors of how much they could deliver or how well recipients could absorb aid. Therefore, disbursements represent the reality of aid delivered, regardless of hopes and wrong promises. He further noted that even though DAC reports published both commitment and disbursement numbers, what was seen in public press releases are disbursements (Roodman 2006: 5), so called "critical output measures" (The World Bank 1998: 23). More precisely, gross disbursements are an indicator for current policy choices, while net disbursements subtract debt repayments, which are based on former agreements (Dollar and Levine 2006: 2045; Mosley 1985: 376; Roodman 2006: 6-7). For the research at hand the actual transfer of money is more relevant than the debt repayments received. Thus, OECD DAC data were compiled for Japanese and South Korean overall gross disbursements in current USD between 2005 and 2012, as well as the ODA to GNI ratio. These two indicators show whether rhetorical commitments by policy-makers to increasing aid were fulfilled and whether they were commensurate with the increasing economic capacity of the two industrialized nations. As argued in the literature, simply increasing overall volumes does not indicate the dedication of assistance to other countries (cf. Hook 1995). For the sake of providing a context for Japanese and South Korean aid disbursements, the largest economies among the DAC members were selected in Table 2. Additionally, to allow comparability of South Korean aid, DAC members with similar overall disbursements were chosen for display.

Japanese aid in absolute amounts experienced a stark fall between 2005-06 and 2007-08. From 2009-10 the levels increased again, surpassing previous amounts in 2011-12. South Korean aid increased steadily from 2006, although there is no data available for 2005 from the OECD Creditor Reporting System. In a comparison of average disbursements between 2005-6 and 2011-12, Japan held the place of 2nd largest donor among the DAC group, while South Korea was on the 17th place of 27 donors for the whole period (OECD 2014a). Judging from overall amounts, Japan held its place as a major donor while South Korea worked on increasing its contribution.²²

With regard to share of ODA within GNI, both countries lay significantly below the DAC average of 0.3 percent between 2005 and 2012. At the beginning of the research period, Japan gave 0.27 percent of GNI to ODA efforts, but this share sharply declined to 0.18 percent after 2005-06. Japan thus gave less than the U.S. in 2011-12 and of all DAC donor countries only South Korea lay below its share. South Korea contributed 0.08 percent of its GNI in 2005-06, but increased the share to 0.13 percent by 2011-12, clearly enhancing ODA efforts but remaining far below the average. The low performance of both East Asian DAC members became evident by comparing overall flows with percent of GNI. Japan held its place as a major donor while staying in the lower third with regard to matching its economic power with ODA disbursements. South Korea in the last years increased its amount, surpassing the ODA budget of Finland, while slowly catching up with Belgium's disbursements. However, for both European countries these numbers were equivalent to a higher share of their GNI.

22 For a disaggregated account of gross aid disbursements from 2005 to 2012 see Appendix Table A2.

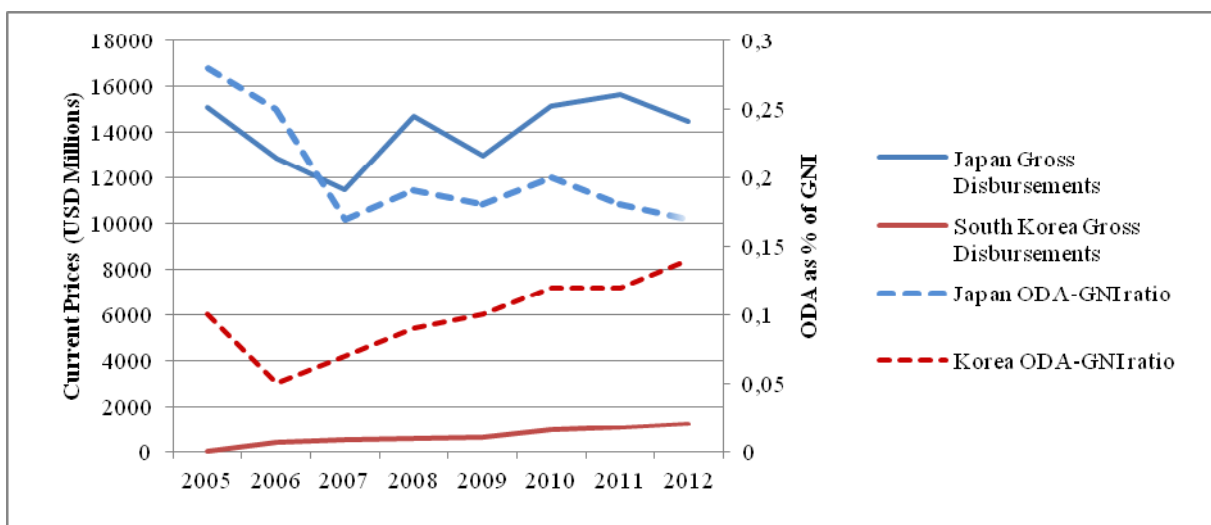
Finland contributed 0.53 percent and Belgium 0.51 percent of GNI in 2011-12, a number higher than the DAC average. In this regard, it is interesting to note that Japan's falling ODA to GNI ratio and South Korea's efforts of increasing its ODA budget, led to a convergence of the ratios as shown in Figure 2.

Table 2 Gross Disbursements and ODA as Percent of GNI of Selected DAC Donors

Donor(s)	2005-06		2007-08		2009-10		2011-12	
	USD Millions	% GNI	USD Millions	% GNI	USD Millions	% GNI	USD Millions	% GNI
DAC Countries Total	86,999.14	0.31	92,249.76	0.29	98,898.40	0.32	104,739.09	0.30
Belgium	1,373.61	0.52	1,399.84	0.46	1,894.90	0.60	1,733.81	0.51
Denmark	920.86	0.81	1,461.10	0.82	1,925.68	0.90	2,127.52	0.84
Finland	245.37	0.43	639.58	0.42	812.65	0.55	832.26	0.53
France	8,524.22	0.47	7,781.84	0.39	8,788.95	0.49	9,473.28	0.46
Germany	8,882.11	0.36	10,195.10	0.38	8,898.06	0.37	10,226.86	0.38
Japan	13,977.78	0.27	13,080.42	0.18	14,070.01	0.19	15,049.30	0.18
Korea	401.37	0.08	552.08	0.08	774.26	0.11	1,133.22	0.13
Spain	2,133.91	0.30	4,477.89	0.41	4,564.77	0.45	1,824.99	0.23
United Kingdom	7,722.31	0.49	7,602.37	0.40	8,037.44	0.54	8,901.18	0.56
United States	24,262.92	0.21	22,108.47	0.17	26,455.81	0.21	27,160.15	0.20

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

Figure 2 Development of Japanese and South Korean ODA budgets in USD millions and as share of GNI between 2005 and 2012



Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

Comparing the overall ODA levels pledged between 2005 and 2012 with the actual gross disbursements revealed gaps between rhetoric and behavior. Japanese policy-makers referred to the goal of 0.7 percent of GNI, but never promised to fulfill this commitment within a certain time period. This lack of a time frame seems to have been politically motivated as the share of ODA in Japan's GNI decreased between 2005 and 2012. While in 2005-06 Japan still disbursed 0.27 percent of GNI to developing countries, by 2011-12 this ratio had fallen to 0.18 percent. Thus, Japan was far from fulfilling international standards and the lack of clear commitments seemed to indicate that statements in this regard were merely rhetorical.

In 2005, Japanese policy-makers promised to increase the absolute ODA volume by ten billion USD until 2010. In absolute terms, Japan disbursed 18.62 billion USD in 2005, but due to harsh economic conditions the amount remained almost unchanged at 18.66 billion USD in 2012. Even though in 2010 this number was slightly higher with 18.86 billion USD, it was far from the promised increase. No significant increases happened and Japan's devotion to its earlier pledge seemed weak. Overall, the comparison of these two indicators has shown that Japanese ODA was quite ambitious in rhetoric but did not follow suit in actual gross disbursements.

The South Korean data indicated that the goal of increasing the ODA to GNI ratio to 0.1 percent had been reached in 2010 with 0.12 percent of GNI spent on ODA (cf. Table A2 in Appendix). Even though the goal of 0.25 percent to be reached by 2015 could not be assessed at the time of this study, the latest data of 2012 showed that only 0.14 percent of South Korean GNI were used for foreign aid. On average, the ODA to GNI ratio steadily increased between 2005 and 2012, but only by 0.06 percent. In comparison, South Korea would need to increase its current ODA budget by 0.11 percent of GNI by 2015, and thereby almost double the share of 2011-12 within only three years.

Similarly, absolute disbursements were said to be doubled from 2006 to 2009 to one billion USD and tripled to three billion by 2015. In 2006, South Korea disbursed 0.51 billion USD and increased this amount to 0.84 billion by 2009. Clearly, a doubling of ODA did not happen over this time period. However, by 2012 South Korea had increased its gross disbursements to 1.6 billion USD, almost doubling the numbers of 2009 within this time period. If this trend can be continued, another doubling of ODA to three billion USD by 2015 seems possible. As in the case of South Korea the reference year is 2015, a final conclusion of whether rhetoric commitments were fulfilled, cannot be drawn. Nonetheless, in relative terms a stark increase of the ODA to GNI ratio seems unlikely, while absolute commitments have increased and could continue to do as promised. Overall ODA disbursement will be a decisive indicator category for various roles.

5.2. Distribution of ODA

After having looked at the overall levels of Japanese and South Korean ODA, the distribution of ODA to certain regions and individual countries has to be considered. The distribution of Japanese and South Korean ODA was analyzed by comparing data on ODA by region, top ten recipients, recipients in need and mutual benefit. The first indicator gave information on the regional focus of ODA, which was further supported by listing the top ten recipient countries by overall ODA received. Recipient Need indicated the allocation to countries in need based on their income level as defined in the literature. The income level status was based on the UN and OECD classification of developing countries into Least Developed (LDCs), Other Low Income (OLICs), Low Middle Income (LMICs), Upper Middle Income (UMICs), and More Advanced Developing Countries and Territories (MADCT). Finally, sector shares of Japanese and South Korean ODA presented considerations of mutual benefit. These indicators for Distribution of ODA were found in one way or another in the role conceptions of "Model", "Respected Member of the International Community", "Responsible Leader" and "Partner."

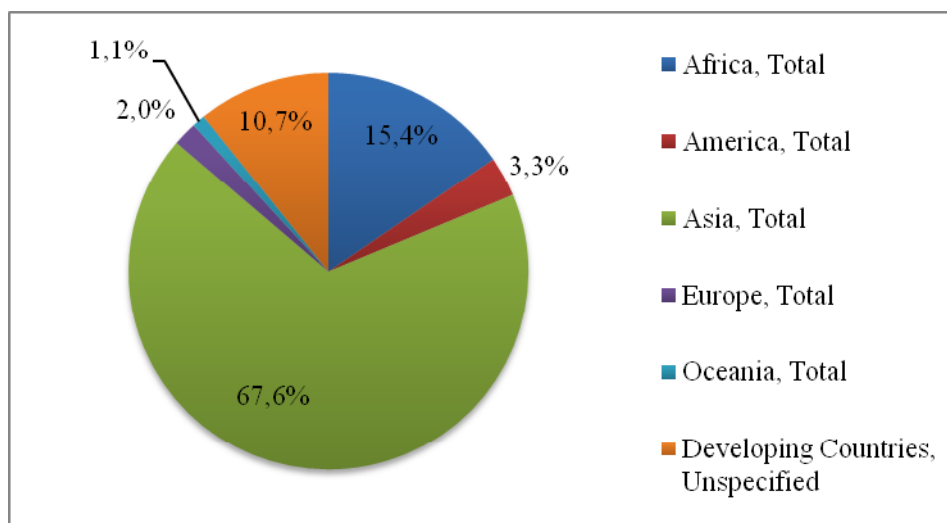
5.2.1. *Regional Distribution of ODA*

Japanese commitments focused more often on increasing aid to specific regions than increasing overall levels. The priority region with regard to the number of aid commitments was Africa, for which a doubling of ODA levels from 2005 to 2008 was promised. This promise was renewed at the TICAD IV in 2008 with another doubling of ODA to Africa by 2012 (Aso, January 20, 2006; January 26, 2007; Fukuda, May 28, 2008; Gemba, September 21, 2011; Kan, September 24, 2010; January 20, 2011; Koizumi, April 22, 2005; May 1, 2006; Machimura, April 29, 2005; September 14, 2005; September 17, 2005; Maehara, January 24, 2011; Nakasone, September 25, 2008; March 21, 2009; Okada, October 26, 2009; January 29, 2010; May 2, 2010). Commitments to Asian nations were less pronounced for the whole region and focused more on identifying the Mekong area as priority of Japanese ODA (Azumi, May 4, 2012; Koumura, June 2, 2008), or announcing the Asian Development Fund as core multilateral mechanism (Azumi, May 4, 2012). Further, Japanese policy-makers highlighted the importance of the Middle East and North Africa as a recipient region by pledging around one billion in yen loans for reform and democratization efforts, as well as infrastructure building and industrial development (Noda, September 23, 2011; October 28, 2011). Afghanistan and Iraq were often mentioned in this context, with around five billion USD promised to Afghanistan from 2009 over a period of five years (Hatoyama, September 24, 2009; Noda, September 23, 2011) and five billion USD to Iraq (Koumura, September 27, 2007; Machimura, September 17, 2005).

In contrast to the political rhetoric, the literature on Japanese ODA long emphasized and criticized Japan's focus on Asian neighbors, while largely ignoring developing countries in Africa (cf. Ensign 1992: 32; Lukner 2006: 208). Therefore, a redoubling of aid to Africa as promised by policy-makers was said to result in a landslide shift of Japanese regional aid allocation (Takahashi 2010a: 52). However, Africa's share in overall Japanese aid disbursements remained almost the same over the research period (cf. Table 3). Even though a small decrease happened between 2007 and 2010, by 2011-12 the share was almost as high again as in 2005-06, 18.8 percent compared to the previous 19.4 percent. In absolute terms, in 2005 2.26 billion USD were disbursed to Africa, while in 2008 1.91 billion were reached. In 2012, aid to Africa amounted to 2.23 billion USD (OECD 2014a). Clearly, the commitments of doubling aid to Africa were not put into action. In disaggregated shares, Sub-Saharan Africa, which had most LDCs, took up 15.8 percent of overall aid to Africa in 2011-12, while North Africa and the Middle East together had 6.6 percent in 2011-12. Considering that the share of the Middle East had declined from 16.2 percent in 2005-06 to 4.2 percent by the end of the research period, the mentioned importance of the region could not be found in actual disbursements.

In comparison, Asia continued to receive the lion's share of Japanese ODA with 61.5 percent in 2011-12 compared to 63.1 percent in 2005-06. In 2011-21, Far East Asia received the largest amount of aid with 30.1 percent and South and Central Asia the second largest with 26.5 percent. Aid to the latter region had increased over the time period while aid to the Middle East had starkly declined as mentioned above. Even though Sub-Saharan Africa was the third largest recipient region, the data showed that no regional shift of Japanese aid allocations happened between 2005 and 2012 in favor of Africa despite ambitious political rhetoric (cf. Figure 3).

Figure 3 Regional Share of Japanese Gross ODA (average 2005-2012)



Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

Table 3 Regional Share of Japanese aid, disaggregated by subregions

Regional Share of Japanese aid				
Regions	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Africa, Total	19.4%	15.9%	15.0%	18.8%
North of Sahara	1.8%	2.7%	3.0%	2.4%
South of Sahara	17.6%	12.7%	11.4%	15.8%
America, Total	6.7%	5.4%	6.1%	4.3%
North & Central America	3.7%	1.9%	2.8%	1.4%
South America	3.0%	3.4%	3.3%	2.8%
Asia, Total	63.1%	64.2%	61.9%	61.5%
Middle East	16.1%	11.8%	2.1%	4.2%
South & Central Asia	11.6%	18.4%	22.2%	26.5%
Far East Asia	35.1%	33.7%	37.3%	30.1%
Europe, Total	1.9%	3.1%	4.8%	2.2%
Oceania, Total	0.7%	1.0%	1.2%	1.1%
Developing Countries, Unspecified	8.1%	10.5%	11.0%	12.1%

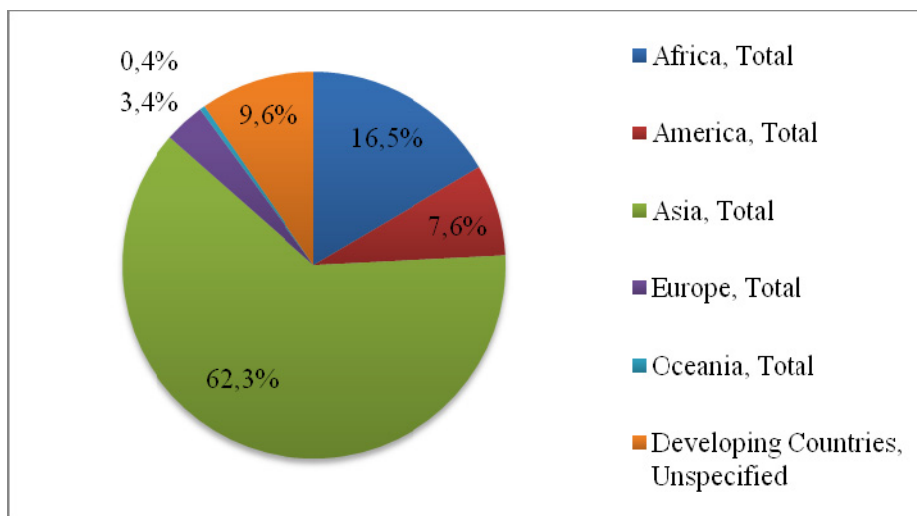
Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

South Korean policy-makers concentrated their aid commitments first and foremost on aid to Africa, promising to triple 2006 amounts by 2008 and again redoubling them by 2009 (Ban, September 18, 2006; Yu, November 24, 2009). The commitment of tripling the amount could not be fulfilled, however, it was more than doubled. Even though in 2009 ODA levels fell to 97 million USD, in 2012 264 million USD were used for aid initiatives in Africa (OECD 2014a). These numbers show a significant increase of South Korean aid to Africa and despite a difference in the timing of delivery, signify the fulfillment of rhetoric. ASEAN, as a core area of South Korean aid, was promised a two-fold increase of 2008 levels by 2015 (Lee, May 30, 2009). While 42 million USD were disbursed in 2006, by 2008 the amount had risen to 107 million USD, showing a tremendous increase. This increase further underlines that South Korea fulfilled regional aid commitments.

Apart from the comparison of specific rhetorical commitments with the data, a more general overview of shares seemed necessary (cf. Figure 4 and Table 4). The share of aid to

Asia decreased over the research period from 72 percent to 61.1 percent. The Middle East lost the largest share of aid, while aid to Far East Asia and South and Central Asia increased over the same time period. Similarly, aid to Sub-Saharan Africa saw a stark increase from 8.6 percent to 16.9 percent. As a result, by 2011-12, Far East Asia received the largest amount of South Korean aid (34.4 percent), followed by South and Central Asia (22.1 percent). Sub-Saharan Africa was the third largest recipient. With regard to ASEAN, disbursements to Far East Asia showed a tremendous increase. While in 2008 196 million USD were disbursed to the region, in 2012 an amount of 415 million USD was reached (OECD 2014a). Even though data could not be disaggregated to account for ASEAN members only, Table 6 shows that many top ten recipients were ASEAN countries. Therefore, South Korea had fulfilled its pledge by 2012, having to uphold this level of assistance now for another three years.

Figure 4 Regional Share of South Korean Gross ODA (average 2005-2012)



Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

Table 4 Regional Share of South Korean Aid, disaggregated by subregions

Regional Share of South Korean Aid				
Regions	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Africa, Total	10.6%	16.4%	15.5%	19.7%
North of Sahara	2.0%	2.8%	2.0%	1.8%
South of Sahara	8.6%	12.9%	12.6%	16.9%
America, Total	5.3%	11.4%	8.0%	6.5%
North & Central America	2.5%	6.3%	4.5%	2.2%
South America	2.8%	5.1%	3.4%	4.3%
Asia, Total	72.0%	58.2%	61.6%	61.1%
Middle East	28.3%	9.2%	3.6%	3.7%
South & Central Asia	20.5%	13.8%	26.1%	22.1%
Far East Asia	22.9%	33.6%	31.0%	34.4%
Europe, Total	4.1%	2.9%	5.8%	1.7%
Oceania, Total	0.3%	0.6%	0.5%	0.4%
Developing Countries, Unspecified	7.7%	10.4%	8.6%	10.7%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

The significance of regional distribution was also evident from the top ten recipients of the two donors. For the overall research period between 2005 and 2012, Japanese ODA was provided only to Asian countries. All top ten recipients were countries from the Middle East, South and Central Asia, or Far East Asia, supporting the aggregate numbers in Figure 3. China was the largest recipient country of Japanese ODA in absolute terms over the eight-year period. With regard to the Mekong region, only Vietnam made it into the list. The two Middle Eastern countries, Iraq and Afghanistan, were major recipients. As they were specifically mentioned in the rhetoric of Japanese policy-makers, the prioritization of these recipients supported stated commitments.

When comparing the data from 2005-06 and 2011-12, the share of Asian countries in the top ten slightly increased from eight to nine out of ten. While Iraq received the largest amount of Japanese aid in the earlier period, it barely made the list in 2011-12. China, even though the largest recipient for the overall period, received much less aid in 2011-12, than it did in 2005-06, having been surpassed by Vietnam as the number one recipient of Japanese ODA in 2011-12. Only one African country, respectively, made the list in 2005-06 (Zambia) and 2011-12 (Democratic Republic of Congo). Set in the context of overall regional shares, Southeast Asian nations were still the most prominent group with Vietnam, Indonesia, and the Philippines. South Asia was represented by India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Iraq and Afghanistan continued to be important recipients over the whole period, even though the latter was not a major recipient yet in 2005-06. In all three tables, the top ten recipients took up more than 50 percent of Japanese ODA, while the top five's share declined from 45 percent to 37.5 percent in the latest period. The last finding indicates a wider spread of Japanese ODA with regard to absolute amounts provided to recipients. Thus, in 2011-12 ODA seemed to be more evenly distributed than in 2005-06, although the absolute ODA amounts clearly show the prioritization of certain countries in Japanese ODA practice.

Table 5 Top 10 Recipients of Japanese ODA, in current USD millions (averages)

Average 2005-2012	
Recipient Country	in current USD millions
1 China	1190.9
2 Indonesia	1132.3
3 India	1056.2
4 Vietnam	998.8
5 Iraq	872.3
6 Philippines	651.9
7 Thailand	357.9
8 Afghanistan	350.0
9 Sri Lanka	341.9
10 Bangladesh	296.9
Share of Gross Bilateral ODA	
Top 5 Recipients	37.4%
Top 10 Recipients	51.6%

Average 2005-2006	
Recipient Country	in current USD millions
1 Iraq	2168
2 China	1524.7
3 Indonesia	1180.5
4 Philippines	749.6
5 Vietnam	665.9
6 India	581.5
7 Thailand	475.9
8 Zambia	389.8
9 Sri Lanka	344.9
10 Honduras	290.8
Share of Gross Bilateral ODA	
Top 5 Recipients	45.0%
Top 10 Recipients	59.9%

Average 2011-2012	
Recipient Country	in current USD millions
1 Vietnam	1693.1
2 India	1580.3
3 Indonesia	918.2
4 Afghanistan	812.0
5 China	696.6
6 Congo, Dem. Rep.	654.8
7 Pakistan	437.9
8 Philippines	422.5
9 Sri Lanka	422.1
10 Iraq	376.1
Share of Gross Bilateral ODA	
Top 5 Recipients	37.5%
Top 10 Recipients	53.2%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

South Korea similarly focused its ODA on Asian recipients as evident in the aggregate regional data for the overall research period. Between 2005 and 2012, nine out of the top ten largest recipient countries were Asian, of which six were Far East Asian. For 2005-06 only seven out of ten were from this region, while in 2011-12 it was again nine out of ten. The top ten recipients of the latter period presented a similar picture as the cumulative list from 2005-12, which can be explained by the recent, significant rise of South Korean ODA. Therefore data for 2005-12 and 2011-12 led to similar results. The commitment of South Korean policy-makers to ASEAN was supported by the lists of 2005-12 and 2011-12 as five ASEAN members, namely Vietnam, Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Laos, were represented. Vietnam was by far the largest overall recipient, receiving on average almost double the amount of the second largest recipient Sri Lanka. Vietnam's status was still evident in the most recent data from 2011-12, when it received almost triple the amount of Bangladesh. However, in 2005-06 Vietnam was only on sixth place, while Iraq was the largest recipient, yet Iraq did not make the top ten lists for the 2005-12 or 2011-12. Despite two Middle Eastern countries being represented in the data for 2005-05 (Iraq and Yemen), neither made it into the lists for 2005-12 nor for 2011-12. As a result, the prominence of Far East Asian countries, followed by South and Central Asian recipients was evident in South Korean ODA practice over the whole research period.

Even though considerable attention was paid to committing more ODA to African recipients, they were not prominent in the top ten recipients of South Korean ODA. Their number decreased from two recipients in 2005-06 (Kenya and Ghana) to one in 2011-12 (Tanzania). The top ten recipients list could not support commitments to Africa, but it is still noteworthy that Tanzania was the seventh largest recipient in 2011-12 receiving almost as much ODA as Indonesia. It remains to be seen whether South Korea will increasingly support African recipients as promised by policy-makers.

A significant change in South Korean ODA was evident from the percentage of aid to the top five and top ten recipients. While in 2005-06, almost half of all ODA went to the top five recipients (48.6 percent), in 2011-12 they received 36 percent and the top ten half of South Korean aid (51.1 percent). From the absolute amounts received it seems that ODA was

distributed more evenly in 2011-12 among the top five and among the top six to ten. However, Vietnam by far received the largest amount, making it the obvious priority recipient for South Korean ODA.

Table 6 Top 10 Recipients of South Korean ODA, in current USD millions (averages)

Average 2005-2012	
Recipient Country	in current USD millions
1 Vietnam	79.6
2 Sri Lanka	37.4
3 Bangladesh	34.7
4 Cambodia	34.5
5 Afghanistan	30.2
6 Indonesia	28.9
7 Philippines	24.8
8 Mongolia	22.6
9 Laos	20.3
10 Tanzania	15.6
Share of Gross Bilateral ODA	
Top 5 Recipients	27.0%
Top 10 Recipients	41.9%

Average 2005-2006	
Recipient Country	in current USD millions
1 Iraq	103.3
2 Sri Lanka	30.1
3 Bangladesh	27.7
4 Indonesia	20.3
5 China	18.1
6 Vietnam	16.2
7 Yemen	16.0
8 Cambodia	15.8
9 Kenya	14.0
10 Ghana	7.0
Share of Gross Bilateral ODA	
Top 5 Recipients	48.6%
Top 10 Recipients	66.9%

Average 2011-12	
Recipient Country	in current USD millions
1 Vietnam	177.0
2 Bangladesh	65.2
3 Cambodia	60.2
4 Afghanistan	53.2
5 Sri Lanka	52.5
6 Indonesia	38.1
7 Tanzania	35.8
8 Philippines	35.3
9 Mongolia	33.6
10 Laos	28.5
Share of Gross Bilateral ODA	
Top 5 Recipients	36.0%
Top 10 Recipients	51.1%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

5.2.2. Recipient Need

Many commitments were based on the argument of solidarity and empathy with countries in need as a “Respected Member of the International Community” or “Partner”, which seems to refer to an indicator of donor selectivity known in the literature as “recipient need” (Berthélemy 2006: 192). The developmental purpose of giving aid is mostly used in donor’s rhetoric to justify the allocation of aid and, thus, a donor’s concentration of aid on poor countries is indicative for a humanitarian-influenced aid policy (Stokke 1989: 289-291). “Recipient need” is measured in the literature by per capita income of recipients, based on different definitions including Gross Domestic Product, Gross National Product or Purchasing

Power Parity (cf. Alesina and Dollar 2000; Berthélemy 2006; Burnside and Dollar 2000; Dollar and Levin 2006; Dudley and Montmarquette 1976; Maizels and Nissanke 1984; McKinley and Little 1979; Mosley 1985; Neumayer 2003; Powell and Bobba 2006; Schraeder, Hook, and Taylor 1998). However, it all depends on how researchers define recipient need. For instance, per capita income is sometimes substituted with the national poverty level, per capita growth or other social indicators (Dollar and Levin 2006: 2035; Powell and Bobba 2006: 9). Channeling aid to the poorest groups in a recipient country or to countries with policies towards social justice and equity is also found in the literature under considerations of recipient need (Stokke 1989: 289). It can be assumed that the richer a developing country is, the less additional foreign aid is needed to support development efforts (Roodman 2006: 19). Thus, empirical studies have shown that, in general, poorer recipients received more aid (Alesina and Dollar 2000: 47).²³

In essence, an important criterion for selectivity was thought to be a perceived recipient need by the donor countries. However, Japanese and South Korean policy-makers did not voice specific criteria in relation to recipient need. Therefore, to allow for the comparison of recipient need criteria in aid policy, GNI per capita in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) as derived from World Bank data (The World Bank 2013) was chosen as a measurement for the recipient need of the top ten recipient countries. In addition, the value and rank of the Human Development Index (HDI) was included (UNDP 2013a). The overall shares of Least Developed (LDCs), Other Low Income (OLICs), Low Middle Income (LMICs) and Upper Middle Income (UMICs) countries, as identified by the UN (UN-OHRLLS 2014) and the OECD (2014), were presented for aggregate disbursements and the top ten recipients. For each recipient the GNI per capita in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) (The World Bank 2013), the Human Development Index (HDI) value between 2007 and 2012, and 2011 and 2012, and HDI rank in 2012 (UNDP 2013a)²⁴, as well as the country's development status²⁵ were assembled. These four indicators are based on different international organization's data and thus show a more differentiated picture of individual recipients. Especially the HDI's value is calculated by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) based on various other indicators, which helped to view each country's development from a holistic point of view. The share of low-income countries in Japanese and South Korean aid allocation served as an indicator for solidarity and empathy of these donors towards poor countries. Thereby, when focusing on recipient need, the LDCs should be most prominent.

As presented in Table 7a, Japanese foreign aid in 2005-06 was mainly targeted to LMICs with a share of 55.6 percent, while LDCs received only 12.7 percent. UMICs surpassed the share allocated to LDCs by almost 10 percent. In this regard, 77.8 percent of ODA was allocated to middle income countries and only 13.6 percent to low income countries. Almost unnoticed in the chart, a small percentage of 0.1 percent of ODA went to MADCT. In contrast, the aggregate for 2011-12 showed a change in Japanese aid allocation. The share to LDCs increased to 23.7 percent, which together with OLICs took up 25.5 percent, a quarter of

23 Whether such a focus on poor recipient countries was truly attributable to humanitarian concerns of donors, was questioned in the literature. Arguments focused on population size, as small countries tended to receive more aid in absolute terms or per capita (Alesina and Dollar 2000: 36; Burnside and Dollar 2000: 862; Roodman 2006: 15; Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1998: 321). However, the small country bias could not hold empirically in all studies (Dudley and Montmarquette 1976: 142).

24 In the HDI 2012 186 countries were evaluated.

25 As classified in the OECD CRS database (OECD 2014) and by the official list of LDCs of the UN (UN-OHRLLS 2014).

Japanese ODA. However, the share to middle income countries continued to dominate Japanese aid giving with 60.6 percent: 15.5 percent to UMICs and 45.1 percent to LMICs. Similarly, ODA to MADCT had stopped by 2012. It is noteworthy that over the research period, the share of LMICs declined seemingly in favor of aid to LDCs.

Table 7a Share of Japanese Recipients by Income Level, in percent of gross ODA

Share of Japanese Recipients by Income Level				
Recipient(s)	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
LDCs, Total (Least Developed)	12.7%	17.9%	17.3%	23.7%
OLICs, Total (Other Low Income)	0.9%	1.0%	1.3%	1.8%
LMICs, Total (Low Middle Income)	55.6%	47.4%	48.0%	45.1%
UMICs, Total (Upper Middle Income)	22.2%	20.5%	21.2%	15.5%
MADCT, Total	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Unallocated by income	8.6%	13.3%	12.2%	13.9%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

The top ten recipients list reflected the small share of LDCs in the Japanese ODA program in Table 7b. Only two countries were LDCs, while two in 2005-12 and one in 2011-12 were UMICs. The rest of recipients fell in the category of LMICs. This trend was further evident in the numbers of GNI per capita for which Thailand and the largest recipient for 2005-12, China, scored double the amount of the other recipients, except Sri Lanka. China's GNI per capita was especially noticeable in the 2011-12 period, when it received more aid than the Democratic Republic Congo, even though its GNI per capita was 23 times larger. Focusing on the HDI values, most of the recipients showed medium to low human development, while Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (2011-12) were clearly within the LDC average of the HDI. Further, the Democratic Republic of Congo took up the last rank of the HDI in 2012.

Over the long-term period Japan's aid disbursements clearly focused on UMICs and LMICs as recipients with the two LDC recipients in the lower half of the list. The largest recipient for this period was China, a UMIC with the second highest GNI per capita and second highest HDI value in the list. Even though an LDC was amongst the top five recipients for the period 2011-12, the largest recipient was an LMIC with the fifth highest HDI score and the seventh highest GNI per capita. Thus, it seems reasonable to state that Japanese ODA prioritized LMICs over LDCs. However, the list seemed to show contradictions. In 2011-12 the Democratic Republic of Congo was amongst the top ten recipients, pointing towards some kind of consideration of recipient need. Nonetheless, the recipient received less than China, a country with an increasing development status and an emerging donor itself (cf. Bräutigam 2010). Therefore, the argument of recipient need does not hold for Japanese ODA.

Table 7b Recipient Need of the Top Ten Japanese Recipients (averages)

Average 2005-2012					
	Recipient	GNI per capita, PPP (current international \$)	HDI Value 2007-2012	HDI Rank 2012	Development Status
1	China	6510	0.6863	101	UMIC
2	Indonesia	3826.25	0.617	121	LMIC
3	India	3042.5	0.544	136	LMIC
4	Vietnam	2957.5	0.608	127	LMIC
5	Iraq	3413.75	0.580	131	LMIC
6	Philippines	3671.25	0.648	114	LMIC
7	Thailand	7880	0.685	103	UMIC
8	Afghanistan	1150	0.365	175	LDC
9	Sri Lanka	4636.25	0.706	92	LMIC
10	Bangladesh	1607.5	0.506	146	LDC
* 1 is the highest score for HDI					
Average 2011-2012					
	Recipient	GNI per capita, PPP (current international \$)	HDI Value 2011-12	HDI Rank 2012	Development Status
1	Vietnam	3520	0.616	127	LMIC
2	India	3775	0.553	136	LMIC
3	Indonesia	4585	0.627	121	LMIC
4	Afghanistan	1470	0.373	175	LDC
5	China	8640	0.697	101	UMIC
6	Congo, Dem. Rep.	375	0.302	186	LDC
7	Pakistan	2815	0.514	146	LMIC
8	Philippines	4225	0.653	114	LMIC
9	Sri Lanka	5750	0.713	92	LMIC
10	Iraq	4055	0.587	131	LMIC

Source: UNDP 2013a; The World Bank 2013

In comparison, South Korean ODA in 2005-06 sent almost half of its aid to LMICs, namely 41.6 percent (cf. Table 8a). Together with aid to UMICs, this accounted for 52 percent of South Korean ODA. On the other hand, 41.5 percent were allocated to lower income countries: 18.9 percent to LDCs and 22.6 percent to OLICs. Like Japan, South Korea provided 0.1 percent of its ODA in 2005-06 to countries categorized as MADCT. The shares of ODA based on income levels of recipients significantly changed for South Korean aid in 2011-12. Less than half of foreign aid was allocated to middle income countries, namely 41 percent, with 8.3 percent to UMICs and 32.7 percent to LMICs. Aid to MADCTs had stopped by 2012. Concurringly, ODA shares to lower income countries rose to almost half of South Korean aid, namely 47.5 percent with 27.9 percent going to LDCs. Nonetheless, LMICs still accounted for the largest share of aid to recipients based on their income level.

Table 8a Share of South Korean Recipients by Income Level, in percent of gross ODA

Share of South Korean Recipients by Income Level				
Recipient(s)	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
LDCs, Total (Least Developed)	18.9%	20.2%	26.5%	27.9%
OLICs, Total (Other Low Income)	22.6%	18.8%	19.3%	19.6%
LMICs, Total (Low Middle Income)	41.6%	36.3%	33.4%	32.7%
UMICs, Total (Upper Middle Income)	10.4%	13.5%	10.4%	8.3%
MADCT, Total	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Part I Unallocated by income	6.4%	11.1%	10.4%	11.5%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

Table 8b shows that five out of the top ten recipients of South Korean aid were classified as LDCs between 2005-12 and 2011-12, while the other recipients were all LMICs. Judging from the GNI per capita, Sri Lanka was the richest country in both lists, while simultaneously being the second largest recipient for the overall time period. Countries with lower GNI per capita received less aid from South Korea, indicating that recipient need was not a factor in aid to Sri Lanka. With regard to human development, all recipients were placed in the bottom half of the HDI 2012 and showed low to medium human development. Only Afghanistan fell into the category of Least Developed Countries in the HDI (cf. Table 9). In general, the list of recipients showed a lot of similarities for both periods. Countries that were favored in 2011-12 were also prominent in the aggregate numbers between 2005 and 2012. Therefore, it is especially significant that the largest recipient, Vietnam—an LMIC—had the fifth largest GNI per capita and fifth (2005-12) or fourth (2011-12) highest human development value in the lists. The lowest in all of these categories, Afghanistan, took up the fifth (2005-12) or fourth (2011-12) place. Thus, a general consideration of recipient need was found for South Korean ODA, but the prioritization of the one's most in need was not as clear. Even though LDCs gained ground in the top five recipients, the largest recipient in 2011-12 remained Vietnam. The prominence of LMICs could be attributed to the fact that many of the Southeast Asian recipients were from this group, which in light of the findings of the Chapter 5.2.1. suggests that regional ties were more important for South Korean aid allocation than recipient need.

Table 8b Recipient Need of the Top Ten South Korean Recipients (averages)

Average 2005-2012					
Recipient	GNI per capita, PPP (current international \$)	HDI Value 2007-2012*	HDI Rank 2012	Development Status	
1 Vietnam	2957.5	0.608	127	LMIC	
2 Sri Lanka	4636.25	0.706	92	LMIC	
3 Bangladesh	1607.5	0.506	146	LDC	
4 Cambodia	1906.25	0.533	138	LDC	
5 Afghanistan	1150	0.365	175	LDC	
6 Indonesia	3826.25	0.617	121	LMIC	
7 Philippines	3671.25	0.648	114	LMIC	
8 Mongolia	3737.5	0.660	108	LMIC	
9 Laos	2136.25	0.531	138	LDC	
10 Tanzania	1305	0.455	152	LDC	

* 1 is the highest score for HDI

Average 2011-2012					
Recipient		GNI per capita, PPP (current international \$)	HDI Value 2011-12	HDI Rank 2012	Development Status
1	Vietnam	3520	0.616	127	LMIC
2	Bangladesh	1960	0.513	146	LDC
3	Cambodia	2245	0.541	138	LDC
4	Afghanistan	1470	0.373	175	LDC
5	Sri Lanka	5750	0.713	92	LMIC
6	Indonesia	4585	0.627	121	LMIC
7	Tanzania	1520	0.473	152	LDC
8	Philippines	4225	0.653	114	LMIC
9	Mongolia	4670	0.672	108	LMIC
10	Laos	2580	0.541	138	LDC

Source: UNDP 2013a; The World Bank 2013

Table 9 Human Development Index Categories

Human Development Index		
2007-12	2011-12	Development Status
0.9018	0.9045	Very High Human Development
0.7510	0.7565	High Human Development
0.6290	0.6380	Medium Human Development
0.4583	0.4650	Low Human Development
0.4398	0.4475	Least Developed Countries

Source: UNDP 2013a

5.2.3. *Mutual Benefit*

Statements in the role conceptions of “Model”, “Responsible Leader” and “Partner” referred to mutual benefit as a goal of bilateral ODA. “Responsible Leader” and “Model” further mentioned specific sectors in which Japan and South Korea wanted to become active and increase their support. Sector allocation data is stressed in the literature to distinguish whether aid is delivered to the marginalized and poorest parts of the population in a recipient country or to sectors opportune for the donor. In short, aid provided to economic or social sectors often supports and contributes to physical and human capital formation and therefore to development (Rajan and Subramanian 2005a: 13). Other research found that mutual benefit is more likely for donor countries when engaging with higher income countries with better institutions. Recipient country institutions are important and sometimes even a condition for allocating aid (cf. Alesina and Dollar 2000; Berthélemy 2006; Boone 1996: 323; Maizels and Nissanke 1984; McGillivray 2003; McKinlay and Little 1977). Therefore, Stokke explained that higher return flows could be achieved by a deliberate choice of recipients and the share of aid they received, sector allocations, project designs and the specific forms of aid used (Stokke 1989: 297). The condition of governance and institutions is important as both aspects are necessary for a country to develop effectively (Dollar and Levin 2006: 2035; Roodman 2006: 19). As a result, in the 1990s good governance became a new criterion in donor selectivity (Burnside and Dollar 2000: 848). Policy papers by aid organizations such as the World Bank reflected the incorporation of good governance into international standards (The

World Bank 1998: 2-4). In the literature good governance is measured by openness indices or democratic levels of recipients' political institutions (Powell and Bobba 2006: 9), and it was found that donors clearly favored countries with open economies (Alesina and Dollar 2000: 47-49).

Thus, it is assumed that mutual benefit and sector commitments are connected, and that the institutional environment of recipient countries plays a role in the success of achieving mutual benefits. The economic openness of recipient economies was looked into as an indicator based on the Economic Freedom Index of the Heritage Foundation (2014a). The Index has four overall criteria to define economic freedom: rule of law (property rights, freedom from corruption), limited government (fiscal freedom, government spending), regulatory efficiency (business freedom, labor freedom, monetary freedom) and open markets (trade freedom, investment freedom, financial freedom) (The Heritage Foundation 2014b). It was thereby analyzed whether open economies were favored by the two donors as found in the literature. The sector allocation data was again based on the OECD's CRS (OECD 2014a).

In the mentioned role conceptions, sector allocations were often set in the context of furthering efforts on the MDGs, the concept of human security or based on Japanese and South Korean experience. These examples seemed to highlight the focus on recipient need, however, mutual benefit was specifically mentioned in various instances, where it referred to economic rather than social gains. In this respect, Japanese ODA commitments put special focus on health and education, for which five billion USD and 3.5 billion USD were promised respectively until 2015 (Aso, January 26, 2007; Kan, September 22, 2010; September 24, 2010; Koumura, January 18, 2008; Nakasone, January 28, 2009; March 21, 2009; Noda, September 23, 2011; Okada, May 2, 2010). Most commitments made with regard to Africa and included agricultural and water-related efforts (Fukuda, May 28, 2008; Kan, September 24, 2010; Koizumi, May 1, 2006; Matsumoto, May 1, 2011), or support for The Global Fund To Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria and the World Bank Group (Fukuda, May 28, 2008; Machimura, September 17, 2005; Nakasone, March 21, 2009; Noda, October 9, 2010). At the same time, pledges to Africa were made in the context of trade and investment promotion, infrastructure and human resource development to advance economic growth in the region (Koizumi, April 22, 2005; May 1, 2006; Nakasone, March 21, 2009; September 25, 2008). In detail, infrastructure projects in Africa were promised an additional two billion USD between 2010 and 2012 (Okada, May 2, 2010). For agricultural production, the human capacity building and doubling of rice production in the region was set as a long-term target (Nakasone, September 25, 2008).

Our development goal goes beyond just eradicating poverty in developing countries. We should go further to nurture the overall capability for self-reliant and sustainable economic growth. When developing countries evolve into new growth engines of the world economy through such efforts, both developed and developing countries will be able to grow together (Yoon, October 8, 2010).

The top ten recipients of Japanese ODA between 2005 and 2012 all showed a score of economic freedom between 49.5 (Bangladesh) and 63.5 (Thailand) in Table 10. These scores are equivalent to ranks between 89 and 147 of 186 countries assessed in the Index. In comparison, Japan took up rank 25. China, Indonesia and India as the three largest recipients had more or less the same score of economic freedom for 2005-12, while Thailand only took up place seven. For Iraq and Afghanistan no data were available for the whole period under

consideration. Looking at the data from 2011-2012, the tendency of aid going to countries with more or less the same score of economic freedom continued. It is however noteworthy that the top recipient Vietnam had the second lowest score of economic freedom in the list, only better than the Democratic Republic of Congo. Judging from the country rankings of 2014, Vietnam clearly took up a rank in the lower fourth of the index, while countries with better scores—the Philippines and Sri Lanka—were not amongst the top five recipients. As a result, Japanese ODA did not seem to regard the economic freedom of its recipients as important. How this actually influenced mutual benefit cannot be assessed in this study and leaves room for future research.

Table 10 Economic Freedom of Japanese Top Ten Recipients (averages)

Average 2005-2012			Average 2011-2012		
Recipient	Economic Freedom Index*	Country Ranking 2014**	Recipient	Economic Freedom Index*	Country Ranking 2014**
1 China	52.48	137	1 Vietnam	51.45	147
2 Indonesia	54.06	100	2 India	54.6	120
3 India	53.98	120	3 Indonesia	56.2	126
4 Vietnam	50.31	147	4 Afghanistan	N/A	N/A
5 Iraq	N/A	N/A	5 China	51.6	137
6 Philippines	56.18	89	6 Congo, Dem. Rep.	40.9	172
7 Thailand	63.54	72	7 Pakistan	54.9	126
8 Afghanistan	N/A	N/A	8 Philippines	56.65	89
9 Sri Lanka	57.94	90	9 Sri Lanka	57.7	90
1 Bangladesh	49.51	131	10 Iraq	N/A	N/A
* Highest Score = 100; ** among 186 economies			* Highest Score = 100; ** among 186 economies		

Source: The Heritage Foundation 2014a

A look at the sector allocation of Japanese aid in Table 11 provided a more detailed picture. During the research period the share of social infrastructure increased to a quarter of all aid disbursed. Similarly, economic infrastructure gained in importance and took up 37.3 percent in 2011-12. Both these sectors increased almost two-fold while actions related to debt and unallocated or unspecified disbursements decreased significantly. While the former constituted a third of all aid in 2005-06, in 2011-12 it represented only 5.1 percent. Unallocated or unspecified funds decreased from 17.8 percent to 1.3 percent over the research period. Slight increases were seen in the other sectors, namely production, multi-sector projects, commodity aid or program assistance and humanitarian aid. Considering mutual benefit, social and economic infrastructure together with aid to the production sector, which includes agriculture, constituted almost two-thirds of Japanese ODA. Relating these shares to previous criticisms of Japanese ODA with regard to economic infrastructure, it was evident that Japan continued to focus on this sector. The share was relatively small in 2005-06, but quickly increased to more than a third of the aid disbursed. However, compared to the rhetorical commitments above, the increase of aid to the social sectors corresponds with the stated focus on education and health. Since these sector commitments were more specifically focusing on Africa, a more detailed analysis will be provided in the case study.

Table 11 Japanese ODA by Sector

Sector Shares				
Sector	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Social Infrastructure	15.5%	15.0%	27.2%	26.5%
Economic Infrastructure	18.0%	30.8%	36.9%	37.3%
Production Sectors	6.1%	9.8%	11.2%	10.4%
Multi-Sector / Cross-Cutting	3.1%	6.8%	5.4%	10.0%
Commodity Aid / General Program Assistance	1.9%	4.9%	10.4%	3.6%
Action Relating to Debt	34.6%	21.1%	1.2%	5.1%
Humanitarian Aid	3.0%	1.9%	4.1%	5.8%
Unallocated / Unspecified	17.8%	9.6%	3.7%	1.3%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

With regard to commitments, South Korea promised to focus on the MDGs, including education and health sectors, and self-sustained economic growth of recipients through trade promotion (Ban, September 21, 2006; September 18, 2006; Kim, November 30, 2011c). For instance, President Lee (June 16, 2009) pledged 3.5 billion USD in cooperative funds for social infrastructure to newly emerging economies, while Finance Minister Bakh (October 12, 2012) highlighted the need to use Korea's comparative advantage in policy consulting services and green growth for ODA.

Even though South Korea showed a similar pattern of recipients' economic freedom scores like Japan, the range was less varied, namely between 49.4 and 61.2 for 2005-12 as shown in Table 12. There was also no clear trend in the data as more and less free countries were mixed. In 2011-12, this trend continued. The top three countries showed similar economic freedom scores, while the one with the highest score in the group, Mongolia, was only the ninth largest ODA recipient. Like Japan, the largest recipient Vietnam took up the lowest rank of all recipients in the list, while countries with higher ranks were placed further down in the list. Thus, it can be assumed that South Korea also did not consider the economic freedom of recipient countries to a great extent. In the context of rhetorical statements, South Korea can only use its comparative advantage, when the recipient countries can absorb this economic input. From the top ten recipients, this opportunity seems questionable as all recipients obtain low ranks of economic freedom, in comparison South Korea ranks 31st among economies worldwide. This shows that doing business in these countries is much more difficult and thus mutual benefit more difficult to achieve.

Table 12 Economic Freedom of South Korean Top Ten Recipients (averages)

Average 2005-2012		
Recipient	Economic Freedom Index*	Country Ranking 2014**
1 Vietnam	50.31	147
2 Sri Lanka	57.94	90
3 Bangladesh	49.51	131
4 Cambodia	57.15	108
5 Afghanistan	N/A	N/A
6 Indonesia	54.06	100
7 Philippines	56.18	89
8 Mongolia	61.23	97
9 Laos	49.41	144
10 Tanzania	57.34	106
* Highest Score = 100; ** 186 economies		

Average 2011-2012)		
Recipient	Economic Freedom Index*	Country Ranking 2014**
1 Vietnam	51.45	147
2 Bangladesh	53.1	131
3 Cambodia	57.75	108
4 Afghanistan	N/A	N/A
5 Sri Lanka	57.7	90
6 Indonesia	56.2	100
7 Tanzania	57	106
8 Philippines	56.65	89
9 Mongolia	60.5	97
10 Laos	50.65	144
* Highest Score = 100; ** 186 economies		

Source: The Heritage Foundation 2014a

South Korean aid to specific sectors supported the stated commitments regarding the prioritization of social infrastructure and services (cf. Table 13). During the research period, the share of aid to the social infrastructure sector, including health and education, remained at around 47 percent, while the economic sector received a stable 30 percent of South Korean aid. Even though the shares did not change significantly over the years, absolute gross disbursements show the increased importance of social infrastructure. While in 2009 291 million USD were allocated to this sector, by 2012 this number reached 582 million USD, a doubling within only four disbursement years. However, up to 2012 the goal of 3.5 billion USD did not seem to materialize any time soon. With regard to other sectors, commodity aid, action relating to debt, unallocated or unspecified aid, multi-sector projects and humanitarian aid took up only a small amount of South Korean ODA. These five sectors together constituted 10.6 percent in 2005-06 and 13.7 percent in 2011-12 respectively, while the social and economic infrastructure and production sectors were between 85 and 89 percent over the research period. However, other than Japan, South Korea preferred aid to social infrastructure over aid to economic infrastructure. Even when combining the economic and production sectors, which include agriculture, they accounted for only 38.2 percent, almost 10 percent less than the share going to social infrastructure. Thus, the stated commitments for aid to health and education were supported by the data. Judging from the literature, this sector was less likely to reap direct benefits for the donor country, but would rather result in the long-term development of recipients. Such a focus could strongly support the poorest parts of the population in developing countries. Regardless, a comparison with the case studies will provide a more comprehensive picture.

Table 13 South Korean ODA by Sector

Sector Shares				
Sector	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Social Infrastructure	47.7%	50.4%	47.1%	47.3%
Economic Infrastructure	30.2%	26.1%	29.8%	30.8%
Production Sectors	11.5%	12.3%	8.6%	8.2%
Multi-Sector / Cross-Cutting	1.7%	4.0%	10.6%	8.8%
Commodity Aid / General Program Assistance	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%	0.2%
Action Relating to Debt	0.0%	2.0%	0.3%	0.0%
Humanitarian Aid	6.5%	3.9%	2.4%	1.9%
Unallocated / Unspecified	2.3%	1.1%	1.2%	2.8%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

5.3. Universal Values

As “Respected Members of the International Community” and “Responsible Leaders”, Japan and South Korea highlighted the need to respect human rights and support democracy in developing countries. Japanese policy-makers did not voice general commitments to human rights, but promised to support democratization in Asian countries and allocated approximately one billion USD for reform and democratization efforts in the Middle East and North Africa (Azumi May 4, 2012; Gemba, February 28, 2012; May 24, 2012; Noda, October 28, 2011). South Korean foreign ministers reiterated their country’s commitment to the promotion of human rights as a prerequisite for development (Ban, September 18, 2005; September 21, 2006; Song, September 28, 2007).

On the basis of democratic values and political institutions the issue of human rights enforcement in recipient countries was used as an indicator in Neumayer’s research (2003: 663-664). He found that respect for civil and political rights is essential for donors to decide whether a country should receive aid and how much. Higher levels of human rights resulted in a higher amount of aid, whereas lower levels did not change aid levels to a certain recipient at all. Altogether the respect for human rights was used to reward recipients rather than punish them for bad policies. Stokke (1989: 292-293) also found that human rights and democracy had only a partial impact on aid allocation decisions, and added the component of a recipient’s social justice policy as possible selectivity criterion. Similarly, corruption is an important aspect of local practices considered in aid allocation. However, it was shown that actually more aid was sent to corrupt governments during the 1990s. Democratization had neither a positive nor a negative effect on allocation, which stood in contrast to the rhetoric (Easterly and Williamson 2011: 1941-1942). Thus, political governance factors need to be looked at in more detail, as some seem to have been enforced stricter than others.

The human rights and democracy records of the top ten recipients for each donor were assembled. Based on the previous research outlined above, this study used the Freedom House Index of political rights and civil liberties in recipient countries (Freedom House

2014a), which allows for comparability with other research (cf. Raposo and Potter 2010; Tuman and Ayoub 2004). The data were aggregated for the whole research period and for 2011-12. The scores were then classified according to the three categories of Free, Partly Free and Not Free, as defined by the Freedom House methodology (Freedom House 2014b).²⁶

In the case of Japan, Raposo and Potter (2010: 190) found that Japan had a great willingness to consider human rights, democracy and freedom for aid selectivity in Africa, where only one in the top ten recipients was not free. However, as presented in Table 14, within the top ten recipients only two out of the top ten recipient countries gained the status Free (Indonesia and India), while the top recipients were not free (China and Vietnam). The latter two countries also had the lowest scores with regard to political freedom and one of the lowest in civil liberties. In general, amongst the top ten recipients in 2005-12 and 2011-12, four were not free and four were partly free. The focus of Japanese aid to countries with better scores of political rights and civil liberties was not given.

Table 14 Political Rights and Civil Liberties in Japanese Top Ten Recipient Countries (averages)

Average 2005-2012			
Recipient	PR*	CL*	Status
1 China	7	6	Not Free
2 Indonesia	2	3	Free
3 India	2	3	Free
4 Vietnam	7	5	Not Free
5 Iraq	6	6	Not Free
6 Philippines	3	4	Partly Free
7 Thailand	5	4	Partly Free
8 Afghanistan	6	6	Not Free
9 Sri Lanka	4	4	Partly Free
10 Bangladesh	4	4	Partly Free
*Highest Degree of Freedom = 1			

Average 2011-2012			
Recipient	PR*	CL*	Status
1 Vietnam	7	5	Not Free
2 India	2	3	Free
3 Indonesia	2	3	Free
4 Afghanistan	6	6	Not Free
5 China	7	6	Not Free
6 Congo, Dem. Rep.	6	6	Not Free
7 Pakistan	4	5	Partly Free
8 Philippines	3	3	Partly Free
9 Sri Lanka	5	4	Partly Free
10 Iraq	6	6	Not Free
*Highest Degree of Freedom = 1			

Source: Freedom House 2014a; 2014b

South Korea showed similar tendencies as the major recipient Vietnam in Table 15 was classified as not free. After Laos it had the lowest combined score among the top ten recipients. For both time periods, four countries had a status of not free or partly free respectively, while only two countries were classified as free (Indonesia and Mongolia). Other than Japan, the two free countries did not make it into the top five recipients, whereas three countries had the status of not free. Therefore, South Korea evidently gave less aid to free countries than to not free or partly free ones. It was argued in the literature that the poorest people in a country could not be targeted without sound political rights and civil liberties or good governance, setting a context in which to interpret the data in Chapter 6.3.3.

26 Free (1.0 to 2.5), Partly Free (3.0 to 5.0), or Not Free (5.5 to 7.0) (Freedom House 2014b)

Table 15 Political Rights and Civil Liberties in South Korean Top Ten Recipient Countries (averages)

Average 2005-2012				Average 2011-2012			
Recipient	PR*	CL*	Status	Recipient	PR*	CL*	Status
1 Vietnam	7	5	Not Free	1 Vietnam	7	5	Not Free
2 Sri Lanka	4	4	Partly Free	2 Bangladesh	3	4	Partly Free
3 Bangladesh	4	4	Partly Free	3 Cambodia	6	5	Not Free
4 Cambodia	6	5	Not Free	4 Afghanistan	6	6	Not Free
5 Afghanistan	6	6	Not Free	5 Sri Lanka	5	4	Partly Free
6 Indonesia	2	3	Free	6 Indonesia	2	3	Free
7 Philippines	3	3	Partly Free	7 Tanzania	3	3	Partly Free
8 Mongolia	2	2	Free	8 Philippines	3	3	Partly Free
9 Laos	7	6	Not Free	9 Mongolia	2	2	Free
10 Tanzania	4	3	Partly Free	10 Laos	7	6	Not Free
*Highest Degree of Freedom = 1				*Highest Degree of Freedom = 1			

Source: Freedom House 2014a; 2014b

5.4. Quality of Aid

In various instances, Japan and South Korea promised to improve the quality of their foreign aid. There was no specific definition for “quality” given, only references to international standards were made. In this regard, both donors wanted to be respected and trusted by the international community and, thus, committed to adhering to its standards. South Korea as a “Newcomer”, for instance, mentioned aid quality as a means to advancing its international position. In the literature, quality of aid indicators include the percentage going to multilateral organizations and LDCs, the grant-loan ratio, status of tied aid, and whether the population most in need received assistance, which inclines generosity rather than donor self-interest (cf. Lumsdaine 1993; Mosley 1985). The indicator for providing aid to LDCs and the poorest population can be derived from the distribution data in Chapter 5.2.2. Thus the focus of this chapter lies on the grant-loan ratio, the share of tied aid and multilateral aid, types of aid to analyze who receives aid and aid fragmentation.

5.4.1. Grants and Loans

Aid can be delivered as either grants or concessional loans. Grants do not have to be paid back, while concessional loans need to be repaid but have better conditions for the recipient than private loans (cf. Hook 1995; Mosley 1985: 389). In this regard, Japan committed itself to raising aid effectiveness and aid quality by increasing grant assistance (Gemba, February 28, 2012; Machimura, September 14, 2005; Nakagawa, January 28, 2009). Again, Africa played an important role as grant aid was identified as a central feature of ODA to the continent (Koizumi, April 22, 2005; Machimura, April 29, 2005). Consequently, a doubling of grants was promised (Fukuda, May 28, 2008). At the same time, loans were intended to be used more in Africa to support self-help efforts (Okada, May 2, 2010), seemingly contradicting previous commitments. In the case of South Korea, President Lee pledged to increase the proportion of grants in South Korean ODA (Lee, November 30, 2009).

With this in mind, the data for Japanese ODA grant-loan ratio needed to be considered closely (cf. Table 16). Over the research period, the share of grants slowly decreased from

56.1 percent to 49.4 percent by 2011-12, with slight fluctuations in between. In parallel, the share of loans increased steadily and surpassed that of grants by the end of the research period. Therefore, a small shift from the use of grants to the preferred use of loans is visible between 2005 and 2012 in Japanese ODA.

Nonetheless, a direct comparison with South Korean shares gives a better insight. From 2003, bilateral grants increased to more than 60 percent in South Korean ODA due to rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq (Lee and Park 2008: 110), a trend that was promised to continue by President Lee in 2009 (Lee, November 30, 2009). In contrast to the stated rhetoric, South Korea's share of grants decreased over the research period from 64.5 to 56.9 percent. Correspondingly, loans increased, but it is noteworthy that the share of grants remained above the share of loans in 2011-12.

Table 16 Grant-Loan Ratio of Japanese and South Korean ODA, in percent

Japanese ODA					South Korean ODA				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12		2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Grants	56.1%	52.5%	43.6%	49.4%	Grants	64.5%	65.8%	60.7%	56.9%
Loans	43.9%	47.5%	56.4%	50.6%	Loans	35.5%	34.2%	39.3%	43.1%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

5.4.2. Tied Aid

Another indicator for aid quality is the status of tied aid. When aid is tied, the money is made available to the recipient government, but the services and goods need to be purchased from the donor country (Roodman 2006: 13). Untied aid is open for bidding by all interested suppliers, regardless of their country of origin, while aid can also be partially tied to the donor's or developing countries' suppliers or partially untied for LDCs (Yanagihara and Emig 1991: 51).

The overall intention behind tied aid supposedly lies with the reduction of foreign currency costs, trade interests or a concern for a donor's employment base. Such interests result in aid being further tied to specific purposes, also known as double tying, and to a specific company—triple tying. Smaller donors might use tied aid in order to ensure high return flows of their aid allocations, but major donors were said to benefit more through market mechanisms (Stokke 1989: 294-295). Regardless of a donor's status, tied aid remains an issue in the donor community. For recipients aid tying is problematic in that they lose the option of choosing the most competitive price on the market for a certain service or good. Thus, aid money might not be spent in the most efficient and productive way. Partially untied aid has the condition that goods and services, if not purchased from the donor, have to be purchased from other developing countries. In case of untied aid, the recipient can freely choose where to spend the money for services and goods (Roodman 2006: 13; Breuning 1995: 249). Thus, tied aid remains a practice widely criticized by international institutions and in the literature. Breuning (1995: 250) found in the case of the UK that the high level of tying was reflected in policy-makers' rhetoric, which referred to mutual benefit and aid's favorable impact on the donor's national trade and industry. The share of tied aid, thus, serves as an indicator for mutual benefit as well as aid quality. Unfortunately, OECD International Development Statistics only provided commitment data rather than disbursement data for this indicator

(OECD 2011a), which nonetheless served as a reference for tied aid of Japan and South Korea.

When it comes to commitments, Japanese policy-makers did not voice commitments to untying aid. It was even underlined that more loan projects should be implemented with the Japanese private sector to contribute to Africa's economic development (Matsumoto, May 1, 2011). Even though this statement cannot be directly linked to an increase in tied aid, it corresponds with the criticism of Japanese aid voiced in the literature. In contrast, South Korea pledged to increase the share of untied aid on one occasion (Bakh, November 30, 2011).

Japanese ODA over the research period was largely untied with over 90 percent. However, a decrease can be noticed in Table 17 after 2007-08. Over the research period, the share of tied aid increased on the expense of partially tied aid to almost 10 percent by 2011-12. In detail, grants remained almost completely untied between 2005 and 2012, while loans were obviously more often tied. The share of untied loans fluctuated over the years between 85.4 and 93.9 percent, but was still very high. However, tied loans increased over the research period to 12.9 percent of committed loans. Such an increase in tied loans could be seen in connection with the political statements, but the African case study in Chapter 6.2.1. should provide more insight.

Project assistance took up a large part of loans—97.3 percent in 2011-12—thus, the tying status of project assistance is important to consider. By the end of the research period untied project assistance slightly declined compared to previous years, to 86.1 percent, while the tying status increased to 13.3 percent. Partially tied commitments were hardly relevant in the overall period. Although they took up a few percentage points in 2005-06, their share declined sharply in the following years. Even though it was found that Japan did not correctly proclaim the status of its aid, especially with regard to technical cooperation (OECD 2011b: 70-72), the increase of tied aid as noted in the OECD data is nonetheless revealing. For the purpose of this study it suffices to say that the share of Japanese tied aid increased over the research period, but remained small.

Table 17 Tying Status of Japanese ODA

Tying Status of Overall ODA Commitments				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Total Bilateral Commitments (in current USD millions)	12902.98	12744.94	12963.98	12976.40
Untied	91.7%	95.9%	94.2%	90.0%
Partially Untied	3.4%	0.0%	1.8%	0.4%
Tied	5.0%	4.1%	3.9%	9.6%
Tying Status of Grants and Loans				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Total Bilateral Commitments (in current USD millions)	12902.98	12744.94	12963.98	12976.40
Grants	6045.33	4191	3393.995	3554.425
Untied	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	99.1%
Tied	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%
Loans	6857.65	8553.94	9569.98	9421.98
Untied	85.4%	93.9%	92.2%	86.5%
partially untied	6.4%	0.0%	2.5%	0.6%
Tied	8.3%	6.1%	5.3%	12.9%

project assistance	61.9%	92.1%	83.0%	97.3%
Untied	81.9%	93.4%	90.8%	86.1%
partially untied	10.3%	0.0%	3.0%	0.6%

Source: OECD International Development Statistics (OECD 2011a)

A remarkable change in tied aid was evident in South Korea's data as shown in Table 18. Untied aid increased from only 2.3 percent in 2005-06 to 53.1 percent in 2011-12, more than half of overall commitments. Concurrently, tied aid decreased from more than 80 percent to 46.7 percent, while partially tied aid declined to take up only 0.2 percent by 2011-12. This trend clearly pointed towards South Korean efforts in untying aid, which was also evident in the increase of untied aid to LDCs and non-LDC Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPCs) from zero to 24.3 percent. The latter share especially contributed to untied aid taking up more than half of overall aid commitments.

Looking at the tying status of grants and loans, the just mentioned tremendous change was evident. Grants experienced an untying from 6.1 percent to 75.1 percent by 2011-12. This is attributable to the decrease of partially untied aid rather than the decrease of tied aid. In fact, tied grants fluctuated quite substantially, for instance making up 45.7 percent in 2009-10, but only 24.1 percent in 2011-12. On the other hand, loans were completely tied in 2005-06 and were gradually untied resulting in 47 percent untied to 53 percent tied loans. In South Korean ODA, project assistance took up almost all loan disbursements, thus the share of tied and untied project assistance reflected the same shares as already mentioned. As a result, South Korean ODA underwent a significant shift towards untied aid, but it still retained tied aid to a large extent.

Table 18 Tying Status of South Korean ODA

Tying Status of Overall ODA Commitments				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Total Bilateral Commitments (in current USD millions)	540	1003.15	1429.87	1382.43
Untied	2.3%	31.3%	41.3%	53.1%
Partially Tied	17.3%	9.2%	0.0%	0.2%
Tied	80.5%	59.5%	58.7%	46.7%
Untied for LDCs, non-LDC HIPCs, incl. technical cooperation	0.0%	0.0%	7.0%	24.3%
Tying Status of Grants and Loans				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Total Bilateral Commitments (in current USD millions)	539.995	1003.15	1429.87	1382.43
Grants	201.01	227.145	350.665	299.87
Untied	6.1%	34.8%	54.3%	75.1%
partially untied	46.5%	40.6%	0.0%	0.7%
Tied	47.5%	24.5%	45.7%	24.1%
Loans	338.99	776.005	1079.2	1082.57
Untied	0.0%	30.3%	37.1%	47.0%
Tied	100.0%	69.7%	62.9%	53.0%
project assistance	0.0%	96.8%	99.9%	98.6%
Untied	0.0%	31.3%	37.1%	46.3%
Tied	0.0%	68.7%	62.9%	53.7%

Source: OECD International Development Statistics (OECD 2011a)

5.4.3. *Multilateral Aid*²⁷

In the literature it is widely accepted that bilateral aid has a strong component of foreign policy self-interest, whereas multilateral aid is oriented towards recipient need and thus more developmental in its objectives and outcomes (cf. Easterly and Williamson 2011: 1938; Maizels and Nissanke 1984; McGillivray 2003: 6; OECD 2008a: 2; Stokke 1989: 286). However, the effectiveness of certain multilateral organizations achieving developmental outcomes differs as the United Nations agencies are seen to support equality between rich and poor nations better than the Bretton Woods institutions (Breuning 1995: 249). National interests are less prevalent in multilateral aid, which is based on a compromise between donors and between donors and recipients (Powell and Bobba 2006: 21).²⁸ Nonetheless, less control over multilateral aid can lead to a loss of prestige for a donor among its own taxpayers due to the loss of visibility of national ODA efforts. Only the recognition from other donors in the multilateral organization can be gained (Dudley 1979: 571), or lost if countries do not comply with standards and expectations. Donors can still try to gain influence in a multilateral organization by increasing the share of multilateral aid in their own ODA budgets. An enhanced influence on a multilateral organization can then be used to reach the same ends as with bilateral aid policy (Breuning 1995: 248; Stokke 1989: 20, 286). The share of multilateral aid and the receiving organizations were thus considered as another important indicator for this study.

Japanese policy-makers were very specific with regard to multilateral aid and committed 60 billion USD to the IMF (Azumi, May 4, 2012). Nonetheless, this was the only commitment to a multilateral organization. A general promise to increase contributions to international financial institutions was made by Korean decision-makers, while the UN was said to be the core of a strengthened multilateral diplomacy (Lee, June 16, 2009; Yoon, October 8, 2010; Yu, October 20, 2008).

Regarding Table 19 it is clear that Japanese aid preferred bilateral disbursements with a share of about 80 percent over multilateral aid. Regardless, a slight increase of the latter's share was noticeable over the research period. In detail, aid to UN Agencies constituted between 25 percent and 15.7 percent, while World Bank Institutions received between 51.8 percent and 40.7 percent of Japanese aid. Both multilateral organizations experienced a decrease in Japan's multilateral aid share due to increased disbursements to regional development banks, the Global Environmental Facility (GEF), the Montreal Protocol and other agencies. By the end of the research period, regional development banks surpassed Japanese UN contributions and took up one-fourth of overall multilateral aid, while the World Bank Institutions continued to be the main multilateral recipients. The importance Japan attributed to multilateral financial institutions was evident in the data and corresponded with the emphasis placed on the IMF in the rhetoric commitment.

27 This chapter is based on data derived from the OECD StatExtracts, "Total Flows by Donor (ODA+OOF+Private [DAC 1])" (OECD 2014b).

28 According to Stokke (1989: 285), compromise is not favored when interests focus around international peace and stability.

Table 19 Japanese Multilateral ODA

Multilateral Share of Total Gross ODA				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Bilateral	81.5%	84.9%	80.1%	79.1%
Multilateral	18.5%	15.1%	19.9%	20.9%
Multilateral ODA, disaggregated				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
UN Agencies	25.0%	25.3%	17.1%	15.7%
World Bank Institutions	51.8%	30.4%	47.0%	40.7%
Regional Development Banks	14.0%	22.2%	23.6%	25.0%
GEF	2.5%	4.6%	2.5%	5.8%
Montreal Protocol	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.6%
Other Agencies	6.6%	17.6%	9.4%	12.1%

Source: OECD StatExtracts, "Total Flows by Donor (DAC 1)"; <http://stats.oecd.org/>, accessed March 2014

South Korea, like Japan, showed a preference for bilateral aid in Table 20, while the share of aid to multilateral organizations steadily declined over the research period, from 39.5 percent to merely 15.7 percent. Disaggregated, the share of UN Agencies increased between 2005 and 2012 to take up a quarter of South Korean multilateral aid. Disbursements to World Bank Institutions similarly increased slightly, while the share of regional development banks declined. Aid to the GEF, the Montreal Protocol and other agencies remained small with no never more than 6.9 percent combined. In 2011-12, the World Bank Institutions received most of South Korean aid with a share of 36.9 percent, followed by the regional development banks with 30.7 percent. Together these two multilateral recipients took up 67.6 percent, while the UN Agencies received 26.1 percent. The preference given to multilateral financial institutions was, thus, unmistakably reflected in the data. Even though, the share received by UN Agencies increased over the research period, they remained far from being the core of South Korea's multilateral aid.

Table 20 South Korean Multilateral ODA

Multilateral Share of Total Gross ODA				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Bilateral	60.5%	70.2%	75.3%	84.3%
Multilateral	39.5%	29.8%	24.7%	15.7%
Multilateral ODA, disaggregated				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
UN Agencies	19.9%	20.1%	26.2%	26.1%
World Bank Institutions	29.7%	35.3%	40.1%	36.9%
Regional Development Banks	44.2%	39.0%	26.6%	30.7%
GEF	0.5%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%
Montreal Protocol	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Other Agencies	5.7%	4.9%	6.3%	5.8%

Source: OECD StatExtracts, "Total Flows by Donor (DAC 1)"; <http://stats.oecd.org/>, accessed March 2014

5.4.4. *Types of Aid*

Types of aid refer to the specific means and channels that donors use to provide aid to recipients, such as aid to NGOs, budget support or project-type interventions, as well as food aid or technical assistance. Aid-in-kind as often used for food aid disbursements was argued to be essential for humanitarian crises, but did not contribute to long-term development in a country (Rajan and Subramanian 2005a: 13). Further, such aid is often tied and considered to be less effective than money transfers (Easterly and Williamson 2011: 1939). Technical assistance has the same problem of often being tied and benefits flowing back to donors. For this reason, donor interests seem to be prevalent in technical assistance projects. Even though, these channels are identified as ineffective by donor agencies to some extent they are still used by them (Easterly and Pfutze 2008: 17; Easterly and Williamson 2011: 1939). In addition, there is a supposedly different effect of aid provided to NGOs than aid provided in the form of budget support. Aid to NGOs focuses more on poor and marginalized groups whereas government-to-government aid depends largely on the policies of recipient governments (Stokke 1989: 291). On the other hand, budget support or large infrastructure projects brings merit to the recipient government, but does not necessarily affect poor people positively. The idea that recipient governments use assistance to further social development in their own country ignores issues of fungibility²⁹ and corruption (cf. Lehman 2010a; Takahashi 2010b).

Japanese and South Korean decision-makers made commitments with regard to specific means of delivery mostly in the context of ODA to Africa. Japanese policy-makers pledged four billion USD in soft loans for African infrastructure (Fukuda, May 28, 2008), and two billion USD in grant aid and technical cooperation (Nakasone, March 21, 2009). South Korea was committed to invite 5000 trainees and send 1000 volunteers to Africa by 2012 (Yu, November 24, 2009) or increase humanitarian assistance by 100 million USD between 2008 and 2011 with specific consideration of food aid and agricultural capacity-building (Yu, October 20, 2008).

As presented in Table 21, Japanese ODA was dominated by disbursements in the form of project-type interventions, which increased from 43.4 percent to 77.7 percent. In contrast, debt relief decreased significantly over the research period from 32.6 percent to 4.8 percent. The dispatch of experts and scholarships for students from developing countries to study in Japan were similarly small in the overall comparison. Other types of aid showed up in the data but comprised only very small shares. This was especially noteworthy in the case of aid to NGOs, which were said to specifically target poor parts of developing country populations. It should be highlighted that additional administrative costs had a higher share than the types of aid just mentioned. With regard to food aid, the share slightly increased between 2005 and 2012, but only comprised 1.1 percent of Japanese ODA in 2011-12, while technical cooperation increased from 12.7 percent to 18.3 percent. As both these types of aid delivery were found to be often tied and less effective than budget support, an increase can be interpreted as a decline in overall Japanese aid quality. Regardless, specific implications of the use of these types of aid can only be drawn from the case studies in Chapter 6.

29 Fungibility refers to aid given for a certain aid project, which frees recipient government resources for non-aid-related projects unintended by the donor.

Table 21 Japanese Aid Performance based on Types of Aid

Types of Aid in Shares of Total Gross ODA				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Budget support	1.1%	2.7%	6.5%	1.8%
NGO, Total (National and International)	1.7%	1.7%	1.9%	1.6%
Project-type interventions	43.4%	53.6%	72.1%	77.7%
Experts and other technical assistance	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	1.2%
Scholarships and student costs in donor countries	0.0%	0.0%	1.6%	2.1%
Debt relief	32.6%	18.1%	1.1%	4.8%
Administrative costs not included elsewhere	4.7%	6.1%	5.1%	5.2%
Other in-donor expenditures (incl. development awareness and refugees in donor country)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Of which:				
Food aid	0.5%	1.5%	2.9%	1.1%
Technical Cooperation	12.7%	14.3%	17.6%	18.3%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

Project-type interventions took up the largest share in South Korean aid disbursements and increased from 56.2 percent to 67.8 percent by 2011-12. Other than Japan, South Korea dispatched a larger share of its aid in the form of experts. This trend specifically took off in 2009-10 with 8.3 percent and increased to 14 percent in 2011-12. Noteworthy was also the decreasing share of aid to NGOs, while budget support and scholarships increased. Debt relief was hardly noticeable in the data with no more than 0.9 percent between 2005 and 2012. Awareness-raising in South Korea for aid issues and aid to refugees were similarly limited. Again, the share of additional administrative costs was higher than most other types of aid disbursements. Food aid in South Korea took up 6.5 percent, while technical cooperation comprised 21.2 percent in 2011-12—a decline from previous years, especially from 2007-08 in which it was 31.3 percent of overall aid. Compared to the commitments made, food aid did not significantly increase its share in the South Korean aid mix, although in absolute numbers the amount provided doubled, from 35.7 million in 2008 to 74.3 million USD in 2011. Overall humanitarian aid was around 24 million USD in 2008 and in 2011, showing that the political commitments were not fulfilled in absolute terms despite the evident increase of money to food aid as a type of humanitarian aid.

Table 22 South Korean Aid Performance based on Types of Aid

Types of Aid in Shares of Total Gross ODA				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Budget support	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.3%
NGO, Total (National and International)	1.1%	1.4%	0.6%	0.1%
Project-type interventions	56.2%	49.1%	68.8%	67.8%
Experts and other technical assistance	0.0%	0.0%	8.3%	14.0%
Scholarships and student costs in donor countries	0.6%	0.1%	2.0%	4.3%
Debt relief	0.5%	0.9%	0.2%	0.0%
Administrative costs not included elsewhere	5.1%	5.7%	4.3%	5.0%
Other in-donor expenditures (incl. development awareness and refugees in donor country)	0.5%	0.8%	0.7%	1.6%

Of which:				
Food Aid	5.6%	6.5%	4.9%	6.5%
Technical Co-operation	22.3%	31.3%	21.8%	21.2%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

5.4.5. *Aid Fragmentation*

Another aspect of aid quality is the fragmentation of aid among too many recipient countries, sectors and projects, which is considered to hamper the positive impact of aid on development. The problem is that major donors provide at least a small amount of aid to almost all possible recipient countries in order to get involved to some extent (Alesina and Dollar 2000: 42). On the one hand, by fragmenting their aid activities, aid agencies ensure higher visibility for possible sponsors and, thus, increase financial support. During the 1990s new issues such as environmental concerns and gender questions resulted in agencies trying to incorporate such issues in as many sectors as possible rather than specializing on certain topics (Easterly and Williamson 2011: 1936; 1941; 1947). On the other hand, fragmentation increases overhead costs for all parties involved as more administrative coordination is necessary (Easterly and Pfutze 2008: 5; OECD 2011c: 3). As a result, concentrating on a small number of recipient countries can increase aid effectiveness, as is often the case for small donor countries (Stokke 1989: 287). The Paris Declaration cautioned donors that a lack of coordination could result in the duplication of aid efforts, which not only strained recipient government resources, but was also less effective (OECD 2005/2008; OECD 2011c). Based on this discussion in the literature, aid fragmentation was selected as an additional indicator for Quality of Aid. For this purpose, the number of recipients and sectors was derived from general distribution data, while the number of projects to the major recipient countries could only be analyzed by conducting individual country case studies.

From the OECD CRS data Japan was found to disburse aid to 143 recipient countries in 2005 and 2012, while South Korea gave aid to 131 countries in 2005 and 133 in 2012. For the years 2012 and 2013 the OECD identified 148 possible aid recipient countries and territories (OECD 2013). Thus, Japan and South Korea provided varying amounts of aid to almost all countries eligible for ODA, which accounts for a tremendously large aid fragmentation. Here it is highlighted again that in 2011-12 the top ten recipients received 53.2 percent of Japanese and 51.1 percent of South Korean aid, leaving 133 or 123 countries among which the rest was disbursed. Thus, most recipients only received small amounts, supporting the criticism of inefficient aid in the literature. With regard to sector allocations, the section on Mutual Benefit showed that both Japan and South Korea were active in all the eight major categories of the OECD (OECD 2014a). On a closer look, Japan disbursed ODA to all 24 subcategories as well. South Korea showed a similar sector fragmentation with 20 subsectors, to which aid was disbursed for each year between 2005 and 2012. These numbers indicate a great fragmentation in sector distribution, although a clear understanding of the scale of this problem is better seen in detailed sector allocations to individual recipient countries as shown in the case studies.

With regard to Quality of Aid, the two donors have shown differing rhetoric and therefore

different data results. This is not surprising as it was already found in previous literature that heterogeneity between donors' behavior continued to exist despite international standards (Thiele, Nunnenkamp and Dreher 2007: 598). Hook (1995) explained heterogeneity to derive from the status of donors, as large donors tended to ignore DAC standards more often due to their own ideas of aid quality. Therefore, the definition of standards by the donor community did not prevent bad practices (Easterly and Williamson 2011: 1931). Roodman (2006: 3; 27) noted that aid quality varied less among donors than within individual donor's aid programs and projects. As a result, a more detailed analysis of the two donors' programs on a country level seems necessary. This issue will be addressed in Chapter 6 by the case studies.

5.5. Aid Philosophy

Since the Paris Declaration, new criteria for providing aid were decided by the aid donors (cf. OECD 2005/2008). Two of these, namely partnership and ownership, were often referred to by Japanese and South Korean policy-makers in the role conception of "Bridge", "Model", and "Partner." Additionally, support for recipient's self-reliance as a specific aspect of Japanese aid philosophy was evident in "Partner" and "Model" role conceptions. Such an aid policy places the main responsibility for development with the recipients (Stokke 1989: 305).

Support for self-reliance, ownership and partnership were identified as aid philosophies underlying Japanese assistance. In this regard, the expansion of market access to the products of LDCs was highlighted as a means to support self-reliance (Koizumi, April 22, 2005), while self-help was also set in the context of a human security approach (Okada, May 2, 2010). To allow for ownership, Japan promised to respect local cultures, traditions and values (Gemba, May 24, 2012). In the context of aid to Africa, ownership was said to be essential for achieving the MDGs and for accelerating infrastructure projects (Okada, May 2, 2010; Omi, April 15, 2007), whereas Prime Minister Koizumi pledged to "provide what each African country truly needs", without giving further details (Koizumi, May 1, 2006). To further the strong partnership with Asian countries, ODA should be used to increase Asia's prosperity to provide a "win-win" situation for recipients and Japan (Omi, April 15, 2007; Tanigaki, May 5, 2006).

South Korea promised to establish country partnership strategies and further dialogue with recipients through diverse channels (Bakh, November 30, 2011). The focus for such dialogue lay on knowledge sharing activities based on South Korea's own development experience, such as the dispatch of volunteers to ASEAN countries (Bakh, October 12, 2012; Lee, June 16, 2009; Lee, January 3, 2011; Song, September 28, 2007; Yoon, February 24, 2010; Yu, June 2, 2009). More effective and partner-oriented programs tailored to the recipient's need were also pledged (Kim, November 30, 2011c; Lee, June 5, 2010; Yu, November 24, 2009). In the context of African development, Foreign Minister Ban highlighted the strengthening of ownership in aid projects (Ban, June 30, 2006).

In the literature no indicators for measuring partnership, ownership or self-reliance were found. The definitions provided in the Paris Declaration (OECD 2005/2008) explain that adherence to and respect for recipient development policies will show whether ownership of the recipient government and partnership with it were respected. The respect and support for recipient country measures will allow determining the donors' interest of furthering recipient

self-reliance. Thus, to gain further insight Japanese and South Korean aid philosophies need to be qualitatively examined in the case studies.

The collected data on the identified commitment categories of Japanese and South Korean ODA shed light on the actual disbursements undertaken by the two donors. Based on previous academic literature together with the indicators presented by policy-makers, a variety of quantitative indicators were assembled and analyzed. The analysis was undertaken by comparing the quantitative data with stated commitments, which resulted in the identification of a variety of gaps between commitments and disbursements. Before analyzing the results more closely with regard to their implications for role conceptions and role performances, the category of aid philosophy needs to be looked into by presenting two recipient country case studies.

6. Case Study Approach

The identification of recipient countries, which played a role in both Japanese and South Korean ODA policy, was rooted in the comparison of Japanese and South Korean top ten recipients over the research period. As exemplified by the top ten recipients, the two countries shared some core recipients. However, to prevent misleading results based on the assumption of a regional bias in aid giving,³⁰ one recipient country from each of the two most prominent recipient regions—Asia and Africa—was chosen. With regard to Asia, Vietnam was the largest recipient in 2011-12 of both donors, while it was also the main recipient of overall South Korean ODA between 2005 and 2012. Even though China was the largest recipient of Japanese ODA in this time period, it did not make the top ten for South Korean aid. Thus, the case study of an Asian recipient will focus on aid projects in Vietnam.

The identification of an African recipient was more difficult due to the lack of a common African recipient in the top ten recipients of both donors. In the case of South Korea, the choice fell on Tanzania, based on the recipient's status in the both top ten recipient lists. A review of Japanese recipients based on overall disbursements between 2005 and 2012 showed that Tanzania was the third largest African recipient after Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo (OECD 2014a; cf. Appendix Table A3). Even though, the gross disbursements to all three countries were rather inconsistent, Tanzania received the highest amount of these three countries in 2012. Thus, Tanzania seemed a reasonable choice for the African case study of Japanese and South Korean aid projects.

The two case studies are not intended as explanations of Japanese and South Korean aid practices but serve as supporting evidence to the aggregate data from Chapter 5, as well as to better understand ODA mechanisms on a national level. Specific attention is paid to the aspects of aid philosophy, which could not be derived from the OECD CRS data. The case studies first present a short overview of the recipient country context (cf. Table 23), before providing details of Japanese and South Korean assistance based on country-specific data and the presentation of exemplary project. Country assistance strategies are then compared to Vietnamese and Tanzanian national strategies to identify Japanese and South Korean ODA policy priorities.

Table 23 Vietnamese and Tanzanian Aid Dependency

World Bank Aid Dependency Data				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Vietnam				
ODA % of GNI	3.1%	3.0%	3.2%	2.8%
ODA/capita (current USD)	22.68	29.90	38.60	43.65
Tanzania				
ODA % of GNI	12.1%	14.2%	13.5%	10.2%
ODA/capita (current USD)	42.88	61.83	66.49	56.01
Net ODA received (% of central government expense)	0.0%	0.0%	59.7%	42.7%

Source: The World Bank 2014

30 For a discussion of regional biases in Japanese and South Korean aid giving see Chapter 2; for the most recent data on regional aid allocations see Chapter 5.2.1.

6.1. Case Study 1: Vietnam

In 1993, international aid to Vietnam was taken up again, after a long break of assistance. Between 1993 and 2006 around 50 bilateral and multilateral donors provided aid to Vietnam, mostly through loans (80 percent). Due to the use of aid as a supplementary resource and catalyst for socioeconomic development, the percentage of poor households decreased from 50 percent in the 1980s to only 10 percent by 2006 (Duong and Pham 2007). By 2010 Vietnam had become a middle-income country with low aid dependency—around 3 percent of GNI (Ohno 2010: 84; cf. Table 23). Vietnam shifted from agriculture to manufacturing and thereby reduced monetary poverty from 37.4 percent in 1998 to 10.7 percent in 2010 (UNIDO 2012: 1). This remarkable achievement was founded on strong self-help efforts, leadership commitment and ownership by the Vietnamese government, as well as the participation and ownership of the beneficiaries of aid projects, partnership and cooperation with donors and a reliable repayment of loans, which ensured continued international support (Duong and Pham 2007; KOICA 2009: 104).

Additionally, such positive changes were attributed to Vietnam's respect for and efforts towards achieving the MDGs through its own Vietnam Millennium Development Goals (VMDGs or VDGs). Most of these eleven goals were achieved by 2010, except for progress on HIV/AIDS and the environment (KOICA 2009: 64-65; UNIDO 2012: 20). However, the protection of the environment was a key component of Vietnam's Socio-Economic Development Plan (SEDP) 2002-2010, together with economic growth and social aspects of development (Duong and Pham 2007; Ministry of Planning and Investment 2009; UNIDO 2012: 13). In the latest SEDP from 2011 to 2020, Vietnam seeks to achieve a rapid development of technological production and a GDP per capita of about 3000 USD with special attention given to the environment and natural resources, climate change measures and the improvement of human capacity, social welfare and rural infrastructure (UNIDO 2012: 13). Although the Vietnamese government established a number of poverty reduction and development strategies, the SEDP constitutes the principal development plan approved by the Vietnam National Assembly (KOICA 2009: 43).

Nonetheless, there remain limits to Vietnam's socio-economic development. Regarding human development, Vietnam's score in the HDI is below that of other medium human development countries, below the average for East Asia and the Pacific, as well as below the score of countries from the same region with a similar population size such as Thailand or the Philippines (UNDP 2013b). Socio-economic development varies between geographical regions and population segments, while poverty is high in disadvantaged areas and amongst ethnic minorities (Ohno 2010: 83; UNIDO 2012: 18-19). Therefore, the rise in Vietnam's HDI rank is attributed to an increase in GDP per capita growth, rather than social indicators. Progress on education is limited, as a high percentage of the population is still without secondary and tertiary education. Thus, around half of the labor force remains unskilled, creating a major barrier to business expansion and low industrial productivity (UNIDO 2012: 2, 20-21). The export industry remains important for the Vietnamese economy, but it is vulnerable to shocks as a high percentage of exports are crude oil or agricultural products. At the same time, Vietnam holds high trade deficits due to imports of machineries, appliances, textiles and computers from China and South Korea (UNIDO 2012: 18).

Many donors are active in Vietnam, contributing to high administrative costs for the local government due to increased coordination efforts. In 2009, 21 DAC members and 16 multilateral donors provided aid to Vietnam, resulting in a high donor fragmentation ratio (OECD 2011c). Amongst these donors, Japan was the largest for every year from 2005 to 2012, followed by the International Development Association (IDA), a World Bank Institution, while the ADB Special Fund took up third place but only became active in the latter half of the research period. South Korea was the fifth largest donor, and third largest bilateral donor in 2011-12, having continuously increased its aid volume to Vietnam (cf. Table 24).

Table 24 Vietnamese Top Ten Donor Countries in 2011-2012 (average)

Overall Gross ODA received (in current USD millions)				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
1 Japan	665.90	779.85	1265.59	1693.09
2 IDA	368.93	676.57	1058.69	1111.53
3 ADB Special Funds	0.00	0.00	239.84	345.77
4 France	131.41	186.64	244.81	239.77
5 Korea	13.72	43.51	81.71	177.02
6 Australia	49.81	70.75	91.98	140.65
7 Germany	108.52	109.86	109.50	118.17
8 United States	39.87	54.83	90.52	99.92
9 EU Institutions	42.11	67.85	46.92	90.72
10 Denmark	35.75	67.07	64.59	63.98

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

6.1.1. Japan-Vietnam Aid Relations

Japan established diplomatic relations with Vietnam in 1973 and agreed to pay war reparations for World War Two to the country. After the Vietnam War, ODA resumed in 1991 with consecutive agreements on Japanese assistance to Vietnam over the 1990s and early 2000s (VietNam Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2007). Large amounts of aid were provided to strengthen the fledgling relationship and Japan soon became Vietnam's largest donor, paving the way for other international donors. Evidently, Vietnam was considered a priority country for Japanese aid, while at the same time Japanese ODA met the specific demands of Vietnamese development. The two governments agreed to focus efforts on human resource and institutional development, infrastructure, agriculture and rural development, education and health, and the environment. Loans were the dominant mechanism used by Japan for infrastructure projects, but declined since the 1990s, while grants and technical cooperation were used for human resource development and training. The infrastructure component of Japanese ODA in Vietnam was deemed highly successful by both parties (Do 2007: 204-207; Nguyen 2007: 158-161; Ohno 2010: 87; VietNam Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2007). The success of Japanese efforts in Vietnam was attributed to field-based strategic coordination, a good mix of bilateral and multilateral projects and non-project aid, as well as the alignment of social and economic policies with the recipient (Do 2007: 214; Ohno 2010: 90-91). Thus, some scholars emphasized the importance of Japan's assistance for Vietnamese development, and even considered it more efficient than Japanese aid to Africa (Do 2007: 204-207, 214; Nguyen 2007: 163-164).

Over the research period, Japan as the largest donor contributed on average 35.3 percent of ODA received by Vietnam. The importance of Japanese aid is even more apparent, when considering sector shares. More than half of all aid to economic infrastructure was provided by Japan between 2005 and 2012, clearly showing Japan's focus. Social infrastructure was supported with around 12.9 percent, while budget support fluctuated between 37.9 percent and 4.6 percent as evident in Table 25.

Table 25 Japanese Share of Vietnamese Overall ODA Received

Japanese Share				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Total aid received (gross disbursements in current USD millions)	1784.34	2543.26	3572.79	4478.63
Japanese Share	37.3%	30.7%	35.4%	37.8%
Social Infrastructure, Total	503.88	962.70	1163.13	1307.26
Japanese Share	15.2%	12.8%	11.1%	12.5%
Economic Infrastructure, Total	611.74	933.54	1211.105	2055.01
Japanese Share	63.0%	55.9%	51.5%	62.6%
Budget Support, Total	122.36	367.86	926.95	551.86
Japanese Share	8.8%	4.6%	37.9%	19.3%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

A disaggregated view of Japanese disbursements to Vietnam presented in Table 26, supports the trends identified in the literature. Loans made up the core of Japanese aid giving, while the economic sector clearly dominated sector shares with up to 75.9 percent in 2011-12. With regards to the types of aid, most aid was provided through projects, while direct budget support peaked in 2009-10 with 27.7 percent, declining again afterwards. Even though Vietnam was considered a priority country of Japanese ODA, commitments did not match disbursements. Only between 75.7 percent and 82.6 percent of commitments were provided during the research period. It is acknowledged that some commitments take time until they can be fulfilled, however, Japan held its commitments by just above three-quarters for the whole period. Therefore, it can be said that disbursements did not equal the ambitious commitments declared to the OECD CRS.

Table 26 Japanese ODA to Vietnam, by type, sector and means

Japanese ODA to Vietnam				
	2005-2006	2007-2008	2009-2010	2011-2012
Gross Disbursements (in current USD millions)	665.90	779.85	1265.59	1693.09
Grants	16.8%	12.4%	10.6%	9.5%
Loans	83.2%	87.6%	89.4%	90.5%
Social Infrastructure and Services	11.5%	15.8%	10.2%	9.7%
Economic Infrastructure and Services	57.9%	66.9%	49.3%	75.9%
Production	4.6%	5.0%	6.8%	5.2%
Multi-sector	3.3%	5.5%	9.8%	6.2%
Commodity Aid	3.0%	2.2%	23.2%	2.9%
Humanitarian	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%
Unallocated/Unspecified	19.7%	4.7%	0.5%	0.0%
Budget Support (Type)	1.6%	2.2%	27.7%	6.3%
General Budget Support	3.0%	2.2%	23.2%	2.6%
Core contributions	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%

Project-type interventions	42.5%	86.2%	69.6%	92.2%
Experts and other technical assistance	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%	0.3%
Scholarships and student costs in donor country	0.3%	0.4%	1.4%	1.0%
Not applicable	55.2%	10.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Commitments	840.59	975.26	1532.53	2236.76
Gross Disbursements as % of Commitments	79.2%	80.0%	82.6%	75.7%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

This short presentation of country specific data will serve as additional information for the final analysis of commitments and disbursements. To better understand the project-level assistance of Japanese ODA, the Phan Ri-Phan Thiet Irrigation Project is presented in Box 1. In Chapter 6.1.3., Japan's ODA strategy for Vietnam will be compared to the Vietnamese SEDP, which will help drawing conclusions on Aid Philosophy in Chapter 6.3.

Box 1: JICA in Vietnam: Phan Ri-Phan Thiet Irrigation Project

The objective of the Phan Ri-Phan Thiet Irrigation Project was the development of rural infrastructure and agriculture for long-term poverty reduction, namely the construction of irrigation and drainage facilities. The intended running time of the project was from 2001 to 2006, but in the most recent rolling plan it was included with the stated end date of 2014 (cf. Embassy of Japan in Vietnam 2013; JICA 2014). The location for the project was chosen due to a high proportion of the population working in agriculture and a low GDP per capita. Project-based assistance from JICA to the Government of Vietnam was provided through a loan and the project was designed and initiated by the Vietnamese Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development.

Two-thirds of the labor for the project were sourced locally or from other provinces in southern Vietnam. Thus, all the unskilled workers in construction work were Vietnamese. In addition, strong ownership by Vietnamese agencies was found in the area of procurement, as the majority of materials and equipment were purchased from the area or other parts of Vietnam. Even though procurement used to be typically tied in the past, the study found that in this project it was untied. The consideration of environmental and social factors during implementation was appreciated by the evaluation team.

With regard to the perception of the project, interviews showed that workers on sight deemed the project to improve environmental and living standards and contribute to income generation in the area due to the use of local labor. In case of resettlement, compensations were offered. The project was perceived to increase agricultural productivity, improve the water supply and offer new transportation links upon completion. In conclusion, the project was found to have been untied in rhetoric and practice, cost-efficient and, due to the use of local labor, have a developmental impact. However, ownership could have been enhanced by the use of Vietnamese procurement guidelines over donor guidelines (McCarty, Julian and Banerjee 2009).

6.1.2. South Korea-Vietnam Aid Relations

South Korea established diplomatic relations with Vietnam in 1992, which was followed by various agreements on further cooperation. As early as 1991, KOICA had started its aid activity and opened an office in Vietnam in 1994, marking the beginning of the ODA relationship (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Vietnam 2007; Park 2012; Vietnamese Diplomatic Mission 2014). Korean assistance concentrated on human resource development, education, health care, vocational training, information technology and technology transfer, humanitarian aid and rural projects, as well as the development of a market economy. As an

example for the relationship, Korea supported Vietnam in the development of its stock exchange market between 1996 and 2002. Additionally, projects on capacity building of government agencies and laws were undertaken. In this context, human resource development was Korea's perceived comparative advantage, while health care and education were intended to serve basic human needs and social safety nets. All interventions were said to be aligned with Vietnamese policies and requirements (Kwon 2010: 170; KOICA 2009; Vietnamese Diplomatic Mission 2014).

Korea's assistance to Vietnam was criticized for the influence of export considerations in energy resource extraction, production, social infrastructure, trade and investment (McCarty, Julian and Banerjee 2009: 20). Loans were used for projects on roads, ports, telecommunications and human resources, while grants focused on socio-economic development issues including vocational training schools, healthcare, services, rural development, information and communication sectors and poverty reduction (Cheong 2010: 147-148; McCarty, Julian and Banerjee 2009: 20). Park (2012: 3) emphasized that Korea's aid to Vietnam was distinctive due to its focus on socio-economic development through sharing knowledge in educational and vocational training projects. Further, it focused on remote and underdeveloped regions in Vietnam. The Information Technology (IT) and high-tech industry proved to be a comparative advantage for Korean aid, for which the transfer of know-how and experience were the main channels (Park 2012). In this regard, Vietnam was one of the priority countries for the Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP) between 2004 and 2012 (Cheong 2010: 148-149).

Not only was Vietnam a priority country for South Korean aid, but Korea also constituted an important donor for Vietnam (Park 2012), as reflected in Korea's status as the third largest bilateral donor in 2011-12 (cf. Table 24). Nonetheless, the Korean aid budget remained small, contributing to only 4 percent of the aid received in 2011-12 (cf. Table 27). With regard to priority sectors, both the social and economic infrastructure and services sectors saw an increase of Korean aid—4 percent and 4.9 percent respectively in 2011-12. Budget support was only disbursed in the latter part of the research period, contributing 2.7 percent of the aid received.

Table 27 South Korean Share of Vietnamese Overall ODA Received

South Korean Share				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Total aid received (gross disbursements in current USD millions)	1784.34	2543.26	3572.79	4478.63
Korean Share	0.4%	1.7%	2.3%	4.0%
Social Infrastructure, Total	503.88	962.70	1163.13	1307.26
Korean Share	0.8%	2.0%	3.4%	4.0%
Economic Infrastructure, Total	611.74	933.54	1211.10	2055.01
Korean Share	0.3%	2.2%	3.1%	4.9%
Budget Support, Total	122.36	367.86	926.95	551.86
Korean Share	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

In detail, Korean ODA to Vietnam changed remarkably over the research period. While grants took up 86.8 percent in 2005-06, their share decreased to 18.1 percent by 2011-12. Thus, loans became the main mechanism of aid delivery. Similarly, aid to social infrastructure

declined between 2005-06 and 2011-12, from 60.9 percent to 29.5 percent. Over the same time period, aid to the economic infrastructure sector increased from 29 percent to 57.3 percent. With regard to the other sectors, only multi-sector projects took up more than 10 percent in 2011-12. These changes indicate a change of focus of South Korean ODA to Vietnam in recent years. With regard to the type of aid, project-type interventions remained important with 84.9 percent in 2011-12. However, aid provided as budget support or experts and other technical assistance increased to 8.3 percent and 5.7 percent at the end of the research period. Considering gross disbursements as percent of commitments a rather bleak picture of South Korean ODA to Vietnam emerges. Between 2005-06 and 2009-10 no more than one-third of commitments were actually disbursed. This share was, however, increased to 73.9 percent in 2011-12, giving hope for the future that Korea will work towards disbursing the amount of aid promised to Vietnam.

Table 28 South Korean ODA to Vietnam, by type, sector and means

South Korean ODA to Vietnam				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Gross Disbursements (in current prices USD millions)	6.86	43.51	81.71	177.02
Grants	86.8%	45.4%	33.6%	18.1%
Loans	13.2%	54.6%	66.4%	81.9%
Social Infrastructure and Services	60.9%	43.4%	48.9%	29.5%
Economic Infrastructure and Services	29.0%	48.2%	46.7%	57.3%
Production	6.3%	3.3%	1.4%	1.6%
Multi-sector	1.6%	5.0%	3.0%	11.6%
Humanitarian	0.4%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%
Unallocated/Unspecified	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Budget support	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.3%
Core contributions	1.7%	1.1%	0.4%	0.1%
Project-type interventions	31.7%	68.7%	86.8%	84.9%
Experts and other technical assistance	0.0%	0.0%	5.3%	5.7%
Scholarships and student costs in donor country	7.0%	2.8%	1.5%	1.0%
Not applicable	59.6%	27.5%	5.9%	0.0%
Commitments	20.66	274.99	299.89	239.69
Gross Disbursements as % of Commitments	33.2%	15.8%	27.2%	73.9%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

The identified changes in the South Korean ODA program towards Vietnam will serve as a valuable addition to previously collected, aggregate data. The project evaluation described in Box 2 will further show Korea's project assistance, so prominent in the ODA provided to Vietnam. The next section presents South Korea's development strategies for Vietnam in the context of the recipient's own SEDP, allowing for a comparison of the alignment between the two as an indicator for Aid Philosophy.

Box 2: Ex-Post Evaluation of Project for Strengthening Capacity of National Drug Control Coordinating Institution in Vietnam

The project was conducted by KOICA from 2004 to 2005 with three main objectives: 1. strengthening the capacity of the Standing Office on Drugs Control in Vietnam, 2. improving the relationship between the two countries in the field of drug control, and 3. adhering to the global strategy in controlling drug crimes in the region. For these purposes, equipment was provided, Korean experts

dispatched for training purposes and the intranet system installation supported in three major cities. Further, experts were dispatched for technical guidance and consulting and Vietnamese trainees were invited to Korea.

The evaluation of the project found that the majority of participants deemed it highly relevant for Vietnam's basic policy and well aligned with the national drug control strategy, as well as the MDGs 1 and 6. As a result, the efficiency and improvement of leadership, strengthened administrative operations and organizational capacity building were achieved through the project, which served as a pilot. Therefore, the project was very successful in accomplishing its purpose. Additionally, financial commitments were fulfilled and the time schedule respected.

Overall, the project was conducive to the strengthening of friendly ties between South Korea and Vietnam and was highly satisfactory for the recipient. However, a discrepancy in knowledge levels among participants and unsuitable equipment for the partner country were identified as problematic (KOICA 2008a).

6.1.3. Country-Specific Aid Strategies and Programs

To investigate Vietnamese ownership of the development process, a comparison of donor country aid policies with the Vietnamese SEDP was conducted. As donor policies are updated infrequently, the latest documents were from 2009 (Japan) and 2007 (Korea) respectively. To allow for comparability, the SEDP 2006-2010 was thus chosen as a benchmark for the analysis (cf. Ministry of Planning and Investment 2009). Table 29 shows the main objectives and target areas of each country's policies.

Vietnam focused its development plan around three pillars, namely the economy, social affairs and the environment, with an additional strategic focus on governance and institution building as a basic condition for development in the other areas. The three main pillars had various main targets from agricultural, industrial and rural development, education, health and poverty reduction, to environmental protection and sustainable development. Seven geographic priority areas were chosen: Northern Midland and mountainous areas, Red River Delta, Northern Central and Central coastal areas, Central Highlands, Southeastern region, Mekong Delta, and Marine economy development. Each of these regions had specific policies dedicated to its individual situation (Socialist Republic of Vietnam 2006).

As a point of reference for Japanese aid policies to Vietnam, the "Country Assistance Program for Viet Nam" (CAP), revised in 2009, was used (Government of Japan 2009). In this document, Japan focused on supporting Vietnam to emerge from low-income country status and become an industrialized nation, improve the living conditions of the people and support sustainable development efforts. All these efforts should reduce poverty through economic growth and assist Vietnam with regional integration and cross-border issues. To achieve these long-term goals the improvement and establishment of large-scale infrastructure was identified. As a significant limitation for the comparison of Japanese and Vietnamese policies, it is important to account for Japan's influence on the formulation of Vietnamese plans and policies. In this regard, a chapter on large-scale infrastructure was added to the SEDP based on a Japanese proposal (Ohno 2010: 84-85; Government of Japan 2009).

In the aid project rolling plan of the Japanese government for Vietnam in 2013 three priority areas were identified: 1. promotion of economic growth and strengthening international competitiveness; 2. response to fragility and the negative impacts of economic development; and 3. good governance. The first priority concentrated on strengthening the

market economy, industrial competitiveness, human resource development, and economic infrastructure through loans and technical cooperation. Overall 118 aid projects were listed under this priority. With regard to the second priority, climate change and environmental destruction and the improvement of social and living standards were targeted in the agricultural or health sectors. For this priority technical cooperation, loan aid and multilateral cooperation with international organizations were the preferred aid channels. Additionally, grant assistance for grassroots human security projects was provided in two cases, giving the only example where human security was specifically mentioned in the rolling plan. In total 100 interventions were listed for this priority. For the third priority the improvement of the judicial and administrative system was targeted with 12 interventions, of which the majority were country-focused trainings and technical cooperation projects (Embassy of Japan in Vietnam 2013). For 2013, the Vietnamese Ministry of Transport reported that the transport sector had received the largest amount of Japanese aid, with eight completed, 28 ongoing and three co-funded projects. The focus was on large-scale construction projects of urban transport facilities, highways, seaports, airlines and railways. The Vietnamese deputy minister assessed these projects to be important for changing Vietnam's trans-regional transportation network and emphasized the continuing importance of Japanese ODA for Vietnam (*Viet Nam News*, December 14, 2013).

In the case of South Korean ODA, a Country Assistance Strategy (CAS)³¹ was set up in 2007. The Vietnamese CAS was the first of its kind and showed the significance of Vietnam in the Korean ODA program. Priorities included the promotion of poverty reduction, social development and economic growth with four main targets: 1. social development and poverty eradication, 2. promotion of economic growth, 3. institutional reform and capacity building, and 4. improvement of environmental and resource conservation. Many of these targets were aligned with individual VDMGs (cf. Table 29). For the first target, five projects and four development studies were undertaken with 46.1 percent of trainees and 51.3 percent of volunteers. The second target included three health and medical projects, 23.2 percent of trainees and 43.1 percent of volunteers. Targets 3 and 4 had only two KOICA projects each. Regionally, the Korean CAS concentrated on the central region, with which a historic relationship existed, and the northern part of the country where low income per capita persisted. For urban areas development priorities included institutional reform and capacity development, the environment, and the IT business due to Korea's own development experience and comparative advantages. With regard to sectors, health care, education, governance, industry and energy, and the environment were targeted (KOICA 2009).

Even though, previous evaluations supported a positive view of the CAS' effectiveness, impact and sustainability, certain limitations remained. A closed and not participatory approach was used and risk management and implementation plans for the Paris Declaration neglected. The document was further confidential and in Korean only, limiting the possibility of an open policy dialogue with the Vietnamese government. A lack of logical causal linkages in the strategy hindered the verification of alignment of the CAS with the SEDP. On

31 Korean Country Assistance Strategies (CAS) were formulated for 18 countries (seven Asian, four African, three Latin American, two Middle Eastern and two Central Asian or Eastern European countries). These CAS provide guidelines for project and program design and evaluation. They reflect international development goals, recipient development needs, bilateral relations with the recipient, and attitudes and capacities of aid management in the partner countries (Kwon 2010: 162).

implementation, the KOICA evaluation stated tied procurement as a major obstacle for local ownership. In addition, KOICA's limited resources made the CAS a thinly scattered approach compared to the SEDP. Thus, recommendations focused on further alignment with recipient policies, harmonization with donors and mutual responsibility, as well as a participatory, field-centered approach to increase partnership (KOICA 2009).

As presented in Table 29, both donors' assistance strategies were based on the SEDP's core pillars to some extent, but they developed their own priority areas. For instance, Japan emphasized its priority of economic infrastructure projects by conducting 118 interventions, while South Korea focused most interventions on social development aspects. Furthermore, Japan was very active in the creation of the first Vietnamese SEDP and thus, alignment with its own CAP is largely given. On the contrary, South Korea did not consult with the Vietnamese government when establishing its CAS. The implications of these findings for the overall assessment of the Japanese and South Korean aid programs with regard to stated commitments will be presented in Chapter 6.3.

Table 29 Vietnam's Development Plan in Comparison with Japan's and South Korea's Country Assistance Plans

Vietnam “The Five Year Socio-Economic Development Plan 2006 - 2010” (2006)	Japan “Country Assistance Program for Viet Nam” (2009)	Korea “KOICA Country Assistance Strategy” (2007)
Pillar I: Ensure high and sustained economic growth through improving efficiency so that the country graduates from underdeveloped status	1. Promotion of economic growth and strengthening of international competitiveness	2. Promotion of Economic Growth
1.1. Ensure high and sustained economic growth rate to emerge from undeveloped status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business Environment Improvement and Private Sector Development • Stable supplies for resource and energy • Urban development • Network development for transportation and communications 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feasibility Study on building roads, rail-roads, ports, electricity supply, etc. in the context of VDGs)
1.2. Maintain stable macroeconomic environment		
1.3. Improve quality and productivity of labor		
Pillar II: Ensure progress in the social sectors to improve the material and spiritual lives of the people	2. Improvements in living and social conditions and corrections of disparities	1. Social development and poverty reduction
2.1. Improve the quality of human resources so as to meet the needs of industrialization and modernization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving basic social services by <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) policy and institutional improvements and capacity development of human resources in the health sector at provincial and central level b) expanding basic education • Rural development and improvements of livelihoods in farming communities (Northern Mountainous region, Central Highland region, Mekong Delta region), incl. strengthening disaster prevention response 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support for prevention of AIDS and eradication of epidemics • Infrastructure improvement, expansions of health service, etc. • Provision of medical service for the poor • Reduction of malnutrition for achieving MDGs • Reduction of infant mortality • Support for elementary education
2.2. Improve health protection and health care		
2.3. Develop Vietnamese modern and traditional culture		
2.4. Develop quality and access to sport activities		
2.5. Sustain poverty reduction and reduce inequality; adequate support to the people who made contributions for the country's protection and development;		

develop social security system	capacities	
2.6. Improve the spiritual and material living standards of minorities		
2.7. Promote gender equality, improve the status of women and protect the rights of children		
Pillar III: Protect natural resources and the environment for sustainable development	2. Environmental conservation	4. Improvement of environment and conservation of natural resources
3.1. Improve sustainable use of water, land and forests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban environmental management • natural environment conservation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prevention of environment pollution • transfer of environment-management technology • building environment-related system
3.2. Reduce pollution and environmental degradation		
Pillar IV: Strengthen state governance, establish comprehensive market-oriented socialist economic institutions	3. Strengthening of governance	3. Institution & capacity building
4.1. Continue improving the socialism-oriented market economic institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • administrative and public financial reforms • development of legal systems and judicial reforms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pubic Sector Capacity-building • computerization of governmental administration • promotion of trade and investment • establishment of policies and systems
4.2. Promote practicing economy and prevent corruption		
4.3. Increase effectiveness and transparency of public finance management		

Source: KOICA 2009: 62, 65; Ministry of Planning and Investment 2009: 143-160; Government of Japan 2009; Socialist Republic of Vietnam 2006

6.2. Case Study 2: Tanzania

Tanzania is an aid dependent country with donors having contributed between 10.2 and 14.2 percent to its GNI with ODA between 2005 and 2012 (cf. Table 23). Even though ODA per capita was higher than for Vietnam, Tanzania remains one of the poorest countries in terms of human development. While GNI per capita increased by about 69 percent between 1990 and 2012 economic growth did not improve the living conditions of the majority of the population. Especially in rural areas, poverty is severe, widespread and persistent with 38 percent of households living below the basic needs poverty line. Altogether, 65.6 percent of the population remains below the income poverty line with large disparities in wealth distribution among regions (KOICA 2008b: 4; UNDP 2013c; UNIDO 2010: 1, 12; United Republic of Tanzania 2005: 5).

Tanzania is a country rich in natural resources including arable land and water resources. The majority of the population depends on the agricultural sector, which provides livelihoods for 82 percent and employment for 70 percent of the population. However, due to a stagnation and decline in agricultural productivity and production poverty reduction has been slow (UNIDO 2010: 1, 10-12; United Republic of Tanzania 2005: 6). In this regard, Tanzania faces various challenges such as the lack of electricity and transport infrastructure, shortages of qualified labor, or low capacity and high costs of production hampering industrialization efforts (UNIDO 2010: 13, 15; United Republic of Tanzania 2005: 6, 8-9). Due to its high debt

burden, Tanzania was included in the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative in 2001 and the cancellation of international debt in 2006, which significantly reduced this burden (Government of Japan 2008: 12).

With regard to donor fragmentation, Tanzania has to coordinate the efforts of 21 DAC donors and 16 multilateral donors (OECD 2011c). As a result, the government of Tanzania created the Joint Assistance Strategy for Tanzania (JAST) as a guiding document for donor cooperation (KOICA 2008b: 5-6; United Republic of Tanzania 2006). Amongst these donors Japan contributed the sixth largest amount of aid in 2011-12, while Korea took up the 16th place. Compared to other bilateral donors, Japan was the third largest bilateral donor for Tanzania and Korea the twelfth largest. Nonetheless, Japanese disbursements varied a lot between 2005 and 2012, while Korea continuously increased its aid to Tanzania, showing the importance of the African country in the South Korean aid portfolio (cf. Table 30).

In the case of Tanzania, budget support took up an important role in the overall aid received. Over the research period, development partners increased aid to the government's budget from zero to 59.7 percent in 2009-10 and 42.7 percent in 2011-12 (cf. Table 23). This shift was found to be positive for recipient country ownership, as budget support is subject to recipient government priorities rather than donor requirements. On the one hand, budget support improves disbursement predictability in the short term; on the other hand, delays in such disbursements are especially problematic as the government depended on them to pursue its program (Peretz and Wangwe 2009: 23-24). Considering the percentage of Tanzania's national budget coming from donors, fluctuations in disbursements could severely hamper the successful conduct of national development initiatives. Given that aid dependency is very high, the reliability of Japanese and South Korean disbursements has to be analyzed in the following chapters.

Table 30 Tanzanian Top Ten Donor Countries in 2011-2012 (average)

Overall Gross ODA received (in current USD millions)				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
1 United States	107.57	206.92	370.49	551.98
2 IDA	2046.01	464.19	662.06	403.69
3 United Kingdom	213.97	242.59	229.30	223.66
4 AfDF	500.50	123.62	191.51	146.05
5 EU Institutions	176.84	189.33	165.50	145.51
6 Japan	37.72	396.33	112.53	133.67
7 Global Fund	65.38	122.92	125.46	124.80
8 Sweden	98.70	116.64	96.43	120.84
9 Denmark	69.20	92.22	114.47	119.07
10 Norway	67.90	120.97	120.18	104.82
16 Korea	3.84	8.29	15.32	35.79

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

6.2.1. Japan-Tanzania Aid Relations

Diplomatic relations between Japan and Tanzania began in 1954, while the first loans were disbursed to African countries in 1966, including to Tanzania. The economic importance of the country for Japan seemed minimal as loan disbursements, grant aid and technical assistance stopped until the 1980s. During the 1980s Tanzania became the by far largest recipient of Japanese grants and second largest recipient of technical assistance in the region.

These grants were first and foremost designated for basic human needs projects and emergency food aid (Ampiah 1996: 109-112; Embassy of Japan in Tanzania 2014). Even though Tanzania's significance for Japan's Africa policy declined in the 1990s, the relationship between the two countries continued to be cordial and cooperative. In recent years, Tanzania's geopolitical position with access to the Indian Ocean and other land-locked countries in Africa increased its importance for Japan. Tanzania is an essential partner in the TICAD process, therefore Japanese efforts continued to support Tanzania as way to enhance bilateral cooperation and friendship (Embassy of Japan in Tanzania 2012a; Government of Japan 2008: 1; Ampiah 1996: 120-123).

Due to Tanzania's richness in natural resources and mining reserves, Japan had an interest in assisting the country with its economic and social development, realizing mutual benefits. An approach reflected in the number of Japanese companies in Tanzania being the third highest in Sub-Saharan Africa. With regard to the abundant natural environment, Japan saw its assistance as vital due to its expertise in the area of making socio-economic development compatible with environmental conservation (Embassy of Japan in Tanzania 2012a). Regardless of the rhetoric, most projects were found to focus on the Kilimanjaro and Dar es Salaam urban areas (Ampiah 1996: 112), seemingly not considering the regional disparities of socio-economic development in the country.

Even though Tanzania used to be the largest recipient of Japanese grants in the region, Table 31 shows that Japanese aid took up only a small share of the aid received by the recipient country. In 2007-08 Japan's share was as high as 15.7 percent but declined to 5 percent by 2011-12. With regard to sectors, the significance of Japanese contributions in social infrastructure declined over the research period, from 3.2 percent to 1.6 percent, while its importance in the economic infrastructure sector increased from 1.7 percent to 15.9 percent. These numbers indicate a shift of Japanese priorities compared to the previous focus on social infrastructure. Further, it clearly shows Japan's focus on enhancing its comparative advantage in economic infrastructure in Tanzania. Budget support was increased in line with international standards, but Japanese contributions only constituted around 2 percent of the overall aid received in this sector.

Table 31 Japanese Share of Tanzania Overall ODA Received

Japanese Share				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Total aid received (gross disbursements in current USD millions)	3890.98	2531.92	2920.76	2671.08
Japanese Share	1.0%	15.7%	3.9%	5.0%
Social Infrastructure, Total	741.40	1122.83	1418.53	1363.22
Japanese Share	3.2%	2.1%	2.3%	1.6%
Economic Infrastructure, Total	173.86	256.45	413.70	532.37
Japanese Share	1.7%	6.5%	9.3%	15.9%
Budget Support, Total	404.83	677.41	1018.83	529.69
Japanese Share	0.0%	2.5%	2.4%	2.0%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

In terms of aid modalities, grant aid was still the main mechanism used, although the share of loans evidently increased over the research period, from zero to more than 20 percent by 2011-12 (cf. Table 32). This indicated a shift from the bilateral engagements during the

1980s, which Ampiah (1996: 124) interpreted as a sign of Tanzania's increased economic importance for Japan. Similarly, Japan's sector shares changed from social infrastructure support to economic infrastructure support. In 2005-06, the first took up 62 percent of Japanese aid and declined to 16.5 percent in 2011-12, while the latter increased from 7.8 percent to 63.2 percent by 2011-12. In 2007-08 debt relief made up the largest share of aid with 81 percent of Japanese assistance to Tanzania, reflecting the cancellation of international debt in 2006.³² In light of Japan's Country Assistance Strategy (cf. Chapter 6.2.3.), gross disbursements showed an increased prioritization of the transport and energy sectors, which by 2011-12 together took up more than half of Japanese aid. Agriculture remained between 1.5 percent and 6.8 percent over the research period, while the water sector received varying amounts from 2.7 percent to 21.4 percent of Japanese aid disbursed.

With regard to the type of aid, project-type interventions increased tremendously from 8.1 percent to 87.5 percent. Here again debt relief played an important role in 2007-08, while in 2005-06 almost 90 percent of aid was not applicable to any type, which could indicate a lack of correct classification in the OECD CRS data. In 2009-10 budget support took up 21.5 percent of disbursements, but decreased to 7.7 percent in 2011-12. Even though budget support was said to be a main aid modality, its share is far below that of project-type assistance—the latter being an on-the-ground approach that enhances self-help efforts. In the Japanese aid program both types of aid build a mutually complementary approach (Government of Japan 2008: 4-5). Over the whole research period, commitments were fulfilled on average to 86.2 percent, although in 2009-10 only 56.3 percent were disbursed directly followed by a 127.8 percent disbursement. Here, delays become evident and therefore the average for the whole period is most helpful for a better understanding of Japanese disbursements.

Table 32 Japanese ODA to Tanzania, by type, sector and means

Japanese ODA to Tanzania				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Gross Disbursements (in current USD millions)	37.72	396.33	112.53	133.67
Grants	100.0%	95.0%	73.8%	78.6%
Loans	0.0%	5.0%	26.2%	21.4%
Social Infrastructure and Services	62.0%	6.1%	29.1%	16.5%
Water Supply & Sanitation	21.4%	2.7%	16.9%	6.0%
Economic Infrastructure and Services	7.8%	4.2%	34.3%	63.2%
Transport	3.5%	3.8%	20.6%	39.8%
Energy	0.3%	0.1%	12.2%	21.5%
Production	11.0%	1.9%	7.5%	6.1%
Agriculture	6.3%	1.5%	6.8%	5.3%
Multi-sector	1.7%	0.2%	1.4%	2.0%
Commodity	10.7%	5.6%	23.9%	8.9%
Action related to debt	0.0%	81.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Humanitarian	2.3%	0.3%	2.7%	3.3%
Unallocated/Unspecified	4.5%	0.6%	1.0%	0.0%
Budget support	0.0%	4.3%	21.5%	7.7%
Core contributions	2.0%	0.4%	1.0%	1.5%

32 According to Do (2007: 210), debt relief was high for African countries and the most ineffective form of Japanese aid.

Project-type interventions	8.1%	4.5%	69.7%	87.5%
Experts and other technical assistance	0.0%	0.0%	7.6%	3.0%
Scholarships and student costs in donor country	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.3%
Debt relief	0.0%	81.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Not applicable	89.9%	9.9%	0.0%	0.0%
Commitments	45.62	439.11	199.81	104.58
Gross Disbursements as % of Commitments	82.7%	90.3%	56.3%	127.8%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

This short overview of Japanese engagement with Tanzania will provide additional, country level data to further interpret the stated commitments and data as presented in Chapter 5. The Integrated Malaria Control Project in Box 3 will give a project level perspective, while the presentation of the Japanese Country Assistance Program will identify alignment with Tanzanian national policies at the macro level. Both aspects will help to analyze Aid Philosophy in Chapter 6.3.5.

Box 3 Integrated Malaria Control Project

The Integrated Malaria Control Project was conducted by JICA in cooperation with the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and the National Malaria Control Programme from 2004 to 2007 in 16 municipalities and districts. The Government of Tanzania had requested the project from the Government of Japan in line with its own policies in the health sector and on malaria control. JICA had been active in malaria control in Tanzania since 1986, and had undertaken in-country training and management activities between 1993 and 2002. Thus, a new technical cooperation project was requested.

The project had two objectives: 1. emphasizing malaria case management, and 2. the development of a sustainable environmental-management model for reducing breeding sites of mosquitoes in urban areas. Three components should contribute to these objectives. First, improvements in skills training and knowledge transfers among nurses should enhance nursing care. Second, strengthening technicians' skills and knowledge and the dissemination of microscopes was intended to improve the laboratory diagnosis of malaria. Third, environmental management activities focused on malaria drain cleaning and community management. All these components were selected according to Tanzania's policy priorities. Japan was expected to dispatch experts, contribute equipment and conduct the monitoring and evaluation of the project, while Tanzania should take over the local costs by providing spare parts and consumables for microscopes.

Overall, the project was deemed only partially satisfactory due to various problems. First, the nursing care component achieved its objective, as the satisfaction among trained nurses was high. Resources were adapted to local availabilities and thus, the training model was to be expanded throughout the country in the future. Second, the laboratory diagnosis component faced difficulties because government policy changed during the project period, affecting the sustainability of the component, as the Tanzanian government no longer supported the project. For that reason, broken microscopes were not repaired, a lack of spare parts and human resources occurred. Third, environmental management was achieved with regard to the cleaning of drains, however, this was conducted by private contractors rather than the community itself. As a result, experience could not be disseminated at the community level to establish a model for environmental management. A lack of coordination among ministries and governmental departments further enhanced these problems.

In addition, the evaluation found that the indicators selected for evaluation, monitoring and implementation were insufficient, while baseline data was overall lacking. Therefore, in the absence of quantitative measures, the contribution of the project to the decline of the malaria mortality rate in

Tanzania could not be estimated. Regardless, in qualitative terms the nursing component was deemed effective in this matter. In conclusion, the effectiveness and efficiency of the project were only fair, as input was partially inappropriate and the cost exceeded the planned budget by 28 percent (Castro et al. 2009; JICA 2010b).

6.2.2. South Korea-Tanzania Relations

South Korea's relationship with the United Republic of Tanzania is still very young. In 1992 diplomatic relations were established and an assistance agreement made, while a KOICA office only opened in 2002. The first Country Assistance Strategy for Tanzania was introduced in 2007 for 2008-10. Tanzania was then selected as a priority partner country in the region for having a high development potential, macroeconomic stability, a good governance environment and a steady GDP growth since 2000 (KOICA 2008b; 2011).

The short history of South Korean aid relations with Tanzania is apparent in the share of Korean aid disbursements compared to the overall aid received by the recipient country. As shown in Table 33, Korea provided no more than 1.3 percent of the total aid received by Tanzania in 2011-12, with 1.1 percent in social and 2.9 percent in the economic infrastructure sector. Nonetheless, between 2005-06 and 2011-12 an increase of Korean gross disbursements is evident from the data. Thus, Korea seemed to work towards increasing its status as a donor in Tanzania.

Table 33 South Korean Share of Tanzania Overall ODA Received

South Korean Share				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Total aid received (gross disbursements in current USD millions)	3890.98	2531.92	2920.76	2671.08
Korean Share	0.0%	0.3%	0.5%	1.3%
Social Infrastructure, Total	741.40	1122.83	1418.53	1363.22
Korean Share	0.2%	0.6%	0.6%	1.1%
Economic Infrastructure, Total	173.86	256.45	413.70	532.37
Korean Share	0.0%	0.1%	0.7%	2.9%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

Project-type interventions, technical assistance and commodity assistance were widely used aid modalities, of which technical cooperation was most positively viewed by the partner country. Projects were found to contribute to capacity building, income generation and the improvement of livelihood. Nonetheless, the government of Tanzania clearly preferred general budget support, and supported the use of projects only in case of large-scale infrastructure investments and emergency aid. Budget support and basket funding could ensure ownership and increased donor coordination, thus lowering transaction costs. However, KOICA was not a member of the JAST and did not contribute to donor coordination efforts. Thus, alignment with Tanzania's preferences was not given. Nonetheless, it has to be noted that the local capacities of KOICA were very limited with regard to the number of projects and volunteers managed, which constrained efforts of donor harmonization (KOICA 2008b: 8-9, 11).

At the beginning of the research period, South Korea focused its aid disbursements solely on grant assistance. Over the following years, grant assistance was continuously reduced for

the sake of loans, which in 2011-12 accounted for 66.9 percent of aid disbursements (cf. Table 34). The Tanzanian office of KOICA stated that grant aid was given to development projects, World Friends Korea Program, training programs, cooperation with NGOs and international organizations. Since 2006, seven projects had been implemented and one was ongoing focusing on rural development, health and governance. Since 1991, Korea invited Tanzanian officials to Korea to share knowledge on Korea's development experience (KOICA Tanzania Office 2014). Local seminars on this experience conducted by the Embassy of South Korea in Dar es Salaam were positively perceived by local officials and international donors such as the World Bank (*Daily News*, July 30, 2013). The sector data from the OECD CRS showed that social infrastructure and services represented the main sector of Korean aid from 2005-06 to 2009-10. By 2011-12, a stark increase of aid to the economic infrastructure and services sector had resulted in this sector taking up the largest share with 43.2 percent. The production sector was also important, but to a varying degree, taking up between 11.2 and 20.3 percent. Humanitarian aid was larger than aid to the economic sector in 2005-06 but almost ceased afterwards (cf. Table 34).

With regard to the type of aid, project-type interventions gained importance over the research period, accounting for 81.5 percent in 2011-12. The dispatch of experts and other technical assistance, as well as scholarships or student costs in the donor country increased shares over the years, taking up 15.6 percent and 2.9 percent in 2011-12. These findings are in line with the focus stated by the KOICA Tanzania Office for grant aid. Non-applicable aid had the highest share in 2005-06, but steadily declined, which could be interpreted as a lack of proper classification in the OECD CRS data. Budget support and debt relief were not used by South Korea.

When comparing commitments with aid disbursements, a worrying picture emerges. While in 2005-06 66.1 percent of commitments were disbursed, in 2007-08 and 2009-10 merely 24.5 and 16.8 percent were provided respectively. Although a similar development was apparent in Japanese data, South Korean aid disbursement did not increase significantly in 2011-12, but remained a low level. There is a possibility that the amounts that have not been disbursed yet, will show up in later data sets, however, it is evident that between 2005 and 2012 on average just 38.8 percent of commitments were fulfilled. It further seems unlikely that the aid committed in 2005-06 will be disbursed after 2012, if it has not been done so up to this point. Therefore, the data show an obvious gap between Korean aid commitments and aid disbursements.

Table 34 South Korean ODA to Tanzania, by type, sector and means

South Korean ODA to Tanzania				
	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12
Gross Disbursements (in current USD millions)	1.92	8.29	15.32	35.79
Grants	100.0%	65.4%	65.8%	33.1%
Loans	0.0%	34.6%	34.2%	66.9%
Social Infrastructure and Services	75.8%	80.1%	56.7%	41.3%
Economic Infrastructure and Services	4.2%	2.8%	18.8%	43.2%
Production	11.2%	16.1%	20.3%	12.1%
Multi-sector	0.8%	1.1%	4.2%	3.3%
Humanitarian	8.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
Core contributions	0.0%	3.7%	1.3%	0.0%
Project-type interventions	31.7%	59.1%	68.6%	81.5%
Experts and other technical assistance	0.0%	0.0%	16.1%	15.6%
Scholarships and student costs in donor country	1.3%	0.3%	3.1%	2.9%
Not applicable	67.0%	36.9%	10.9%	0.0%
Commitments	2.90	33.80	91.34	74.90
Gross Disbursements as % of Commitments	66.1%	24.5%	16.8%	47.8%

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

In addition to this outline of South Korean aid activity in Tanzania, the exemplary project in Box 4 will provide further insights for the final assessment of South Korea's ODA. A more detailed analysis of the donor's ODA strategy in the context of Tanzania's policies is presented in Chapter 6.2.3. Finally, these findings will be combined in Chapter 6.3. with the previous results of the comparison of commitments and disbursements.

Box 4 Project for Effective ICT Education at the College of Engineering and Technology, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Between 2006 and 2008 the project was conducted to set up infrastructure in the form of computer labs for the training of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) personnel at the College of Engineering and Technology, University of Dar es Salaam. With a contribution of two million USD, it was a long-term goal to support local IT industry development. The components of the project included facility renovation, equipment provision, training programs, expert dispatches and funds for surveys and evaluation. Due to changes in the organizational structure at the recipient university, an evaluation was conducted to assess the impact of these changes on the project in 2012.

The evaluation found that the project plan was insufficiently aligned with the recipient country's own goals due to the lack of consultations with the recipient government and other local stakeholders. Even though a general alignment with the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 was evident, local needs were not well analyzed. A plan for managing outcomes should have been used for coordination with the recipient government. On the recipient side, the local organization did not meet the deadline for the remodeling of rooms, resulting in a delay of the project. From the donor side, experts were dispatched before the equipment was installed and thus experts focused on installation rather than IT capacity building. Additionally, the invitation for training in Korea was targeted at vocational education rather than higher university education, thus teaching capacity was not built.

In conclusion, the infrastructure component of the project was very positively perceived and assessed as sustainable due to a highly motivated government and general political, financial, operational and technical aspects. Other stakeholders such as ministries and NGOs could use the laboratories, which contributed to local and governmental IT capacity building. Invitational training

and dispatched expert did not match the overall project objective, thus practice in the education system could not be improved. In general, it was impossible to assess the wider implications of this project for Tanzania's IT development and modernization. Nonetheless, the project was assumed to take a leading role for ICT infrastructure development in Tanzania and KOICA's cooperation was deemed relevant in this regard (KOICA 2012).

6.2.3. *Country-Specific Aid Policies*

Due to previous experience with Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS) since 2000 (Peretz and Wangwe 2009), the Tanzanian government responded to development challenges with ambitious targets and comprehensive strategies for poverty reduction in the MKUKUTA, the Kiswahili acronym for *National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty*, and a similar strategy for the semi-autonomous island of Zanzibar in 2005. These strategies incorporated the views of a variety of Tanzanian stakeholders and were aligned with the MDGs and Tanzania Development Vision 2025 (United Republic of Tanzania 2005: 1; 2007: 18-19; UNIDO 2010: 1, 10-12). Priority areas included the private sector development through business environment reforms and the agricultural sector, which struggled with weak value addition chains. The energy sector and environmental conservation were also emphasized in government policies (UNIDO 2010: 11-13). Three main pillars summarized the priority areas: 1. growth and reduction of income poverty, 2. improved quality of life and social wellbeing, and 3. good governance and accountability. All pillars included more specific sub-goals as shown in Table 35 (United Republic of Tanzania 2005; 2007). In 2010, the government launched the MKUKUTA II, which focused on the same three pillars (United Republic of Tanzania 2010).

Traditionally, Japanese aid to Africa was said to focus on poverty reduction through economic growth including private sector promotion by enhancing trade and investment (Do 2007: 208). For Tanzania two pillars were identified in the CAP, namely the promotion and support of productivity and competitiveness, and the improvement of good governance (Government of Japan 2008: 3). These pillars rested on the basic assistance policy of "Promoting economic and social development towards sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction" (Embassy of Japan in Tanzania 2012a). In detail, these policies included three priority areas that reflected Japan's competitive advantage and expertise, as well as a human security approach: 1. economic growth towards poverty reduction, especially in the agricultural and industrial sectors, 2. infrastructure development for transport, energy and water supply, and 3. improvement of administrative services. Health and education were further perceived as important areas for assistance, but no increase in resources for these sectors was anticipated in the Country Assistance Program. In contrast, a broadening of Japanese initiatives in the mining sector due to Tanzania's interest in mineral resource development was considered (Embassy of Japan in Tanzania 2012a; 2014; Government of Japan 2008: 5-6, 8, 13). Japan's major contributions and expertise in the agriculture and transport sectors, resulted in Japan chairing the highly organized donor activities with regard to the transport sector and co-chairing the agriculture sector. Such donor coordination and harmonization efforts were in line with the JAST (Embassy of Japan in Tanzania 2012a; 2014; Government of Japan 2008: 6, 8).

In the most recent rolling plan of Japanese projects in Tanzania, a total of 99 interventions were mentioned for 2012 (Embassy of Japan in Tanzania 2012b). Under the first priority area, 18 projects focused on agricultural development and four on industrial development. The preferred mechanisms for cooperation were technical cooperation projects and grant aid. For the second priority, 17 interventions were undertaken in transportation and traffic, ten in energy and electricity supply, twelve in water supply and water resource management with a focus on technical cooperation projects, grant aid and preparatory surveys. In the third priority area, 38 interventions dealt with strengthening administrative and financial capabilities through mostly technical cooperation projects, trainings and grant aid. Overall, the prevalence of grant aid and technical assistance of Japanese interventions in Tanzania was supported by the data.

The overall goals of Korean assistance to the country were sustainable development and poverty reduction with the priority areas of agriculture, human resource development, health and sanitation, and governance, which were all aligned with Tanzanian strategies and the MDGs (KOICA 2008b: 7). In detail, projects were undertaken in the infrastructure sector for the supply of drinking water or in industrial sectors. Efforts on education emphasized vocational training, while interventions in the health sector improved local medical services. Rural development should be enhanced by increased agricultural productivity (KOICA 2011: 162-164). Regardless, it was criticized that the CAS lacked sufficient consultation with Tanzanian stakeholders as well as other donors or the private sector and civil society in Korea. Thus, the goals of Korean assistance were not widely shared with stakeholders. Additionally, the fragmentation of Korean aid among many sectors in Tanzania stood in contrast to its very limited aid budget for the recipient country (KOICA 2008b: 7-9).

In conclusion, both donor countries claimed to have aligned their assistance strategies with Tanzania's MKUKUTA, which could only partially be supported by a direct comparison of the strategies. Japan's first and second priority corresponded with Pillar I and the third priority with Pillar III of the MKUKUTA. However, the policies in Pillar II were not included as priorities in the Japanese program, indicating that Tanzania's development priorities were not fully adhered to. The South Korean CAS could only be assessed based on secondary sources, as it was not available on the internet. The found KOICA evaluation suggested a general alignment with Tanzanian policies, regardless, due to KOICA's resource constraints, the identified projects only concentrated on certain parts of the MKUKUTA. In Chapter 6.3.5. a more detailed comparison will be undertaken to assess whether Tanzanian ownership, partnership and self-reliance were strengthened through the Japanese and South Korean assistance program and strategy.

Table 35 Tanzania's Development Plan in Comparison with Japan's and South Korea's Country Assistance Plans

Tanzania MKUKUTA (2005)	Japan Country Assistance Program (CAP) for the United Republic of Tanzania (2008, revised 2012)	Korea Tanzania Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) 2008–2010 (2007)
Pillar I: Growth and reduction of income poverty	1. Economic growth towards poverty reduction	Agriculture, human resource development
1.1. Ensuring sound economic management	1.1. Growth in the agricultural sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supply of drinking water • Improvement of industrial

1.2. Promoting sustainable and broad-based growth	1.2. Accelerate private sector-led economic growth and employment creation	sectors • Enhancing agricultural productivity
1.3. Improved food availability and accessibility at household level in urban and rural areas	1.3. Environment conservation	
1.4./1.5. Reducing income poverty of both men and women in urban and rural areas	2. Infrastructure development sustaining economic growth and poverty reduction	
1.6. Provision of reliable and affordable energy to consumers	2.1. Transport and traffic (roads) 2.2. Electricity and energy 2.3. Water supply and water resource management	
Pillar II: Improved quality of life and social wellbeing	Other Areas of Assistance	Education • vocational training Health and sanitation • Improvement of local medical services
2.1. Ensuring equitable access to quality primary and secondary education for boys and girls, universal literacy among men and women and expansion of higher, technical and vocational education.	Education 1. expansion of access by school construction and assistance to making education sector plan 2. educational management development through training of educational officials)	
2.2. Improved survival, health and wellbeing of all children and women and of specially vulnerable groups		
2.3. Access to clean, affordable and safe water, sanitation, decent shelter and a safe and sustainable environment and thereby, reduced vulnerability from environmental risk.	Health (malaria control, HIV/AIDS control, Maternal and Child health)	
2.4. Adequate Social Protection and Rights of the Vulnerable and needy Groups with Basic needs and Services		
2.5. Systems in place to ensure effective universal access to quality public services that are affordable and available		
Pillar III: Good governance and accountability	3. Improvement of public services to all citizens	Governance
3.1. Structures and Systems of governance as well as the rule of law are democratic, participatory, representative, accountable and inclusive	3.1. Strengthening administrative capacity at the local government level	
3.2. Equitable allocation of public resources with corruption effectively addressed	3.2. Strengthening government financial management systems	
3.3. Effective Public Service framework in place to provide foundation for service delivery improvements and poverty reduction	3.3. Enhancing government capacity for monitoring development outcomes	
3.4. Rights of the poor and vulnerable groups are protected and promoted in the justice systems		
3.5. Reduction of political and social exclusion and intolerance		
3.6. Improved personal and material securities, reduced crime, eliminate sexual		

abuse and domestic violence		
3.7. National cultural identities enhanced and promoted		

Source: Embassy of Japan in Tanzania 2012a; Government of Japan 2008; KOICA 2008b; United Republic of Tanzania 2005; 2007; UNIDO 2010: 11

6.3. Combined Results

The Japanese and South Korean ODA policies towards Vietnam and Tanzania as presented in Chapter 6.1. and 6.2. were examples for country level policies, which now serve as an additional source for actual ODA behavior or role performance. The case studies not only showed aspects of Aid Philosophy, but were further useful for other quantitative categories by presenting additional, country level data. To compare role conceptions and role performances in the final analysis, the results of the quantitative, aggregated data analysis are now combined with the information derived from the case studies. Such an approach will provide a more comprehensive picture of Japanese and South Korean ODA behavior.

6.3.1. Overall ODA Disbursements

In overall terms, as presented in Chapter 5.1., Japanese ODA did not increase over the research period regardless of political commitments. Similarly, the ODA to GNI ratio stayed at the low level of 0.18 percent, far below the stated goal of 0.7 percent. With regard to bilateral ODA commitments as declared to the OECD, only between 75.2 percent and 82.6 percent were disbursed to Vietnam. Aid disbursements to Tanzania averaged 86.2 percent of commitments, where assumed delays of disbursements had to be accounted for. These findings support the previous result, underlining that Japanese ODA commitments were met neither in aggregated terms nor at the recipient country level over the research period. Therefore, a gap between rhetoric and practice for this category is evident.

South Korea held its promises with regard to the increase of the ODA to GNI ratio by 2010, however, the most recent percentage of 0.14 percent in 2012 was not convincing with regard to further increases to 0.25 percent by 2015. Nonetheless, efforts towards increasing the ODA budget bore fruit in both the percentage of GNI as well as in absolute terms. By 2011-12, South Korea disbursed 1.6 billion USD compared to the initial 0.65 billion USD in 2005-06, leaving a possibility for commitments being met by 2015. Regardless, the results of the case studies show a different picture. Vietnam received on average 37.5 percent of commitments, while the disbursements to Tanzania averaged 38.8 percent of the amount pledged. Possibly, as was shown in the case of Japan, disbursements are delayed, but they are rather low considering the time passed between 2005 and 2012 without an increase of shares. It is thus save to state that South Korea showed efforts to increasing its ODA in overall terms, but in bilateral terms disbursements have fallen far short of the ambitious commitments.

6.3.2. Distribution of ODA

For the distribution of ODA, the choice of an Asian and an African recipient country of Japanese and South Korean ODA turned out to be especially useful. By comparing Vietnam and Tanzania, two of the major recipients in their respective regions for both donors,

conclusions could be drawn on Japanese and South Korean preferences with regard to general allocation, the considerations of recipient need and possible mutual benefits inherent in the aid relationships.

6.3.2.1. *Regional ODA Distribution*

The qualitative content analysis found that both Japan and South Korea concentrated their regional aid commitments on furthering African development. This rhetoric stood in contrast to the image of Japanese and South Korean ODA efforts portrayed in the literature, and could also not hold with regard to actual regional allocations. First, both overall shares and a look at the top ten recipients showed the underrepresentation of Africa with only one recipient in Japanese ODA disbursements. More than half of all aid was disbursed to the top ten recipients leaving significantly smaller amounts for all the other African recipients. Thus, while the political rhetoric has clearly emphasized Japan's commitment to further African development, financial efforts in this regard were still minor compared to the amounts of aid disbursed to Asian recipients. The case studies emphasized this discrepancy by showing that in 2005-06 Vietnam and Tanzania received 665 billion and 37 billion USD respectively, while in 2011-12 the amounts were 1693 million and 133 million USD. Clearly, Vietnam received more than ten times the aid disbursed to Tanzania in 2011-12, even though the country was still one of the major African recipients for Japan. As a result, the bias towards Asian recipients was supported by both aggregated as well as individual recipient country data, regardless of the rhetorical emphasis of ODA to Africa.

In contrast to Japanese efforts, South Korea fulfilled its pledges to increase aid to Africa as well as the aid pledged to ASEAN countries. Nonetheless, Asia remained the largest recipient region in overall terms, indicating a similar regional bias of South Korean ODA. The prioritization of certain countries was especially pronounced in the increase of South Korean ODA to Vietnam and Tanzania. While Vietnam received three times the amount of ODA compared to Tanzania in 2005-6, by 2011-12 it received five times the amount. Both countries were the top recipients of their respective region, thus, Vietnam serves as an example of the importance of Asia in South Korean ODA. Considering that the top ten recipients received 41.9 percent of South Korean aid on average and only one African country was represented in the list, it has to be assumed that the other African recipients only received minor amounts compared to the Asian recipients. Therefore, the increase of Africa's share in overall South Korean ODA seems less impressive in this context.

6.3.2.2. *Recipient Need*

The analysis of both countries' consideration of recipient need based on recipients' income levels revealed small but noticeable differences. Japan and South Korea both started out with a higher share of aid going to middle income countries and decreased this share for the sake of aid to low income countries. However, South Korean aid in 2011-12 strongly supported low income countries with almost half of its ODA, while Japanese shares to these countries accounted for only a quarter of its aid. In 2011-12, the share of aid to middle income countries still took up more than half of its ODA. In detail, LMICs received almost double the aid going to LDCs in 2011-12. Among the top recipients, LDCs were similarly underrepresented,

indicating that regional considerations were more important than recipient need in Japanese aid allocations. In contrast, South Korea provided close to one-third of aid to LMICs and only a little less to LDCs, indicating a clear trend in favor of LDCs. LDCs were equally represented in the top ten recipients list, even though the two largest recipients were LMICs.

By quantitatively assessing the case studies, the consideration of recipient need in bilateral aid and individual projects can be better understood. In the case of Vietnam, it has to be noted that the country only received the status of LMIC in 2010, which can be attributed to international support and Vietnam's own development efforts. Thus, in 2005 Vietnam was still considered an LDC, to which a high amount of aid disbursement could be justified in the context of recipient need. Taking into account that ODA policy decisions as well as projects are intended for several years, it is assumed that assistance to Vietnam did not stop immediately after the country reached LMIC status. The amounts provided in 2011-12 could thus still be justified as answering to recipient need.

An example for such a long-term project in Vietnam was the Phan Ri-Phan Thiet Irrigation Project undertaken by JICA. It was started in 2001 but was still included in the rolling plan for Vietnam in 2013 (Embassy of Japan in Vietnam 2013). To further underline considerations of recipient need, the project focused on a rural target area with a low GDP per capita growth rate. South Korea was also said to focus interventions on underdeveloped areas, although the specific project presented could not support this statement. In the case of Tanzania, the country's debt burden was answered by Japan in 2007 with a debt relief of 641.76 million USD (OECD 2014a). This activity corresponded with the HIPC's Initiative of the donor community in 2006, showing Japan's willingness to support recipient countries where needed. Even though no specific rhetorical statements on debt relief were identified in the qualitative content analysis, Japan clearly adhered to international standards in this matter. Regardless, Japanese aid to Tanzania was said to mostly focus on the Kilimanjaro and Dar es Salaam areas and the South Korean project presented was only conducted in Dar es Salaam—the fairly developed capital of the country—rather than poor, rural communities.

As a result, Japan and South Korea seem to have considered recipient need, although only to a limited extent. While South Korea had an equal share of LDCs and LMICs amongst its top recipients, Japan clearly favored LMICs and even included UMICs. Therefore, Japanese aid more than South Korean aid favored countries with a higher status of development, thereby undermining international trends of increased donor support to LDCs. At the local level the findings are inconclusive as the Japanese project in Vietnam was conducted in a poor area, while for Tanzania Japanese interventions in general and the South Korean project in specific were found to concentrate on richer, urban areas. However, this recipient country comparison can only serve as an example of Japanese and South Korean considerations of recipient need at the project level, further research on JICA and KOICA projects would be necessary. Overall, regional considerations seem to have played a more important role than recipient need, as many Asian recipients were middle income countries rather than LDCs. Aid to LMICs has further implications, as countries that have reached a higher status of economic and human development can be assumed to be more interesting recipients with regard to mutual benefit. This will be further explained in the next section.

6.3.2.3. *Mutual Benefit*

Mutual benefit was assessed by providing data on the economic freedom of the top ten recipients—an indicator essential for doing business with another country—as well as looking at the sector allocations of Japanese and South Korean ODA. It was found that Japanese commitments to increase aid to the health and education sectors were supported by the aggregated data on social infrastructure and services. However, the economic infrastructure sector continued to receive the largest amount of aid. By the same token, these trends showed up in the case studies. The latter sector received the largest amount of aid in Vietnam over the whole research period, while social infrastructure, most of the time the second largest sector, received never more than 15.8 percent. As an example, large-scale construction projects in the transport sector were found to have been the largest subsector for 2013. The presented irrigation project supported the suspicion that Japan favored large-scale economic infrastructure projects, even though some project components were in line with categories assigned to the production and social infrastructure sectors. Nonetheless, amongst the top recipients Vietnam had the lowest score of economic freedom, indicating that mutual benefit could be difficult to achieve unless recipient business capacity is strengthened. Such an understanding would explain Japan's focus on the economic infrastructure and services sector, which, for instance, also includes capacity development initiatives in the financial sectors.

In the case of Tanzania, Japan stated mutual growth as a reason to support the country's economic and social development through its comparative advantage in socio-economic development and environmental conservation. The improvement of relations was especially important for Japanese companies (Embassy of Japan in Tanzania 2012a), underlining the rhetoric emphasis of mutual benefit. Even though many focus areas were identified for ODA to Africa in the commitments, namely water, agriculture, health, as well as economic growth efforts, aggregate data showed that aid to the social infrastructure sector declined sharply compared to the economic infrastructure sector. These findings were supported by the case study. Within only eight years Japanese aid to Tanzania had entirely changed its focus, from favoring the social infrastructure sector to an intense concentration on economic growth initiatives. In line with Japan's perceived comparative advantage in agriculture and transportation as mentioned in the CAP, the rolling plan showed that agriculture, transportation, energy and water all had several ongoing projects. Thus, Japan's aid to Tanzania clearly emphasized the focus on economic considerations over social ones, which was reflected in both overall sector shares as well as individual project categories. Therefore, sectoral commitments made to Africa as a region could not be supported by the Tanzanian case study.

South Korean commitments prioritized health and education sectors as well as support for recipients' self-sustained economic growth. Over the research period the allocation of aid to the social and economic infrastructure sectors remained remarkably stable at around 47 and 30 percent respectively. By far the largest two sectors, these results reflected the importance given to the social and economic sectors in the political rhetoric.

In contrast, the case studies showed a very different trend. In both Vietnam and Tanzania, from 2005 to 2012 aid to social infrastructure had almost halved by the end of the research period, while aid to economic infrastructure had increased. By 2011-12, economic

infrastructure was the largest sector in both countries. The economic growth of recipients seems to have gained importance for South Korea, indicating an increased consideration of mutual benefit. In this regard, South Korea identified the IT and high-tech industry as its comparative advantage. The ICT education project in Tanzania exemplified this perceived advantage and thus considerations of mutual benefit. Due to the overall success of the project, it was intended to serve as a model for further ICT infrastructure development, suggesting that Korea's role in the sector was essential. Intentions of undertaking similar projects in the future would bring benefits for South Korea as a main actor in this industry. In contrast, the Vietnamese project concentrated on institutional capacity development for drug control efforts. It is noticeable that the project was deemed conducive in strengthening the friendly ties between South Korea and Vietnam, which is an essential component for mutual benefit. Thus, this project also suggests that South Korea increasingly used aid as a means to enhance its national interest.

The case studies undermined commitments by showing that both Japan and South Korea had shifted their focus during the research period. Despite the high importance given to assistance for health and education initiatives, implementation at the project level concentrated more on economic growth initiatives. The mentioning of comparative advantages suggests a focus on mutual benefit based on economic considerations. In international forums politicians concentrated their rhetoric on social infrastructure components in line with MDGs and made only general remarks on initiatives in the economic infrastructure sector, while the commitments made to specific regions highlighted the donors' concerns for mutual benefit. The overall increase of aid to the economic sector in Vietnam and Tanzania together with the evidence from the projects, suggests that the rhetoric of pursuing mutual benefit was in line with actual ODA performance on a recipient country level. The low scores of economic freedom for both recipients did not seem to impede project implementation or the gaining of benefits. In this regard, the improvement of the recipient-donor relationships seems to have been an important aspect of the donors' considerations of mutual benefit.

6.3.3. *Universal Values*

Japanese and South Korean policy-makers hardly ever voiced concerns over human rights and democratization in the context of their ODA policies, but nonetheless defined them as indicators for their role conceptions. The results of the Freedom House Index as applied to the top ten recipients (cf. Table 14) showed that many recipients were considered not free or only partly free, demonstrating that these indicators did not play a significant role in the selection of recipients. These results alone are not sufficient to draw conclusions; therefore, the identification of projects on this topic in recipient countries was essential. Similarly, sector allocations will be indicative as social infrastructure projects are assumed to have a greater impact on human rights and democratization matters than economic infrastructure projects. Considering that assistance to government and civil society are accounted for in the social infrastructure and services shares, South Korea gave this sector more importance than Japan.

On a country level, Japan included good governance as one of three major pillars in its assistance to Vietnam, but only 12 interventions out of 230 dealt with issues including the judicial and administrative system. At the same time, aid to the social infrastructure and

services sector decreased from 2005 to 2012. Evidently, Japanese aid did not contribute to the improvement of political rights and civil liberties in Vietnam as exemplified by the low scores in the Freedom House Index of 2014. Even though good governance was a concern for Japan in its assistance to Vietnam—as seen in the general rhetoric on democratization in Asian countries—interventions were few compared to other sectors. Thus, the stated concern was not acted upon as evidenced in the Vietnamese case study. In Tanzania, Japan similarly mentioned the improvement of administrative services as a core pillar in the CAP and allocated aid to 38 out of 99 interventions for this sector. However, while aid to the social infrastructure and services sector received the largest share in 2005-06, it had declined significantly by 2011-12. Taking into consideration that Tanzania had the status of partly free in the Freedom House Index with rather good scores, the large number of projects to improve administrative services seems to suggest Japan's concerns over democratization in Tanzania despite the larger shares of aid to economic infrastructure and services. Regardless, the large number of supported interventions in Tanzania stands in stark contrast to the low number of projects in this sector in Vietnam, despite its lower scores in the Freedom House Index.

South Korea highlighted human rights as prerequisites for development and therefore added governance as a core area for assistance in its strategies to Vietnam and Tanzania. Regardless of the rhetoric, in Vietnam only two out of 12 projects concentrated on governance issues with 10 percent of trainees and only 3.8 percent of volunteers. Concurrently, aid to the social infrastructure sector halved over the research period. A more detailed consideration of the assistance strategy showed that institutional capacity building included computerization of government administration as well as the promotion of trade and investment. These components might account for strengthening the government, but cannot be attributed to strengthening civil society. Only the presented project exemplified South Korean assistance to good governance in Vietnam. Similarly, governance was stated as a central aspect of South Korean aid to Tanzania, but the share of social infrastructure starkly decreased from 75.8 to 41.3 percent over the research period. The findings from the Vietnamese case study could not be supported by the presented project from Tanzania, which concentrated on ICT capacity building but did not consider democratization or human rights.

Overall, recipient country scores indicate that aid targeted at democratization or human rights initiatives was more needed in Vietnam than in Tanzania. However, Japan clearly provided more aid in this regard in Tanzania than in Vietnam, bringing into doubt its commitment to strengthening democratization in Asian countries. In the same instance, it can be assumed that Japan did not take universal values as an important allocation criterion; other interests seem to have been more influential. For South Korea the same trend was identified, with the social infrastructure sector in Tanzania receiving higher shares of aid than the same sector in Vietnam, even though the presented project exemplified good governance initiatives in the country. Thus, the commitment of both donors to the universal values of human rights and democracy could not be found in the implementation of their ODA policy.

6.3.4. *Quality of Aid*

The indicators derived from the literature for Quality of Aid could be easily assembled for the two case study countries. However, the presentation of individual projects served as a useful addition to the OECD CRS data as they shed light on the implementation mechanisms that

were used to conduct the projects. The following analysis therefore combines the aggregated, overall data, recipient country data and information on the conduct of projects in both Vietnam and Tanzania.

6.3.4.1. *Grants and Loans*

The share of grants and loans is an aid quality indicator widely discussed in the literature and by international institutions, and thus was found in both donors' political rhetoric. Both Japan and South Korea promised on several occasions to increase the share of grants. Japan further specified commitments by promising to double grants to Africa as well as use loans to strengthen recipient country's self-help in the region. In aggregated terms, a slight tilt of Japanese ODA towards loans and away from grants was evident over the research period. In contrast, South Korea clearly favored grants over loans between 2005 and 2012, even though the share of grants decreased noticeably over the years.

A more detailed analysis was possible from the results of the case studies. Japan slightly increased the share of loans for Vietnam over the research period, which was already high in 2005-06. Similarly, the share of South Korean loans to the country increased, but to a much larger extent, namely to almost 70 percent. Thus, both countries mainly used loans for ODA to Vietnam rather than grants, which supported the stated focus on self-help. In contrast, aid to Tanzania was dominated by grant disbursements from both donors in 2005-06, even though this share declined in the following years. In the case of Japan, in 2011-12 grants were still the main mechanism of disbursements. Thus, some of the commitments seem to have borne fruit, although in the past, Japan had disbursed a higher share of grants than in 2011-12. South Korean grants decreased to only a third of disbursements over time. In this sense, the data seemed to point towards a trend of declining grant shares in South Korean ODA regardless of political commitments.

Neither Japan nor South Korea stayed true to their words of increasing grant aid. The case studies further highlighted this fact with very high loan disbursements to Vietnam. In the case of Tanzania, Japan's promise to increase grants to Africa could not be found, instead the use of loans increased supporting the proclamation of Minister for Foreign Affairs Okada (May 2, 2010). South Korean commitments were especially undermined by the case studies, in which the share of loans in Tanzania increased to 66.9 percent and in Vietnam to 81.9 percent from 2005 to 2012. As a result, it was shown that both donors did not perform as announced by policy-makers, decreasing the share of grants rather than increasing it.

6.3.4.2. *Tied Aid*

The reduction of tied aid is an often-mentioned indicator in the context of bilateral aid and has thus been referred to by both Japanese and South Korean decision-makers. While Japan's share of tied aid was already very low at the beginning of the research period, South Korea acknowledged the need to untie its aid in view of its OECD DAC membership. The data showed that Korea had decreased the share of tied aid by more than half by 2012, especially with respect to grants. Even though a similar stark decrease was evident in loan commitments, more than 50 percent were still tied by the end of the research period. This difference in the share of tied grants and loans could be interpreted as a means of achieving economic gains

through ODA, although more research will be needed in this regard. In the Japanese case the tying status of loan commitments slightly increased over the research period, challenging previous accomplishments in this regard.

As no disaggregated recipient data was available for tied aid in the OECD database, the projects presented in the two case studies served as valuable examples for the status of tied aid at recipient level. Formerly criticized for tying the procurement of its aid projects (cf. Ensign 1992: 21; Yanagihara and Emig 1991: 51), Japan did not do so in the Phan Ri-Phan Thiet Irrigation Project. In general, the project was found to mostly use local labor and equipment from the recipient country. In contrast, South Korean aid received complaints for its tied procurement in Vietnam, which resulted in delivery delays (KOICA 2009: 80-81). For the two projects undertaken in Tanzania, no reference with regard to tied aid could be found. Therefore, the findings from the projects in Vietnam clearly support aggregated data in the sense that Japan used untied aid, while South Korea was obviously using tied procurement, for which it was openly criticized by the recipient country. Nevertheless, the tremendous change of South Korean ODA practice between 2005 and 2012 has to be acknowledged, which showed that commitments to further untie aid were put into action.

6.3.4.3. *Multilateral Aid*

Multilateral institutions built a core aspect of Japanese and South Korean ODA policy, judging from the official rhetoric. With regard to specific commitments, however, this emphasis was less evident. Japan only once promised financial support to the IMF in 2012, while South Korea reiterated several times the central position of the UN in its multilateral ODA diplomacy. The data showed that the multilateral share in Japanese ODA slightly increased from 2005 to 2012, while for South Korea's ODA this share evidently declined by almost 24 percent in favor of bilateral aid. In detail, the World Bank Institutions built the core of Japanese multilateral engagements, while regional development banks gained importance on the cost of UN agencies. South Korea increased aid to the World Bank Institutions and UN agencies over the research period, but regional development banks still received more support from South Korea than the UN. Overall, UN agencies received the third largest share of South Korean multilateral aid, but it remained significantly below the share going to multilateral financial institutions. While Japanese rhetoric was in line with its focus on World Bank Institutions, South Korea pronounced commitments to the UN without showing a similar financial contribution. As the case studies could not provide any additional insights into this indicator, the gap identified between South Korean rhetoric and behavior in Chapter 5.4.3. will serve as the context in which to assess the perceived role conceptions stated by policy-makers.

6.3.4.4. *Types of Aid*

South Korean policy-makers barely mentioned different types of aid, while they were not mentioned at all by their Japanese counterparts. For instance, South Korea made a commitment to increase humanitarian assistance to Africa by 100 million USD between 2008 and 2011 and invite further trainees and volunteers to the continent. Aggregated data showed

that overall humanitarian aid declined over the research period. Therefore, humanitarian aid to Africa could not have increased over the stated time period, refuting commitments.

Despite the lack of clear commitments to certain types of aid, the data can contribute to the assessment of Japanese and South Korean aid quality. For Japan project-type interventions in terms of technical cooperation made up the largest part of overall aid. Similarly, aid to Vietnam was provided mostly through projects with a small amount spent on budget support. Aid to NGOs, as accounted for in the category of core contributions, was almost negligible in the case of Vietnam over the research period. For Tanzania a similar aid mix was chosen, although core contributions and experts took up a slightly larger share than for Vietnam. Regardless, project-type interventions were the main mechanisms of aid delivery in both recipient countries. It is interesting to note that for both recipients budget support increased to more than 20 percent in 2009, indicating a short-term prioritization of this type of aid. However, in the following years budget support decreased again. Implications of these trends have to be seen in light of donor influence, which is stronger in case of project assistance, while recipient ownership is stronger in case of budget support. Thus, for one disbursement year Japan seemed to prioritize recipient ownership (cf. Chapter 5.4.4.).

The focus of South Korean ODA also lay on project-type interventions, although the dispatching of experts and scholarships increased over the research period. Technical cooperation was, like in the case of Japan, a prominent mechanism used for projects and the case study data reflected the dominance of this type of aid. Nonetheless, budget support and the use of experts increased for Vietnam, while for scholarships and especially experts aid shares increased in Tanzania. The share going to core contributions, including aid to NGOs, declined for both recipients to almost insignificant levels. Finally, a total lack of budget support to Tanzania stands in contrast to 8.3 percent for Vietnam in 2011-12, which will need to be interpreted in terms of ownership at a later stage. These examples further highlight the importance of considering shares rather than absolute numbers. Absolute numbers might increase, but compared to the increase of absolute numbers of other means of delivery the improvements might seem less meaningful.

The prominent use of project-type interventions in the aid mix of both donors highlights the control over their ODA strategies in recipient countries. Even though Japan had used budget support for a limited amount of time, it went back to concentrating on projects. In contrast, South Korea used budget support for only one of the two recipient countries. These findings are especially noteworthy compared to Japanese contributions to the two recipients' budgets, because it has implications for aid philosophy aspects, such as ownership, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.3.5.

6.3.4.5. *Aid Fragmentation*

Aid fragmentation for both Japan and South Korea was quite extensive due to a large number of recipient countries, as well as activities in almost all sectors. These tendencies were further supported in the case studies for Vietnam and Tanzania. Japan stated 230 ongoing projects in its rolling plan of 2013 for Vietnam (Embassy of Japan in Vietnam 2013). A disaggregation of sector data for Vietnam showed that over the research period, Japan was active in all sectors despite debt relief with aid disbursed to 22 out of 24 subcategories. In Tanzania, 99 interventions were underway in 2012, with Japan contributing aid to all eight sectors and all

24 subcategories over the research period (Embassy of Japan in Tanzania 2012b). The findings of severe aid fragmentation of Japanese aid were supported by both case studies with regard to the number of projects and sectors.

For South Korea only a small number of interventions could be identified in Vietnam. Twelve projects and four development studies as well as the disbursement of trainees and volunteers were listed in the KOICA evaluation. The same evaluation reiterated KOICA's limited resources and thus thinly scattered approach (KOICA 2009: 137). Overall, sector data for Vietnam further underlined the fragmentation as aid was given to six sectors and 20 subcategories between 2005 and 2012. In Tanzania, eight sectors and 19 subcategories were targeted despite similarly limited capacities of the KOICA office. In the CAS the large number of possible intervention sectors was listed, which stood in contrast to the small aid volume of the donor (KOICA 2008b). In this regard, it became evident that South Korea's aid fragmentation was equally present at the recipient country level and severely strained the donor's aid capacities.

This overburdening of South Korean aid resources has to be considered in comparison to Japan's approach. Both donors show a similar number of recipient countries and sectors in general as well as at the country level, despite largely different aid budgets. At the project level, the number of interventions clearly shows that Japan had much more resources at hand, while South Korea's resources for projects were limited and already overstretched. The considerations behind such a wide-spanning South Korean ODA program despite limited resources needs to be assessed in future research. For this study, the stated results support commitments made to many regions, countries and sectors, but at the same time call into question the donors' ability to fulfill all commitments equally. The findings of other sections seem to suggest that the large aid fragmentation hampered the fulfillment of commitments.

6.3.5. Aid Philosophy

Finally, aid philosophy aspects were taken exclusively from the two case studies. Indicators for aid philosophy were found in policy commitments with references to partnership with recipients, recipient ownership of development strategies and projects, and support for recipient self-reliance. The measurement of partnership commitments with regard to ownership and alignment were stated in the Paris Declaration. While the first refers to respect for the recipient country's leadership in development efforts, alignment targets the support of donors for national strategies (OECD 2005/2008). The donor assistance strategies together with the projects presented in the case studies allowed assessing Japan's and South Korea's commitments in terms of actual behavior.

Partnership was understood by Japan to entail support for recipients' self-help efforts and human security (Okada, May 2, 2010). Especially ODA to Asian countries was intended to increase recipients' prosperity, bringing about a "win-win" situation for the donor and recipients (Omi, April 15, 2007; Tanigaki, May 5, 2006). In this regard, the Vietnamese case provided a good example of how such support was implemented. The Japanese CAP to Vietnam focused on improving living and social conditions, including disaster prevention for rural development. Even though human security was only mentioned for two projects in the rolling plan, a strong focus on education and health underlined this approach. Overall, 100 projects targeted the fragility of communities as highlighted in the CAP, which is also related

to human security concerns. In contrast, the Tanzanian CAP specifically used the phrase human security. Japan's long experience with malaria control in Tanzania underlined its concerns over human security in the country. Partnership was further highlighted by the shared responsibilities between the donor and recipient country in the Integrated Malaria Control Project. Similarly, Japan actively participated in the government's donor coordination initiative JAST. Therefore, Japanese ODA on a national level was found to adhere to its stated commitment of partnership based on human security efforts.

With regard to ownership, Japan played a significant role in the development of Vietnamese plans and policies, persuading Vietnam to add large-scale infrastructure as a development priority. Thereby, Vietnam did not fully define the SEDP's priorities for itself. However, in the Phan Ri-Phan Thiet Irrigation Project a Vietnamese ministry undertook the design and initiation of the project, while Japan simply provided loans. Additionally, local labor and equipment were used in the project, which support the notion of self-help. In the case of Tanzania, recipient ownership was enhanced through increased budget support, which was one of the preferred aid mechanisms of the recipient government. However, such support decreased for 2011-12, making project-type interventions by far the main modality of Japanese aid. This change was in line with Japanese rhetoric as projects were seen to better enhance self-help efforts. On the project level, the Government of Tanzania requested the Integrated Malaria Control Project and its implementation exemplified Japanese respect for recipient leadership. As a result, Japanese concerns for recipient ownership and leadership were found to be weak on the national level. On the project level, however, the initiation of projects was mostly recipient-driven and ownership seemed strong.

Overall alignment with recipient policies, especially with regard to Japan's influence on the Vietnamese SEDP, has to be questioned. Japan supported Vietnamese strategies by aligning its CAP, but initially had influenced it itself. In contrast, alignment with national strategies in Tanzania was less prominent as Pillar II was not included in the three Japanese assistance priorities. Japan's priorities clearly emphasized infrastructure, which was supported by significant increases of aid to the transport and energy sectors. These developments were in line with the rhetoric of enhancing self-reliance through the expansion of market access to products of LDCs (Koizumi, April 22, 2005), for which economic infrastructure was deemed an essential prerequisite. In conclusion, the alignment with recipient development policies was only given to a limited extent, while self-reliance as defined by Japan was more prominent in bilateral ODA efforts. Japan seemed to have chosen for itself "what each African country truly needs" (Koizumi, May 1, 2006), rather than adhering to recipients' plans, and thus alignment and ownership were clearly undermined.

The case studies offered varied insights into South Korean aid policy at both country and project level. For both Vietnam and Tanzania a Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) with individual priority areas was developed. Even though the development of the CAS seemingly supported the commitments made in reference to partnership and the consideration of recipients' needs (cf. Bakh, November 30, 2011; Kim, November 30, 2011c; Lee, June 5, 2010; Yu, November 24, 2009), assessments of these suggest otherwise. In the case of Vietnam, the CAS was developed in a top-down manner and no English version was available, limiting its accessibility for non-Korean speaking, Vietnamese officials. This was also true in case of the Tanzanian CAS, where similar obstacles hindered further dialogue between the donor and the recipient. With regard to donor cooperation, South Korea was not

participating in the JAST of the recipient government. On the project level, the Vietnamese project showed a high relevance for the SEDP, thus, Vietnam's own priorities were considered in the South Korean ODA project. Regardless, at the national level South Korean ODA did show alignment with or respect for recipient country policies.

Another aspect of partnership included knowledge sharing of South Korea's own development experience (cf. Bakh, October 12, 2012; Lee, June 16, 2009; Lee, January 3, 2011; Song, September 28, 2007; Yoon, February 24, 2010; Yu, June 2, 2009). In this regard, Vietnam was identified as a priority country for the Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP), especially in terms of educational and vocational trainings (Cheong 2010: 148-149). This program underlined the notion of partnership in the Vietnamese-South Korean ODA relationship. Similarly, the project in Tanzania focused on such knowledge sharing activities and was deemed successful, by serving as a leading example for future capacity building initiatives. These examples notwithstanding, the commitment of increasing partnership efforts with recipient governments was found to be largely lacking at the country level, while at the project level partnership was only shown in the Vietnamese project. As a result, partnership efforts did not fulfill stated commitments in the South Korean ODA policy, even though the specific commitments on strengthening knowledge sharing activities were satisfied.

With regard to ownership, a comparison of recipient country development strategies with South Korean CASs was useful. While the Vietnamese CAS overall showed an alignment with Vietnam's development priorities, a more comprehensive analysis was not possible due to a lack of logical linkages in the CAS. Some priority sectors for South Korean ODA to Vietnam were not mentioned in the CAS, making it an incomplete document that did not fully disclose South Korean ODA policy to the recipient. On the project level, procurement was tied (KOICA 2009: 80-81), highlighting the lack of ownership by the recipient. Equally, the Tanzanian CAS was developed in a top-down manner only generally following recipient priorities, while the preferred assistance mechanisms of the Tanzanian government—debt relief and budget support—were not implemented by the donor. The lack of respect was also found for the Tanzanian project, for which no stakeholders were consulted and no alignment with the Tanzanian governments' strategy was evident. These examples clearly challenge the commitments of strengthening African project ownership (cf. Ban, June 30, 2006). As a result, neither alignment nor ownership was sufficiently considered in the South Korean ODA policies towards Vietnam and Tanzania.

Neither Japan nor South Korea completely adhered to the principles of partnership and ownership to which they both committed. Nevertheless, Japan was found to respect recipient countries' priorities and therefore a relationship based on partnership, especially on the project level. On the other hand, recipient ownership was clearly undermined at the national level. In this regard, the Japanese commitment to self-reliance, which should support the economic development of a recipient, stood in contrast to the recipient countries' self-defined priorities. In the case of South Korean ODA, partnership was shown in the form of Korea's knowledge sharing activities, but was found lacking with regard to respect for recipient country initiatives and priorities. Similarly, alignment and ownership were insufficiently considered in the South Korean ODA policy towards the two recipients. Therefore, South Korea, other than Japan, could not support its political rhetoric for the category of aid philosophy, other than in terms of knowledge sharing.

7. Discussion – Japanese and South Korean ODA Roles

The analysis of role performances based on aid disbursement data with a comparison of aid commitments in Chapter 5 has shown that the two are not always consistent. In addition to the quantitative data analyzed, Chapter 6 further focused on Japanese and South Korean ODA policy in two recipient countries. A combination of these results allowed for a more comprehensive understanding of the two donors' commitments and behavior. Consequently, role performances and their consistency with commitments can now be compared to the role conceptions identified in the qualitative content analysis. The first part of this chapter links the role conceptions with previous findings, identifying similarities and differences in the role gaps and role coherences. The second part then provides an overall comparison of Japan's and South Korea's ODA roles in the international system.

7.1. Role Gaps – Similarities and Differences

The comparison of commitments with data on actual aid disbursements and donor behavior towards recipients as exemplified in the case studies resulted in the identification of inconsistencies. Differences were evidently found between what Japanese and South Korean policy-makers said and what they did in terms of ODA. These differences in commitments and behavior are now attributed to the stated role conceptions, which will link role conceptions with role performance. As a result, the roles can be confirmed or discouraged, allowing for a conclusion to be drawn on whether and where role gaps exist for Japanese and South Korean ODA roles. Finally, Japanese and South Korean roles are compared based on their coherence as well as on similarities or differences with regard to identified role gaps.

7.1.1. *Bridge*

The role of "Bridge" was found in statements made by both Japanese and South Korean policy-makers with reference to their ODA policy. The overall understanding was that the respective donor would connect the developed world with the developing world. The means, through which such a bridging function should be achieved, were set in the context of Quality of Aid indicators and Aid Philosophy. However, Japanese and South Korean policy-makers defined their role conceptions differently and thus were assumed to act on them differently. An individual assessment of Japanese and South Korean roles was therefore necessary.

Japanese policy-makers did not offer specific definitions of how their country would perform the role of "Bridge", but by analyzing the context, in which this role conception was spoken of, led to the identification of relevant indicators. With regard to Quality of Aid, Japan portrayed itself as a "Bridge" in relation to economic crises. For instance, a commitment was made to increase support to the IMF. As evident from the OECD data, most of multilateral ODA was provided to the World Bank Group and other regional development banks, confirming Japan's commitment to the IMF. However, actual disbursements have shown that multilateral aid took up only around 20 percent of Japanese ODA, while bilateral disbursements were a priority. Nonetheless, a slight increase of multilateral aid was noticeable over the research period, which mostly affected the share going to regional development banks, rather than to the World Bank Group. In this regard, multilateral financial

institutions remained the main recipients of Japanese multilateral ODA, supporting the rhetoric focus of policy-makers. Thus, by attributing the role of “Bridge” to multilateral aid the conclusion can be drawn that the role conception was met in practice, but only within the limited budget for multilateral ODA. Therefore, in order to further bridge developed and developing countries by using multilateral aid, especially to international and regional financial institutions, Japan would need to increase its engagement by increasing the multilateral share in its ODA mix.

The indicator of Aid Philosophy based on the findings of the case studies presented a different perspective on Japan’s role conception as a “Bridge.” On the one hand, Japan actively participated in donor coordination initiatives in Tanzania, thereby showing its attempt to link the interests of other donors with recipient government priorities. The alignment of the Japanese CAP with Tanzanian priorities further supported role coherence as it coupled its own interests with the ones of the recipient country. Even though Japan’s influence on the Vietnamese development plan was interpreted as undermining recipient ownership, from a different perspective differences between donor and recipient interests might have been overcome through compromise and thus bridged. However, questions remain about the Vietnamese government’s part in the decision-making process, and whether Japan acted solely on its own interest or whether other donors had similar interests. Nonetheless, based on the presented findings from the two case studies, Japanese role performance in Vietnam and Tanzania was found to correspond with the role of “Bridge” as defined by policy-makers.

Multilateral aid as a measure for Quality of Aid changed over the research period in South Korean ODA. Considering the rhetoric emphasis of South Korea’s indebtedness to the UN for its own economic development, which put the country into a unique position to bridge the views and interests of developed and developing countries, the stark fall of multilateral aid shares becomes relevant for further analysis. By the end of the research period more than 80 percent of ODA were provided through bilateral channels, evidently decreasing the importance of multilateral institutions in South Korean ODA policy. Even though the share of the UN increased in multilateral aid over the time period, the World Bank Group and regional development banks continued to be the two major multilateral recipients. Based on the justifications and definitions provided by the policy-makers, South Korea did not use UN agencies as institutions, where its role as a “Bridge” could be enacted. On the whole, South Korea’s efforts to establish itself as a “Bridge” using multilateral aid cannot be confirmed as bilateral channels were preferred; clearly a gap exists between role conception and role performance.

Aid Philosophy aspects served as another category upon which South Korea’s role conception was assessed. The Tanzanian case study showed that the donor was not putting efforts into becoming a bridge between the recipient country and other donors, because other than Japan South Korea did not participate in the donor coordination initiative JAST. Similarly, aspects of partnership with and ownership by the recipient country fell short of the stated rhetoric. These findings were further supported by the Vietnamese case study, where the lack of consultations with the Vietnamese government in the creation of the CAS underlined Korea’s unwillingness to engage in dialogue with recipients. By neglecting such dialogue with recipient countries, the policy-makers’ role conception of Korea representing

the voices of less developed countries, was undermined. As a result, the role conception of “Bridge” was also not fulfilled in this regard.

The differences between the role of “Bridge” for both donors become evident when comparing the previous findings. The preference for bilateral aid channels effects Japanese and South Korean role conceptions, as policy-makers made strong commitments in terms of multilateral aid. Due to a small share of ODA going to multilateral institutions, which was very similar for both donors, Japan and South Korea do not act as a “Bridge.” However, while Japan’s multilateral share slightly increased over the research period, South Korea’s share markedly declined. Additionally, Japanese policy-makers named multilateral financial institutions as the main mechanisms for establishing themselves as a “Bridge”, which was supported by the data. Conversely, South Korea focused its rhetoric on the UN as the core multilateral institution in its ODA policy, but disbursed noticeably larger shares of ODA to the World Bank Group and regional development banks. In this regard, Japan and South Korea provided similar shares to international financial institutions, but due to policy-makers’ different definition of core multilateral institutions for achieving the role of “Bridge”, Japan fulfilled this role to some extent, while South Korea did not. In the case of Aid Philosophy Japan was acting as a bridge by working with recipient countries and other donors, whereas South Korean efforts were less convincing. South Korea did not participate in the donor coordination initiative in Tanzania, in which Japan was very active, and failed to strengthen dialogue with the recipients in both cases. For this indicator a clear distinction can be made between Japan fulfilling the role conception, but South Korea failing to do so. By combining the two indicators, the assessment of the role of “Bridge” for both donors is quite different. Japan fulfills the role of “Bridge” to a large extent, even though with limitations, however, South Korea cannot be considered to be a “Bridge” in the field of ODA based on the used indicators.

7.1.2. Model

Being a “Model” for other donors as well as recipient countries was an aspiration of Japanese and South Korean decision-makers alike. Commitments for this role conception contained references to the categories of Overall ODA Disbursements, Distribution of ODA, Quality of Aid and Aid Philosophy. Recipient Need and Mutual Benefit were further highlighted to more specifically define this role by the policy-makers. The variety of mentioned indicator categories can be explained by two donors’ own experience as aid recipients, which was often emphasized in the context of the role conception “Model.”

Despite Japan’s overall aid disbursements being amongst the largest in the donor community, the ODA to GNI ratio as well as the gap between commitments and disbursements on a recipient level, question Japan’s “Model” role for other donors. Similarly, regional disbursements, which were mostly mentioned with regard to aid to Africa, showed that Asia continued to be the priority region of Japanese ODA, as further highlighted by the aid received by the two recipients in the case studies. The low number of LDCs in the list of top ten recipients stood in contrast to established norms of recipient need. Despite Japan not specifically committing itself to this norm, it nonetheless promised to increase its engagement with Africa, a region with many LDCs, which could not be confirmed in the data on regional aid distribution. Only in the indicators analyzed under Mutual Benefit a correspondence of the

role conception with role performance was found. Japan's own development experience and that of other Asian countries, which decision-makers wanted recipients to take as an example, explained the general preference for the economic infrastructure sector. In this regard, for both Vietnam and Tanzania the share of aid to the economic infrastructure sector was high, and further increased over the research period. This development exemplifies Japan's definition of a successful development model and its dedication to actively promote this model in the ODA policy towards the case study recipients. Therefore, for this specific indicator Japan fulfilled its role as a "Model" for recipients and other donors by focusing on the development of economic infrastructure as mentioned by its policy-makers. Nonetheless, the data on Overall ODA Disbursements and Distribution of ODA based on regional allocations and recipient need did not support this role conception.

The role of "Model", apart from being defined by the actor's role conception, can also be understood in terms of role expectations by others. Internationally established standards therefore served as an additional characterization for the Quality of Aid indicators. Even though external expectations were not explicitly considered in this study, the references made by Japanese policy-makers to the quality of aid in general and to several specific indicators, required considering international standards. For instance, a low share of tied aid was an often-cited good practice for donors. In this regard, despite an increase in the share of tied aid, Japan's loans and grants remained largely untied and in line with international standards. However, other aspects such as the small share of multilateral aid, the high reliance on project-type interventions and large aid fragmentation did not correspond with international "best practices." Consequently, based on this indicator category, Japan did not establish itself as a "Model" for other donors.

A core aspect of Japanese aid philosophy was the support for recipients' self-reliance through loans. Therefore, the increase of loans for both Vietnam and Tanzania between 2005 and 2012 was interpreted as Japan wanting to increase the recipients' ability for self-help. In this regard, Japan acted as a "Model" for other donors based on its conception that a donor country should supplement the self-help efforts of recipients. However, considerations of recipient ownership and partnership were less clear on the project and national level. On the project level, Japan respected recipient country decisions, thereby serving as an example for other donors, while on the national level, its own interests dominated as illustrated, for instance, by Japan's involvement in the formation of the Vietnamese SEDP. As a result, the high regard for the recipients' self-reliance was in line with stated rhetoric, but due to the neglect of ownership and partnership concerns on the national level, Aid Philosophy as an indicator does not allow to draw precise conclusions on the role of "Model" for Japan.

A distinction has to be made between Japan as a model for other donors and Japan as a model for recipient countries. Most of the aspects referred to in this section can be used to directly compare Japan with other donors. In this regard, Japan did not establish itself as a model for other donors, as many aspects of its ODA policy were no international best practices. Conversely, as a model for recipients, policy-makers drew upon the Japanese experience of economic development, which involved the use of loans and a focus on economic infrastructure. Some indicators clearly showed such preferences in the Japanese ODA program, which was argued to support recipient self-help efforts. By referring to its own experience, Japan acted as a model for recipient countries by providing the support it had itself received in the past.

South Korea's performance was similarly weak with regard to Overall Aid. Despite increasing absolute aid volumes, disbursements as well as the ODA to GNI ratio remained amongst the lowest in the DAC community. Like Japan, South Korea provided the largest part of its aid to Asian countries, although this share declined over the research period due to an increasing part going to African recipients. This shift corresponded with the importance given to Africa as a recipient region by policy-makers. Nonetheless, Africa's share was still only two-thirds of Asia's share by 2011-12, which was supported by the aid going to Vietnam and Tanzania. Compared to Japan, South Korean ODA policy seemed to be more concerned with increasing aid to LDCs, as exemplified by 50 percent of the top ten recipients being from this category. This development indicated South Korea's growing consideration of Recipient Need. For the categories of Overall Aid and Distribution of Aid, rhetoric commitments only to a limited extent led to corresponding action, making South Korea an improper model for other donors.

With reference to South Korea's own development experience, education and the empowerment of women were referred to as essential aspects of reaching the MDGs. The indicator Mutual Benefit allowed for disaggregating aid data based on sectors, in which social infrastructure best corresponded with the stated commitments. As no significant change in sector allocations was noted over the research period, social infrastructure was clearly given priority in the South Korean ODA program. However, this finding could not be supported in the case study countries, where aid to social infrastructure decreased significantly over the research period. It can thus be assumed that the recipient country context played a decisive role for South Korea to decide which sectors should be supported. The aggregated data might support South Korea's role of "Model", but at the recipient level South Korea did not act as a "Model" neither in Vietnam nor in Tanzania.

Nonetheless, the two other indicators, Quality of Aid and Aid Philosophy, turned out to be more promising. Grant aid was preferred over loans, even though the share of grants declined. The ratio of tied aid declined to a significant extent, yet still remained above DAC requirements. The small share of multilateral aid, especially to the UN, the preferred use of projects and large aid fragmentation do not establish South Korea as a model for other donors according to international standards. The findings of the two case studies further underlined this assessment. For instance, the share of loans was important for recipient self-help, which was a core principle of South Korean ODA. Therefore, the share of loans increased significantly for both Vietnam and Tanzania over the research period. However, a similar increase of project-type interventions in the two recipient countries questioned the rhetoric of supporting recipients in their pursuit of self-reliance and ownership, as donors were assumed to have more influence on projects than they would have on general budget support. A strong knowledge sharing component found in the CAS' of Vietnam and Tanzania shows that South Korea put efforts into sharing its own development experience, as was highlighted by policy-makers. Thus, South Korea tried to be a model for recipient countries, but did not support them sufficiently in pursuing their own development strategies, which undermined partnership and ownership aspects. As a consequence, South Korea cannot be assumed to be a model for other donors, and to be a model for recipients only to a limited extent.

For both donors gaps were found between their role conceptions and role performances with regard to the role of "Model." The results of the categories Overall Aid and Distribution of Aid, including Recipient Need, discouraged the notion of both Japan and South Korea

being a model for other donors. Policy-makers referred to international standards, and thus role expectations, for both of these indicators. The international goal of providing 0.7 percent of GNI as ODA was not reached by either donor, in fact, they both performed far worse than other DAC donors on this indicator. Further similarities were found with regard to the regional distribution of ODA, which showed the preference of both donors for their neighboring Asian countries. Since policy-makers concentrated their arguments on increasing ODA to Africa, the small share of aid going to this region was especially noticeable. The rhetoric focus suggests that the overall trend of increasing ODA to Africa was a point of reference for policy-makers when presenting their role conception to an international audience. Despite an increase of South Korean ODA to Africa, neither Japan nor South Korea was found to live up to their commitments and could, thus, not serve as a model for other donor countries in this aspect. Similarly, in the same regional context, recipients need was mentioned, but not considered in actual aid disbursements as measured by the share of LDCs in the top ten recipient countries. While the share of LDCs in the Japanese aid program was very low, South Korea had five LDCs in the top ten list, indicating that the consideration of recipient need might have played a role to some extent. It seems that Japan had other interests in mind than catering to the needs of low-income countries. Nonetheless, the donors referred to their own development experiences, providing aid to their chosen priority sectors. Japan focused on economic infrastructure as promised, while South Korea showed a preference for the social infrastructure sector in aggregated terms. A clear difference of focus of the two countries' ODA programs becomes evident here. However, at the recipient level, South Korea provided most aid to the economic infrastructure sector, just like Japan, which stands in contrast to its stated commitments. While Japan fulfilled the role of "Model" in this aspect based on its self-defined role conception, South Korea only did so at the aggregate level, but not in recipient countries.

The category Quality of Aid again revealed similarities between the two DAC donors. Japan performed well according to international standards with regard to the low share of tied aid. While South Korea still had a high share of tied aid, the larger share of grant aid was thought to be positive. Nevertheless, the case studies showed that on the whole Quality of Aid indicators could support the role conception. Considering the category of Aid Philosophy, results were more ambiguous. Japanese policy-makers promised to support recipient countries' self-reliance, which was found to be true for the case study recipients. Therefore, Japan served as a model for other donors in this aspect. South Korea similarly focused on self-help efforts by sharing its own experience through the KSP. However, ownership and partnership considerations were undermined by either donor at the national or project level, even though they took up an important part in their commitments. In conclusion, it can be stated that Japan and South Korea did not act as models for other donors, but by basing their aid programs on their own development experiences they were models for recipient countries to some extent. The overall role of "Model", thus, remains ambiguous for both donors and dependent on the context.

7.1.3. Respected Member of the International Community

Trust is an important aspect of being respected by the international community. Thus, Japan and South Korea promised in the context of this role conception to uphold their ODA

commitments and adhere to established standards. Japanese policy-makers wanted to earn respect for their active engagement in many different aspects of ODA, not only economic ones (cf. Hatoyama, September 16, 2009). In contrast, South Korean policy-makers highlighted aspects of Universal Values (cf. Shin, September 25, 2010; Yoon, February 24, 2010; November 19, 2010; Yu, March 1, 2009).

Minister of Foreign Affairs Gemba (April 5, 2012) had voiced concern over a decreasing Japanese ODA budget. While previous policy-makers spoke of increasing contributions that should enhance peace and stability in the world, ODA disbursements practically stagnated over the whole research period. As already mentioned in section 7.1.2., the ODA to GNI ratio remained far below set standards and was amongst the lowest of the DAC donors. Disbursements at the bilateral level similarly remained below stated commitments, but they did not significantly fluctuate over the research period. Therefore, recipient countries could rely on a continuous disbursement of Japanese aid, despite these disbursements being below the originally promised levels. Even though Minister Gemba's concerns were not supported by the data for the research period, Japanese ODA disbursements also did not increase as promised by previous policy-makers. Thus, it can be stated that Japan's role performance for this indicator was not satisfactory, undermining the respect for Japan in the international community.

In other instances established relationships were claimed to be held in high esteem (cf. Koizumi, April 22, 2005; Koumura, January 18, 2008). Such claims were supported by comparatively unchanging ODA shares to Asian and African recipients in aggregate terms, as well as the continuous flow of aid to some top recipients over the research period. The increase of Japanese aid to Vietnam further underlined the importance of the long-standing relationship between the two countries. In the case of Tanzania, aid disbursements fluctuated significantly since the initiation of aid relations and especially between 2005 and 2012. It thus seems that some relations were considered more important than others, which could weaken the trust extended to Japan as a donor. Moreover, respect should be gained by using aid for a variety of sectors, not just the economic sector. Japan's aid activities in all the sectors identified by the OECD as well as increases in aid to sectors such as social infrastructure and production supported such commitments. However, economic infrastructure remained the largest sector in aggregate terms and in the case study recipient countries Vietnam and Tanzania. For these two recipients, Japan did not take the opportunity to become a major donor in another sector, providing a large portion of its aid to the economic sector, for which absolute disbursements steadily increased in both countries over the research period. The Japanese rolling plans for projects in Tanzania and Vietnam further highlighted the donor's preference for economic infrastructure projects. It could be argued that already established relationships were upheld by continued provision of aid to traditional sectors, however, since Japanese policy-makers specifically highlighted their countries intention of engaging in a variety of sectors, role performance in this category did not correspond with the role conception.

The category of Quality of Aid has to be studied by combining all indicators for this role as no references to any specific indicators were mentioned in the analyzed statements and speeches. To deserve the respect of the international community, bilateral as well as multilateral recipients should be able to trust that Japanese commitments will be turned into actions. However, as explained in Chapter 7.1.2., Japan did not act according to

internationally set standards for most of the indicators. Due to a lack of definitions given by policy-makers, the external expectations serve as a basis upon which it can be said that Japan did not act as a “Respected Member of the International Community.”

Similar to Japan, as a “Respected Member of the International Community”, South Korea lagged behind the absolute aid disbursement levels of other donors despite its growing ODA budget. As exemplified by the low ODA to GNI ratio, South Korea failed to provide ODA levels commensurate to its economic capacities. Therefore, this indicator again undermined the self-perceived role conception of South Korea (cf. Chapter 7.1.2.). In addition, the discrepancy between commitments and disbursements in the two case study recipients showed that commitments to increasing ODA were not fulfilled completely. For both recipients the average of this share over the research period was below 40 percent, with large fluctuations from one year to the next. Such a disruption of aid disbursements should make recipient countries vary of trusting South Korean commitments. However, as disbursements can be subject to delays, the found gap between role conception and role performance leaves room for improvements of South Korean ODA in the future.

Universal Values such as democracy and human rights played an important part in South Korea’s role conception. In this regard, the large number of recipients classified as not free or partly free amongst the top ten recipients indicated that these values were only marginally, if at all, considered in aid allocation decisions. The two case study countries Vietnam and Tanzania were classified as not free and partly free respectively. It was, thus, evident that South Korea supported countries where political rights and civil liberties were inadequately enforced. Even though the preference for social infrastructure projects could suggest that South Korea intended to improve these indicators in recipient countries through such projects, the case studies provided a different picture. First, aid to social infrastructure decreased over the research period for the sake of economic infrastructure in both recipient countries. Second, the two case studies illustrated that South Korean ODA only marginally targeted the strengthening of civil society in its projects. Thus, South Korea did not uphold Universal Values in its aid practice, making it an unworthy candidate for the respect of the international community.

Another important aspect for South Korean policy-makers was making friends by using ODA, which was accounted for by analyzing the indicator of aid fragmentation in the Quality of Aid category. The high level of aid fragmentation could suggest that South Korea intended to build relationships with almost all possible ODA recipient countries throughout the world. The comparably small overall ODA budget, which severely limited the amount disbursed to all these recipients, seems to be a weak mechanism for this goal. However, there remains the possibility that the disbursement of ODA was only intended to support existing relationships or had a fundamentally different purpose altogether. These interpretations will have to be further investigated in another research endeavor. Additionally, the share of multilateral aid served as an indicator for this category and was referred to by policy-makers for this role conception. These shares were stated to enhance South Korea’s status in the ODA community. As mentioned in section 7.1.1., the decrease of this share supports the evidence of South Korea not performing the role of “Respected Member of the International Community.”

The role conception of “Respected Member of the International Community” was defined by Japanese and South Korean policy-makers through various indicator categories. Both

countries' policy-makers made references to the overall ODA budget, which should lay the ground for their ODA work. However, in terms of role performance, the overall Japanese ODA budget stagnated over the research period and sustained only a small ODA to GNI ratio. Even though South Korean overall disbursements increased, the ODA to GNI ratio similarly remained small, providing evidence that the ODA budget grew in absolute terms but not commensurate with economic capacities. Therefore, both donors did not comply with overall aid commitments, although it has to be noted that Japanese policy-makers acknowledged this problem. With regard to bilateral disbursements, Japan was able to maintain a stable level of disbursements, despite them being below commitment levels, while South Korea's disbursements evidently fluctuated, challenging the sustainability of South Korean ODA commitments. Similarly, both donors referred to Quality of Aid indicators as a way to gaining the respect of the international community. However, they performed unsatisfactory in this category as they did not adhere to internationally established standards. Especially in the case of South Korea the high aid fragmentation, which was linked to the wish of making friends, and the decrease of the multilateral share despite the countries high esteem for international organizations, stood in contrast to the policy-makers' rhetoric.

As a third indicator category, Japan focused on the Distribution of ODA, while South Korea mentioned Universal Values to underline this role conception. With regard to the former, a difference was found between the Asian and the African recipient country in the case studies, indicating that Japan distinguished between its relationships to recipients by prioritizing some over others. Further, Japan did not diversify its ODA program in terms of sectors and was first and foremost active in the economic infrastructure and services sector. Therefore, based on this indicator Japan did not fulfill the role. In contrast, South Korea defined this role conception with the category of Universal Values, but also performed poorly. Based on the Freedom House Index it was found that no obvious distinction was made between free and not free or partly free countries as exemplified by the major recipient countries and the two case studies. The case studies further revealed that no specific effort was undertaken to better the situation in Vietnam or Tanzania, the share of aid to the social infrastructure sector declined in both countries. The different choice of indicators for this role conception shows the agency of policy-makers in determining how their country would gain the status of a "Respected Member in the International Community." Thus, it can be concluded that according to their self-defined role conceptions, in terms of role performance this role was not fulfilled in either case.

7.1.4. Responsible Leader

Responsible leadership as defined by policy-makers entailed the duty of helping other countries and repaying the international community for the support that both Japan and South Korea had received in the past. In the context of ODA each donor saw a leading role for his country in a certain issue area connected to aid efforts. For instance, Japan emphasized its commitment to leading the international community in human security efforts and in achieving the MDGs (cf. Kan, September 24, 2010).

Similar to other role conceptions, commitments to increasing overall ODA as well as aid to Africa were voiced by Japan. Again, the data could not support the policy rhetoric for these indicators as overall ODA levels and the share going to Africa stagnated rather than increased

over the research period. The TICAD played an important role in this regard as Japan aspired leadership in the international assistance to African (cf. Fukuda, May 28, 2008; Gemba, February 28, 2012; Koumura, January 18, 2008). Regardless of such efforts, the Tanzanian case study refuted Japan's ambitions. Japan provided only a small percentage of the overall aid received by Tanzania and was only the sixth-largest donor rather than the largest as in the case of Vietnam. Judging from overall disbursement levels Japan is neither a "Responsible Leader" on a global scale nor in Africa.

The strategic use of ODA as a tool for achieving mutual benefits for both donor and recipient requires a different interpretation of the case study data. By 2011-12, Japan had increased its share to almost 16 percent of all economic infrastructure aid received by Tanzania, establishing itself as a leader in this domain. In the Vietnamese data the focus on mutual benefit becomes apparent to a much larger extent, as Japan provided more than 60 percent of the aid received by Vietnam in this sector. The focus of Japanese ODA on this sector was further supported by the aggregated data. Japanese policy-makers wanted to bring about prosperity in other countries as Japan's own prosperity depended on it (cf. Koizumi, April 22, 2005; September 26, 2005; January 20, 2006; Koumura, September 27, 2007; January 18, 2008; January 24, 2008). In light of Japan's own experience of economic development, the focus on the economic infrastructure sector to advance the development of other countries seems understandable. As a result, the role performance as a "Responsible Leader" is found to be in line with the Japanese rhetoric for this sector.

Other issues such as education, health, disaster risk reduction, or climate change, which were connected to the concept of human security, were supposed to be another main concern of Japanese ODA (cf. Gemba, January 24, 2012; September 25, 2012; Hatoyama, September 16, 2009; Kan, June 11, 2010; September 22, 2010; Koumura, February 22, 2008; Matsumoto, May 1, 2011). Here, the emphasis on economic infrastructure stands in contrast to the stated rhetoric. Social infrastructure aid, which includes aid to education and health projects, takes up a smaller share in aggregated aid sector data and a much smaller share in the two case study countries than aid to the economic infrastructure sector. Further, as was exemplified by the top ten recipients list, Japan clearly preferred middle income countries as recipients, whereas it was assumed that low income countries needed more assistance in meeting basic requirements for human security. As a result, the proclaimed leadership in human security issues was not supported by the findings of this research, leading to the conclusion that aid allocation was more strongly influenced by considerations of mutual benefits. Therefore, the role of "Responsible Leader" cannot be clearly defined unless the indicators are judged separately. While the indicator of Mutual Benefit reinforced the view of Japan fulfilling the role, in terms of human security it did not act as a "Responsible Leader."

As a "Responsible Leader", Japan committed to supporting democratization efforts in Asian countries, for example in Myanmar. The Freedom House Index used as an indicator for Universal Values, though, showed that out of the top ten recipients, the nine Asian recipients were mostly not free or only partly free. Only two countries were classified as free according to the Index. Even though the largest recipient Vietnam was not free in the 2011-12 period, the second and third largest recipients were free. Regardless, the overall impression from this indicator was that political rights and civil liberties in recipient countries were not a major determinant for aid allocation. The case study further provided evidence that Japan at the recipient level did not focus its interventions on improving these rights and liberties in

Vietnam. The recipient had a low score on both indicators of the Index, but in its most recent rolling plan Japan had only 12 out of 230 projects related to improving the Vietnamese administrative and judicial system. No other projects could be found in relation to democratization. In contrast, Tanzania was classified as partly free in the Index, while 38 out of 99 projects targeted administrative services. Tanzania's democratization efforts received much more attention than the efforts in Vietnam, even though the need to do so was less eminent judging from the Freedom House Index. These findings clearly indicate that democratization was not prioritized as promised by policy-makers. Other interests such as considerations of mutual benefit or regional affiliation might have been more important for Japanese aid allocation decisions. Therefore, Japan did not act as a "Responsible Leader" in terms of upholding universal values.

The final indicator referred to by Japanese policy-makers was Quality of Aid, which was mentioned for this role conception in the context of Japan's willingness to repay the assistance it received from the international community in the past with commensurate aid efforts in the present. In this regard, support for multilateral institutions was promised, but as already presented in Chapter 7.1.1. the share of multilateral aid was small compared to the share of bilateral aid. The balance between multilateral and bilateral aid that was said to be aimed for was not achieved, as the share of bilateral aid was four times larger than the share going to multilateral aid. The commitment of providing large contributions to the UN was also not realized. However, Japan highlighted its leading role in MDBs, which took up the largest part of multilateral disbursements. In terms of MDBs, Japan's self-defined role conception could thus be confirmed. With regard to other indicators of Quality of Aid, mixed results emerged. For instance, the share of grants decreased despite the commitment to increase it, while aid for technical cooperation increased as promised. As a result, the data for this indicator category can neither fully support nor disprove Japan's role of "Responsible Leader."

As a "Responsible Leader" South Korea intended to provide aid commensurate with its economic capacities, thereby showing appreciation for the aid it had received in the past. The ODA to GNI ratio provided the most useful indicator in this regard, which was already found to be quite low for South Korea (cf. Chapter 7.1.2). As the economic capabilities of the donor increase, South Korea should provide more ODA, which was similarly argued by policy-makers (cf. Bahk, November 30, 2011; Lee, June 17, 2009; Yu, October 20, 2008; March 1, 2009). However, the share of absolute ODA disbursement was evidently significantly below that of other DAC donors, serving as evidence that South Korea could not establish itself as an ODA leader based the indicator category of Overall ODA Disbursements.

In contrast, commitments to providing a substantial portion of aid to developing countries in the Asian region were found to have been fulfilled. First, Asian countries received the largest amount of South Korean aid in aggregated terms, and second, nine recipients among the top ten were Asian, of which half were LDCs. Even though LMICs were equally targeted in the region, a substantial share of aid was given to less developed countries. Hence, South Korea seemed to consider a recipient's development status in its aid allocation. Vietnam, South Korea's largest recipient, became an LMIC in 2010, showing the progress of development efforts. However, South Korea was only Vietnam's fifth largest donor and could therefore not establish itself as a leading donor in the country. As the Asian region receives a much higher share than Africa, the region with the most LDCs, South Korea does not act as a

“Responsible Leader” on a global scale. Regardless, regional ODA patterns indicate that it is performing as a leader in Asia. The goal of regional leadership was not clearly stated by policy-makers for this role conception, therefore it is concluded that with regard to global ODA leadership South Korea’s performance did not completely concur with the role of “Responsible Leader.”

The indicator of Universal Values played a significant part for South Korea’s role conception of “Responsible Leader.” Principles of human rights and democracy were stated as crucial for development and should be promoted. Even though the rhetoric exemplifies how South Korea encouraged such values in international forums, the data showed that they were not supported in actual performance. Most countries in the top ten recipients list were not free or only partly free, indicating that South Korea targeted countries where such values still needed to be strengthened. However, the case studies showed that at the project level little consideration was given to the support of political rights and civil liberties. Consequently, many not free or partly free countries in the top ten recipients list contradict South Korea’s rhetoric commitment and suggest that universal values were not a major concern of aid allocation. In conclusion, the strong support of policy-makers for universal values as a means to achieve ODA leadership was only rhetoric and, therefore, does not underpin South Korea’s role of “Responsible Leader.”

With regard to Quality of Aid, leadership should be achieved by increasing contributions to multilateral institutions and improving internationally established standards such as increasing the share of untied aid and grants. The high share of tied aid found in the data severely questioned South Korea’s role conception as a leader in ODA. Similarly, even though the share of grants remained larger than the share of loans, it decreased over the research period. The small share of multilateral aid also stood in stark contrast to South Korea’s strong will to support the multilateral institutions. Therefore, South Korea cannot be seen as a “Responsible Leader” with regard to these indicators. As was mentioned in connection to the case studies, South Korea could not establish itself as a leading donor neither in Vietnam nor in Tanzania. This finding in relation to the large aid fragmentation of South Korean ODA brings up the question of why South Korea does not concentrate its aid efforts to achieve leadership in specific recipient countries and leaves room for further research. Overall, this indicator category provides sufficient evidence that South Korea is not acting upon this role as defined by policy-makers.

Japan and South Korea share the ambition of becoming a “Responsible Leader” in the international donor community, but both donors’ performances as a leader were found to be insufficient for most of the categories presented. Despite the large difference in their absolute ODA disbursements, the ODA to GNI ratio was similarly low for both donors. In this regard, Japan and South Korea lay below the DAC average and far below the established goal of 0.7 percent. Despite Japan providing the second largest amount of ODA in absolute terms globally, the role of “Responsible Leader” was defined in the context of increasing aid to Africa. Such commitments were not fulfilled as most aid continued to be allocated to the region of Asia, where it could establish itself as the leading donor for Vietnam. Similarly, Japan was a leader in the economic infrastructure sector in both case study countries, which was in line with the stated rhetoric of providing aid based on its own development experience. Japan, therefore, acted as a “Responsible Leader” only to a limited extent, as the role conception referred to leadership in Africa, which was not realized. In contrast, South Korea’s

rhetoric focused on developing countries in Asia, which was found to correspond with the aid provided to LDCs in the region. However, South Korea did not become a leading donor for Vietnam over the research period, serving as evidence that at the bilateral level South Korean ambitions were not achieved. As South Korean policy-makers made no reference to Mutual Benefit, it can be concluded that only in regional terms South Korea acted as a “Responsible Leader”, while on a global scale, with regard to Overall ODA Disbursements, it did not.

Both donor countries mentioned Universal Values as a defining category for this role conception, even though in different ways. Japan only mentioned the support for democratization in Asia countries as a way to present itself as a “Responsible Leader”, while South Korean policy-makers referred to human rights and democratization. The scores of political rights and civil liberties of the top ten recipient countries and the number of projects targeting the administrative system in Vietnam and Tanzania showed that Japan did not support democratization processes in recipient countries. Especially the mentioned focus on such efforts in Asia was found to be widely lacking, leading to the conclusion that Japan did not act as a “Responsible Leader” for this indicator category. It is interesting to note that South Korea similarly provided most aid to not free or partly free countries. In addition, no evidence supported the Korean intention of improving conditions of human rights and democracy in recipient countries. The indicator category Quality of Aid further presented similarities between Japanese and South Korean role performances as the share of multilateral aid was low for both donors. However, Japan performed much better than South Korea in most of the other Quality of Aid indicators and could even establish itself as the leading donor for Vietnam. South Korea had a high share of tied aid and was not a major donor for any of the two case study recipients. As a result, both donor countries did not perform as promised, and therefore cannot be described as “Responsible Leaders.”

7.1.5. Partner

For Japanese and South Korean policy-makers, the role of “Partner” meant to cooperate with other donors and international organizations and respect recipient countries’ own development efforts. Recipient Need, Mutual Benefit and Quality of Aid were defined in this context, while Aid Philosophy aspects were especially highlighted for this role conception. Both donors extended the notion of partnership to Asia and Africa, however, the exact definitions differed depending on the regional context. Thus, each donor’s role performance was assessed based on the commitment categories and their indicators as defined by their respective policy-makers’ role conception.

Solidarity was a keyword often used by Japanese policy-makers for the role of “Partner” in the context of ODA to Asia. As was exemplified by the data on the Distribution of ODA, Japan provided more aid to Asia than Africa and thus seemed to share a stronger feeling of solidarity with its Asian neighbors than African recipients. The obvious difference between the shares to these regions makes an alternative interpretation difficult. In terms of Recipient Need, MICs were the largest income group of recipients, which underlines the interpretation that solidarity was not extended primarily to countries in need of assistance. The small share of social infrastructure projects provided further evidence in the context of human security. Sector specific data and the presentation of rolling plans in the case studies suggested that Japan did not focus aid efforts on improving the situation of the population most in need.

Human security was therefore not as prominent in ODA performance as it was in the rhetoric of policy-makers. Based on these indicators Japan acted as a “Partner” only to a limited extent with regard to Regional Distribution of ODA and Recipient Need indicators.

Partnership towards Asian recipients was first and foremost explained from the understanding that Japanese ODA to the region was a win-win situation for both recipients and donor. Supporting economic growth in the region would result in mutual benefits and thus lay in the interest of Japan. In this regard, it seems contradicting that most of Japan’s top ten recipients, of which most were Asian, had a low score of economic freedom. Low economic freedom could be a hindrance for making business there, which might also affect the economic infrastructure aid, which represented Japan’s most important tool for furthering the economic development of recipients. Regardless, as a partner for economic development, Japan’s focus on providing economic infrastructure assistance was in line with the stated rhetoric, even though the actual benefits for recipients and donor could not be analyzed in this study.

The Japanese understanding of “Partner” was further set in the context of international cooperation efforts with other donors and multilateral institutions. As was shown in the analysis of other role conceptions (cf. Chapter 7.1.1.), the indicator of Quality of Aid offered weak support for policy-makers’ ambitious rhetoric. The low share of multilateral ODA proved that Japan was not acting as a partner for multilateral institutions, but rather prioritized its own interests as shown by the high share of bilateral aid. Nonetheless, a small share of tied aid underlined the commitment to further the self-reliance of recipients rather than using Japanese companies for aid projects. Thus, the Quality of Aid category provides mixed evidence for Japan’s role performance as a “Partner.”

In the context of aid to Africa, partnership meant to accept recipients as equals, to further self-help efforts and the ownership of the recipient country. Based on the case studies these Aid Philosophy indicators were found to support stated rhetoric. First, the Tanzanian government’s development policy was incorporated into the Japanese assistance strategy. Second, Japan established itself as a partner for other donors through its active engagement in the JAST, which also underlined its respect for recipient policies. The continuous increase of the share of loans over the research period, together with shared responsibilities in the Integrated Malaria Control Project, served as evidence for Japan’s efforts in furthering Tanzanian self-reliance. In the case of Vietnam, Japan similarly encouraged the recipient’s self-help efforts through the use of loans and supported ownership at the project level. Even though the respect for recipient country strategies had to be questioned due to Japan’s high influence on the creation of Vietnam’s development strategy, Japan acted in the role of “Partner” for both the African and Asian recipient.

South Korea wanted to be a partner for both donors and recipients alike. In this regard, friendships should be developed through the use of aid. Policy-makers referred to basic human needs as the main assistance area to develop such friendships. Judging from the income status of the top ten recipients and the strong emphasis on the social infrastructure sector, South Korea’s interest in addressing basic human needs was reflected in its aid program. However, the share of aid to social infrastructure decreased significantly for both case study recipients over the research period, indicating a shift of interests away from concerns of basic human needs in these countries. In contrast, references to mutual benefit and self-help were prominent in South Korean rhetoric on its aid relationships with Africa and

Asia, but similar to Japan, South Korea clearly favored Asian recipients over African recipients. This aspect was reflected in distribution shares, the list of top ten recipients as well as the comparison of absolute amounts allocated to Vietnam and Tanzania. With regard to self-help, efforts were undertaken in the context of South Korea's KSP, through which it intended to share its own experience of economic development with the recipients. This initiative was often referred to as South Korea's comparative advantage in the aid sector, thus providing mutual benefit for recipient and donor. In this respect, South Korea presented itself as a true partner for recipients based on Mutual Benefit, but only to a limited extent with regard to Recipient Need.

An increase in the share of loans, especially in the two case study countries, further supported the fact that South Korea supported recipients' self-help efforts. However, aggregate data showed that South Korea continued to provide a large share of tied aid, which undermined its commitment to these efforts. As another indicator for Quality of Aid, the large aid fragmentation was interpreted as a way of establishing relationships with almost all developing countries through South Korea's ODA program. Regardless, the distribution of the small ODA budget to such a large number of recipients questioned the actual depth of partnerships. Policy-makers did not specify the aid volume for establishing friendships, therefore this indicator was found to support the role conception. In conclusion, though, Quality of Aid indicators provided mixed results for South Korea's role as "Partner."

The aspect of Aid Philosophy, which helped to analyze the notion of partnership at the recipient country level, showed ambiguous results. Tanzania's donor coordination initiative JAST exemplified that South Korea did not partner up with other donors on a national level (cf. Chapter 7.1.1.). With regard to establishing friendships, the individual project assessed in Vietnam highlighted how South Korea established such relationships with recipients through project-type interventions (cf. Box 2/Chapter 6.1.2.). Nonetheless, the analysis of the case studies presented some issues that severely question South Korea's role as "Partner." First, they underlined that the recipient governments were not consulted for the development of the CAS, but rather created in a top-down manner and thus were only partially aligned with recipient country policies. The neglect of Tanzania's preferred aid mechanisms further indicates that respect for the recipient's priorities was not given. Second, the continuously high share of tied aid and the use of projects, for which procurement had to be South Korean, undermined partnership considerations. Third, on a national level, commitments were not matched with actual disbursements. The two recipients could, thus, not rely on South Korean ODA to be provided as promised. As a result, the two case studies presented evidence that South Korea's role of "Partner" was not performed sufficiently on the recipient country level.

For the role conception of "Partner" obvious differences of how policy-makers defined it were found for the two donor countries. Japanese policy-makers spoke of solidarity, but extended this solidarity first and foremost to Asian countries rather than African countries. The Japanese understanding of solidarity was thus regionally biased. The small share of aid going to the social infrastructure sector highlighted the neglect of Recipient Need considerations. Similarly, South Korea considered Recipient Need for overall aid allocations only to a certain extent, while on the recipient level the share going to social infrastructure declined over the research period. In contrast, both donors fulfilled commitments of enhancing mutual benefits for recipients and themselves. Japan did so by concentrating aid efforts on economic infrastructure due to Japan's own experience of development, whereas

South Korea focused on its comparative advantage of knowledge sharing initiatives. Hence, Japan and South Korea acted as “Partners” with regard to Mutual Benefit, but lacked a similar role performance for Recipient Need.

Further similarities were found for the Quality of Aid indicators. Both donors provided a small share of aid to multilateral institutions and were thus not acting as partners for other donors or multilateral institutions. Nevertheless, loans were used over grants, especially in the case study countries, indicating that recipients’ self-help efforts were supported. In any case, Japan had a small share of tied aid, which supported self-help efforts, whereas South Korea continued to have a larger share of tied aid, which severely hindered recipients’ self-reliance. The top-down development of the South Korean CAS additionally showed that principles of ownership and partnership were not upheld in its relationship with recipients. Japan, however, was found to support ownership, partnership and self-reliance on a recipient level by respecting recipient country policies, donor cooperation initiatives and a recipient’s decisions at the project level. The aspect of South Korean aid fragmentation was understood to be a way of making friends through ODA, which was reiterated by policy-makers, but needs to be questioned for the performance of the “Partner” role. In conclusion, Quality of Aid provided evidence that both donors did not fully adhere to their stated role, while Aid Philosophy strongly supported Japan’s role, but to some extent discouraged South Korea’s role of “Partner.”

7.1.6. Korea as a Newcomer

Only for South Korea the role conception of “Newcomer” was identified in policy-makers’ speeches related to ODA. In this role conception, policy-makers distinguished their country from that of “traditional donors” asking for more flexibility for emerging donors that did not adhere to established norms and standards. Even though policy-makers did not ask the international donor community for more understanding for its own aid efforts, the choice of words seemed to distinguish South Korea from other DAC donors. This rhetoric distinction requires reinterpreting some of the mentioned indicators in the context of this role conception.

The amount of overall ODA levels was often committed to reach those of “traditional donors.” As was shown (cf. Chapters 7.1.2., 7.1.3., 7.1.4.), the indicator for Overall ODA Disbursements provided evidence of South Korea’s aid practice being below internationally established standards and far behind that of other DAC donors. Nonetheless, this specific role conception described South Korea as an emerging rather than established donor. Thus, considering that both absolute levels as well as the ODA to GNI ratio increased over the research period, the efforts undertaken to improve South Korea’s performance become evident. South Korea proved that it could uphold commitments of increasing overall ODA, which was in line with the role conception of “Newcomer.”

With regard to Quality of Aid, the decrease of the share of tied aid similarly supported South Korean efforts of becoming a full-fledged DAC donor. Even though other aspects of this indicator deviated further from international standards, in direct comparison with Japan, it is noticeable that South Korea developed similar ODA patterns. South Korea wanted to learn from other donors and based on the data of the share of bilateral aid, grants and loans or aid fragmentation it came close to the Japanese performance. Whether the South Korean aid program was actually modeled after the Japanese program remains to be approached by future

research. However, in the context of this study it can be concluded that South Korea's role conception of "Newcomer" was consistent with role performance. South Korea is a "Newcomer" in the international ODA community.

7.2. Comparative Analysis of Japanese and South Korean ODA Roles

After having provided a comprehensive analysis of Japanese and South Korean role conceptions and performances with regard to similarities and differences, the inference of role coherence or the lack of such for Japanese and South Korean ODA policy needs to be assessed. Table 36 presents a holistic picture of Japanese and South Korean ODA as presented in Chapter 7.1., self-defined role conceptions and actual role performance resulted in the identification of roles that the two donors play in the international ODA regime. Each category in the table shows how the role was assessed based on the comparison of role conception and role performance for this category. In the following a final analysis of each donor's role will be provided, so that a conclusion about the overall role of Japan and South Korea in the international ODA system can be drawn.

Table 36 Final Assessment of ODA Roles

Role conception	Indicators	Japan	South Korea
Bridge	Quality of Aid	~ ³³	No
	Aid Philosophy	Yes	No
Model	Overall ODA Disbursements	No	No
	Distribution of ODA (Mutual Benefit)	No (Yes)	~ (~)
	Quality of Aid	No	No
	Aid Philosophy	~	~
Respected Member of the International Community	Overall ODA Disbursements	No	No
	Distribution of ODA	No	n.a.
	Universal Values	n.a.	No
	Quality of Aid	No	No
Responsible Leader	Overall ODA Disbursements	No	No
	Distribution of ODA (Mutual Benefit)	No (Yes)	~ (n.a.)
	Universal Values	No	No
	Quality of Aid	~	No
Partner	Distribution of ODA (Mutual Benefit)	~ (Yes)	~ (Yes)
	Quality of Aid	~	~
	Aid Philosophy	Yes	~
Newcomer	Overall ODA Disbursements	n.a.	Yes
	Quality of Aid	n.a.	Yes

In the case of Japan, role conceptions and corresponding role performances showed Japan taking the role of "Bridge" in the international ODA regime. The donor made an effort to coordinate self-interest, the interest other donors and recipients in its bilateral program, while clearly acting upon its stated policy in the multilateral ODA field. Even though the large share of bilateral programs hampers full role coherence, Japan can be considered to be a "Bridge" in the international aid system. In contrast, South Korea could not uphold stated commitments in

33 ~ stands for partial role coherence.

any regard, leading to the conclusion that South Korea is not a “Bridge” despite policy-makers’ rhetoric commitments and role conception referring to the country as such.

The results for the role of “Model” showed limitations for both donors. On the one hand, Japan did not perform as a model for other donors, but by referring to its own experience in the context of Mutual Benefit was found to act as a model for recipients. Japanese policy-makers defined win-win situations for donor and recipient with reference to Japan’s own development experience and that of other Asian economies, which justified the extensive use of economic infrastructure aid. Even though previous literature criticized such aid for furthering the self-interest of Japanese domestic economic players, the two case studies found that recipients similarly chose this sector as a priority in their development strategies. Even though, the argument of Japan acting solely in its own self-interest cannot be fully supported, its influence on the initial Vietnamese SEDP truly limits an overtly positive assessment. Whether and to what extent mutual benefits were actually achieved and to what extent Japan acted on the interest of recipient countries has to be assessed by individual and more specific research. On the other hand, the results for South Korea were more ambiguous, as some aspects of the role conception were fulfilled while others were not. South Korean policy-makers defined Mutual Benefit differently from their Japanese counterparts. Despite similarly referring to South Korea’s own development experience, it was not the reference to the economic infrastructure sector, but rather to the Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP) that linked the ODA program with the donor’s own experience. By sharing this experience with recipients both recipients and the donor should benefit. Further, policy-makers defined their country’s development experience as its comparative advantage in ODA, which resulted in many instances where this role conception was actually performed. Again, further research of the KSP and its implications seems necessary to fully understand the benefits derived from it by both donor and recipient. It has to be noted here that the indicator category of Mutual Benefit was the only category with a continuous coherence between role conception and role performance in the case of Japan, and a limited record in the case of South Korea. Even though the results of this indicator were strong for both donors, neither donor can be said to be a model for others based on just one indicator. The lack of similar role performance for other indicators leads to the conclusion that Japan and South Korea did not act as “Models” in their ODA policy.

Both donor countries referred to three indicator categories in their role conception of “Respected Member of the International Community”, but neither Japan nor South Korea were found to fulfill this role for any of these categories. Japanese policy-makers wanted to present their country as a trustworthy donor referring to Overall ODA Disbursements, Distribution of ODA and Quality of Aid as indicator categories. The analysis of aggregated data and the case studies showed that commitments did not correspond with the low ODA to GNI ratio or the lack of providing sector aid in a balanced way. In the context of trust, it is especially noteworthy that Japan did not fully uphold the monetary commitments it promised; not at the overall ODA level and only partially to the two case study countries. Similarly, for South Korea this role was clearly not performed, as all identified indicator categories—Overall ODA Disbursements, Universal Values and Quality of ODA—demonstrated a gap to the role conception. The implications of this role gap are noteworthy as the importance of the respect of the international community was continuously reiterated by South Korea. Therefore, the question arises of how the role gap will reflect on South Korea’s policies in the

future and how the continuing reiteration of Korea's trustworthiness influences role expectations in the international community. Assuming that trust is not earned, this role can be interpreted to imply that South Korea needs to do a lot more in the field of ODA or change its own role conception through self-reflection. Overall, the role of "Respected Member of the International Community" exemplified the importance of considering actors' own role conceptions and how they are defined rather than international norms and standards, as Japan and South Korea referred to different indicator categories. Therefore, they can be held accountable to their own words, which in this case resulted in the largest role gap identified in this study—all indicator categories of both donors were insufficiently fulfilled. Such a large role gap emphasizes the need to further research the sources of role conceptions or why role performance was not satisfactory.

The role of "Responsible Leader" showed weaknesses for both Japan and South Korea. Overall ODA Disbursements, Distribution of ODA, Universal Values and Quality of Aid were the indicator categories mentioned by policy-makers in the context of this role conception. While South Korea showed signs of considering Recipient Need in its aid program as promised by policy-makers, Japan partially fulfilled its role as "Responsible Leader" for the indicator category of Quality of Aid. Other indicator categories were found to be unsatisfactory in terms of "Responsible Leader", except for one specific indicator. Mutual Benefit was, again, the only indicator category for which coherence existed between the role conception and role performance of Japan. Regardless, in conclusion neither Japan nor South Korea fulfilled the role of "Responsible Leader" in ODA policy. Particularly worth mentioning for this role conception are the different definitions for certain indicators that policy-makers referred to. These distinct understandings point towards a different weight attributed to indicators, indicating that role conceptions are constructed by policy-makers based on domestic influences or the interpretation of external role expectations. To assess which indicators were most important and why less important indicators were still referred to, calls for more research on role conceptions in ODA policy. The indicator of Aid Fragmentation as assessed in the category of Quality of Aid was specifically important for this role as well as others in the South Korean case. The large aid fragmentation was interpreted as a negative factor for the assessment of many role conceptions due to South Korea's small overall ODA budget. The role conception of "Responsible Leader" spoke of South Korea becoming a leader by distributing ODA, however, spreading the limited financial resources over such a large number of recipient countries clearly inhibited South Korea's potential of becoming a leading donor in any country. This notion was supported by the two case study recipients, for which South Korea did not take up a leadership role. Previous studies came to the conclusion that limited aid resources called for a reduction of the number of recipients to ensure a better aid quality and impact (Kang 2008: 137; Lee and Park 2008: 122). Therefore, the question arises of why South Korea spread its ODA thinly across the globe rather than concentrating its resources. Even though the aspect of comparative advantage was often mentioned with regard to sharing Korea's experience, it was obviously not sought after in terms of recipient countries. The reasons for such behavior call for further research of South Korean ODA policy.

The role of "Partner" provided the most positive results for Japan and partially positive results for South Korea. Despite the results not precisely pointing towards the donors' role coherence in the international ODA system, most of the indicator categories were fulfilled or

partly fulfilled. For instance, both donors acted upon Mutual Benefit considerations within their own role conceptions, as well as showed some respect to adhering to standards of Quality of Aid. While Japan did not consider regional aspects or Recipient Need in the distribution of its ODA, South Korea was found to be lacking role performance with regard to Aid Philosophy. It is however noticeable that partnership was defined differently by policy-makers of both donors depending on the regional context. This was specifically evident in the context of Japan's regional aid distribution, where policy-makers emphasized aid to Africa, whereas the continuous flow of ODA to Asia was not particularly stressed. Reiterating partnership to African rather than Asian recipients might indicate the need to establish Japan as a partner for the first region, justifying increased rhetoric commitment, while it has already acted as a long-standing partner for Asia. The evidence has shown that the ambitious rhetoric is not supported by actual behavior in terms of Japan being the same kind of partner for African countries as for Asian countries. In summary, Japan was found to act upon its role as "Partner" in more instances than South Korea, although neither donor could entirely fulfill this role based on the comparison of role conceptions and role performances. Thus, the role of "Partner" can be assumed for Japan, but remains ambiguous for South Korean ODA policy.

The role of "Newcomer" for South Korea was clearly supported by the findings. They indicate that the gap found for other roles could be attributed to South Korea's development from an emerging donor to a full member of the donor community. Even though most of the indicator categories were found to be still below established standards, policy-makers reiterated South Korea's efforts in increasing Overall ODA Disbursements and improving Quality of Aid indicators, which was supported by the actual role performance. As South Korean policy-makers referred to these standards in other role conceptions, it seems that they served as benchmarks, from which policy-makers wanted South Korea's ODA to be assessed, on the same level as other DAC donors. By setting the goals as high as other DAC donors, it is not surprising that South Korea as a newcomer in the DAC community could not achieve them in such a short period of time. This interpretation would explain the incoherence between the other role conceptions and role performances. One implication could be that South Korea will continue its efforts to fulfill the other roles and graduate from a newcomer to an established member of the DAC donor community. Jerve and Selbervik (2009: 35) already interpreted South Korea's reference to itself as a "freshman" as an implication for reform in ODA management. In this regard, it seems obvious that one cannot be a newcomer and an established donor at the same time. Then again, as the case of Japan has shown, certain roles are not even fulfilled by an established donor. Setting South Korean role gaps in the context of Japanese roles suggests that no further improvements on role performance indicators can be expected. Both implications call for continued research on South Korean role conceptions and performances as well as comparisons with Japan in order to assess whether South Korea will follow Japan in not acting on all its role conceptions despite becoming an established member of the DAC community.

This chapter has provided the reader with an insight into the discrepancies and coherences of Japanese and South Korean role conceptions and role performances. By directly comparing the identified role gaps the two donors' roles were set in context with each other. In conclusion, both donor countries, despite offering a variety of role conceptions, only performed in coherence with two roles respectively. In the case of Japan, the roles of "Bridge" and "Partner" were assessed to have been taken up in both rhetoric as well as

behavior. These two role conceptions refer to Japan's roles both towards other donors or multilateral institutions and recipient countries. South Korea was found to take up the role of "Partner" to some extent and the role of "Newcomer." The first role, despite being the same as Japan's, was fulfilled in different terms, showing a difference in how policy-makers define role conceptions and, thus, indicator categories for the assessment of role performance. The role conception of "Newcomer" was only expressed by South Korean policy-makers, and acted upon as promised. Therefore, it was found to be inherently South Korean.

Difference in how policy-makers defined role conceptions leads back to the theoretical concept of the agency behind roles (cf. Chapter 3.1.1.). Policy-makers as agents of state actors constructed the role conceptions, upon which role performances were assessed. The comparison between Japanese and South Korean roles showed that even though they refer to similar roles, role conceptions can obviously differ in the mentioned indicator categories. The reason for such a difference could lie in the domestic or external environments. Therefore, the interaction between agents and the domestic environment as well as between state actors and the external environment has to be researched to understand the construction of Japanese and South Korean role conceptions in the field of ODA policy. Other role conceptions identified for both donors were largely not acted upon. This could indicate that the internationally established standards inherent in role expectations influenced these role conceptions. Understanding role expectations in the context of norms brings in the concept of the influence of the structural environment on state actors. Therefore, research on internationally established standards and norms for ODA donors could be fruitful to add the perspective of role expectations. Such research is needed to gain a more comprehensive picture of Japanese and South Korean roles in the international ODA community.

8. Conclusion

This study identified discrepancies between rhetoric and behavior of Japanese and South Korean roles as ODA donors. Role theory constitutes the theoretical framework for the comparison of role conceptions and role performances of the two donor countries. In other words, rhetoric commitments inherent to role conceptions were analyzed and compared to the actual behavior in the form of role performances. Such an approach allowed for discovering role gaps, which served as baselines for the comparison of Japanese and South Korean roles in the international donor community. Three research questions and four steps of analysis were used to derive at a conclusion on the two donors' roles in the field of ODA.

To understand the way policy-makers defined their state's role in the international ODA system, the first research question focused on how Japan and South Korea portrayed themselves in the international donor community. Based on previous research, an inductive approach of qualitative content analysis was applied to derive the role conceptions of Japanese and South Korean policy-makers. Overall, 55 Japanese and 46 South Korean speeches were examined. While Holsti had found an average of 4.6 role conceptions for states (Holsti 1970), this study distinguished five role conceptions for Japan and six role conceptions for South Korea in the field of ODA (cf. Chapter 4). Both donor countries shared five role conceptions, namely "Bridge", "Model", "Respected Member of the International Community", "Responsible Leader" and "Partner", whereas the role conception of "Newcomer" was only found for South Korea. For each role conception, policy-makers provided a variety of commitments and indicators, upon which these commitments could be measured.

In total, five indicator categories were identified: Overall ODA Disbursements, Distribution of ODA, Universal Values, Quality of Aid and Aid Philosophy. In the second step of analysis, as presented in Chapter 5, Japanese and South Korean role performance was compared to the commitments made by policy-makers based on the indicator categories. Most of the identified commitments could be investigated by using quantitative, aggregated data from the OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a). This comparison showed clearly that commitments did not always correspond to actual donor behavior. Aid Philosophy could not be derived from the quantitative disbursement data, and therefore requiring an additional assessment of case studies. These case studies were dealt with in Chapter 6, where Japanese and South Korean role performances in two major recipient countries—Vietnam and Tanzania—were analyzed. The countries were chosen due to their respective regional importance as recipients for both donors. As an indicator category Aid Philosophy was assessed based on the donor's compliance with partnership, ownership and commitments to support the self-reliance of the recipient countries. Therefore, shedding light on the second research question of how the donors' actions related to their rhetoric commitments.

The third research question on role gaps, and similarities and differences of the two donor countries combined the two concepts of role conceptions and role performance. In Chapter 7, role gaps were identified by linking the previously found discrepancies between commitments and behavior—or role performance—with role conceptions (cf. Table 36). In summary, only a few indicator categories did not show gaps between conceptions and performances, but rather coherences between rhetoric and behavior. It was found that Japan showed role coherence for the roles of "Bridge" and "Partner", while South Korea did so for "Newcomer" and partially

for “Partner.” All other roles, “Model”, “Respected Member of the International Community”, and “Responsible Leader”, presented gaps between role conceptions and role performances and could therefore not be attributed to Japan and South Korea as ODA donors. It is specifically noteworthy that the role of “Newcomer” in the case of South Korea contradicted other role conceptions, which could explain the found role gaps.

This research has broad implications for linking role theory research with Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) in future research. Its inductive approach to derive Japanese and South Korean role conceptions was the first of its kind. The qualitative content analysis allowed for the perspectives and definitions of donor agents to be reflected in the role conceptions, rather than imposing existing role concepts on them. Thus, this research was innovative and made a valuable contribution to the scholarship on role theory by identifying six ODA-related role conceptions. The comparison of role conceptions among the two donor countries showed differences in definitions. These differences are seen as strong evidence for the agency of policy-makers. Only some indicators for the role conceptions were based on international standards and norms, while others rather reflected the interest of the donor country. Even though the structural environment was not the focus of this study, as some definitions of role conceptions referred to international standards and norms, its influence on agents can be assumed. Similarly, the identified differences suggest the importance of the interaction between policy-makers and the domestic environment or the international community. Therefore, the results of this analysis can be linked back to the theoretical framework of Chapter 3.1. and are a valuable contribution to role theory and FPA research.

This study further added new insights into the research on comparative ODA policy. In addition to donor behavior, this research provided a comprehensive picture of Japanese and South Korean commitments and general rhetoric in the field. Identifying discrepancies in donor rhetoric and behavior seems especially useful for the assessment of the effectiveness of aid programs. If aid is not delivered as promised in the commitment categories derived from role conceptions, its effects will fall short of expectations. The identified role gaps have shown that in most cases rhetoric and behavior lacked coherence for Japanese and South Korean ODA. These results are valuable for recipient countries and NGOs that assess donor programs, as well as the international organizations and other donors.

A final implication is donor accountability. It was shown that, not the international community, but the donors themselves define the indicators upon which they want their performance assessed. In the case that donors do not adhere to these indicators, their domestic constituencies can hold them accountable to their promises. Similarly, international norms can be used by donors that adhere to them, to pressure others to stay true to their promises. Therefore, the structural environment both internal and external holds implications for role gaps.

Setting this study in context with the wider scholarly literature, further underlines its value. Holsti (1970: 298-299) claimed that role conceptions could be used to predict foreign policy actions, but only if there was a true role performance. The role gaps identified here clearly question the possibility of predicting Japanese and South Korean ODA policy based on role conceptions, as role performance was in most instances not coherent with these conceptions. Hook (1995) drew on Holsti’s typology to categorize roles donor countries played in the international system. According to Hook, countries with large absolute ODA budgets were less likely to follow established DAC quality standards. Hook’s argument could explain

Japan's role gaps, but due to South Korea's small ODA budget, the argument is not sufficient to clarify this donor's role gaps. Other studies later found that strategic and commercial interests hid behind rhetoric that justified aid mostly through humanitarian interests of poverty eradication (Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1998: 303; Younas 2008: 672). In this regard, applied policy matched declared commitments only to a small extent, showing a discrepancy between rhetoric and behavior (Stokke 1989: 292; Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1998: 319). Hermanns (2013) has found in her research on South Korean role conceptions in foreign policy, economic power considerations can contradict the norms set by the international community. Based on Hermanns findings, the coherence found in this study for the indicator of Mutual Benefit, could hint towards the prioritization of economic considerations over international norms in ODA decision-making. Thus, further research is needed to identify the reasons behind role gaps and why only some roles were coherent.

Despite the conclusions and implications drawn from the findings, certain limitations of this study have to be noted. While the time period for research was chosen carefully, a wider range of speech samples or a comparison of changes in role conceptions over a longer period of time could have led to more insights. This research only focused on identifying Japanese and South Korean role conceptions on the issue of ODA policy, without looking further into the sources of role conceptions or reasons for role gaps. The interaction between agents and the domestic environment as well as between state actors and the external environment could help to better understand the construction of Japanese and South Korean role conceptions. Furthermore, the pillar of role expectations could not be addressed. In terms of role performance, the source for quantitative data was limited almost exclusively to the OECD Creditor Reporting System, which in itself needs to be acknowledged as a limitation. Data availability on ODA commitments and disbursements seems to be one of the most severe constraints for more detailed research on the issue. However, a comparison of various aid disbursement datasets could be attempted in future studies. In addition, the presented case studies of Vietnam and Tanzania were only dealt with briefly for the purpose of deriving information on the Aid Philosophy indicator category. A detailed analysis of both case study recipients could provide a more comprehensive picture of Japanese and South Korean role conceptions, role performance and role expectations in the future.

As a result, there remains room for future research. On the one hand, the reasons behind role gaps have to be addressed from a domestic point of view, looking into the decision-making processes of national governments with regard to ODA policy and assessing the importance of domestic influences such as NGOs or the private sector. As suggested by Breuning (2011: 29) the correspondence between various domestic actors needs to be investigated, something which has rarely been done so far. On the other hand, role expectations of external actors have not been addressed in this study. Therefore, for a full role picture the view of other donors whether Japan and South Korea take up the found roles is necessary. Role expectations could be derived by referring to the opinions of foreign governments, especially recipient governments, international organizations, NGOs and foreign media on Japanese and South Korean ODA policy. Another aspect that should be addressed is the influence of role expectations on role conceptions for individual state actors. Combining research on role conceptions, role performances and role expectations will help to identify the status state actors have in the international ODA system.

Finally, applying the methodology used for this study to other donor countries, both DAC and Non-DAC donors, would allow comparing role conceptions, role performances and role gaps within the donor community. Five of the six role conceptions were found in both Japanese and South Korean rhetoric, which leaves the question whether other donors hold these role conceptions as well. Continuing this research would result in the identification of a specific terminology for ODA roles of donor countries, from which generalizations could be drawn. These roles could then be set in the wider context of roles found for general foreign policy or other specific issue areas of foreign policy. Such a more comprehensive comparison of several donor countries will be a fruitful addition not only to research on ODA policy, but also to role theory research in general. In conclusion, this study can serve as the beginning or important part of future research on role theory, ODA policy and Japanese and South Korean policy in general.

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APPENDIX

Additional Tables

Table A1 List of Sources of Role Conceptions

Roles	Sources		Indicators
	Japan	South Korea	
Bridge	Aso, June 30, 2009	Ban, October 24, 2005	Quality of Aid; Aid Philosophy
	Hatoyama, September 24, 2009	Kim, November 30, 2011a	
		Lee, November 30, 2009	
		Lee, February 8, 2010	
		Lee, October 29, 2012	
		Shin, September 25, 2010	
		Yoon, February 24, 2010	
		Yoon, October 14, 2010	
Model		Yu, October 20, 2008	Overall ODA Disbursements; Distribution of ODA; Quality of Aid; Aid Philosophy
	Aso, January 19, 2006	Ban, September 21, 2006	
	Fukuda May 28, 2008	Lee, November 30, 2009	
	Kan, January 20, 2011	Lee, January 11, 2010	
	Koumura, November 25, 2007	Lee, February 8, 2010	
	Machimura September 17, 2005	Lee, October 9, 2012	
	Machimura, April 29, 2005	Lee, October 29, 2012	
	Nakasone, March 21, 2009	Lee, December 10, 2012	
Respected Member of International Community		Yu, June 2, 2009	Overall ODA Disbursements; Distribution of ODA; Universal Values; Quality of Aid
	Aso, January 19, 2006	Kim, November 30, 2011b	
	Gemba, April 5, 2012	Lee, August 15, 2008	
	Hatoyama, September 16, 2009	Lee, February 8, 2010	
	Koizumi, April 22, 2005	Lee, January 11, 2010	
	Koizumi, January 20, 2006	Lee, January 3, 2011	
	Koumura, January 18, 2008	Lee, November 30, 2009	
	Machimura, September 17, 2005	Lee, November 30, 2009	
	Maehara, January 24, 2011	Lee, October 29, 2012	
	Nakasone, January 28, 2009	Lee, October 9, 2012	
		Shin, September 25, 2010	
		Yoon, February 24, 2010	
Responsible Leader		Yoon, November 19, 2010	Overall ODA Disbursements; Distribution of ODA; Universal Values; Quality of Aid
		Yu, March 1, 2009	
	Abe, January 26, 2007	Bahk, July 6, 2011	
	Aso, January 20, 2006	Bahk, September 23, 2011	
	Aso, January 26, 2007	Bahk, November 30, 2011	
	Azumi May 4, 2012	Bahk, October 12, 2012	
	Fukuda, October 1, 2007	Ban, September 18, 2005	
	Fukuda, January 18, 2008	Ban, October 24, 2005	
	Fukuda, May 28, 2008	Ban, September 18, 2006	
	Gemba, December 14, 2011	Ban, October 24, 2006	
	Gemba, January 24, 2012	Kim, November 30, 2011a	
	Gemba, February 28, 2012	Lee, June 16, 2008	
	Gemba, May 24, 2012	Lee, June 17, 2009	
	Gemba, September 25, 2012	Lee, September 23, 2009	
	Hatoyama, September 16, 2009	Lee, November 30, 2009	
	Hatoyama, December 10, 2009	Lee, January 11, 2010	
	Jojima, October 13, 2012	Lee, June 5, 2010	
	Kan, June 11, 2010	Lee, January 3, 2011	
	Kan, September 22, 2010	Lee, July 14, 2011	
	Kan, June 2, 2011	Lee, August 16, 2012	
	Koizumi, January 21, 2005	Lee, October 9, 2012	
	Koizumi, April 22, 2005	Lee, October 29, 2012	
Koizumi, September 26, 2005	Roh, September 14, 2005		
Koizumi, January 20, 2006	Shin, September 25, 2010		

	Koumura, September 27, 2007	Song, September 3, 2007	
	Koumura, January 18, 2008	Song, September 18, 2007	
	Koumura, January 24, 2008	Song, October 24, 2007	
	Koumura, February 22, 2008	Song, October 30, 2007	
	Koumura, June 2, 2008	Song, December 29, 2007	
	Machimura, April 20, 2005	Yoon, May 5, 2010	
	Machimura, September 14, 2005	Yu, March 1, 2009	
	Matsumoto, May 1, 2011	Yu, April 5, 2008	
	Nakasone, January 28, 2009	Yu, October 19, 2009	
	Nakasone, September 25, 2008	Yu, October 20, 2008	
	Noda, September 23, 2011		
	Noda, October 9, 2010		
	Noda, October 28, 2011		
Partner	Aso, January 19, 2006	Bahk, November 30, 2011	Distribution of ODA; Quality of Aid; Aid Philosophy
	Fukuda, May 28, 2008	Bahk, October 15, 2012	
	Gemba, September 21, 2011	Ban, June 30, 2006	
	Hatoyama, September 24, 2009	Kim, November 30, 2011c	
	Kan, June 11, 2010	Lee, May 30, 2009	
	Kan, June 2, 2011	Lee, November 30, 2009	
	Koizumi, April 22, 2005	Lee, June 5, 2010	
	Machimura, April 20, 2005	Lee, January 3, 2011	
	Machimura, April 29, 2005	Lee, July 14, 2011	
	Machimura, May 3, 2005	Song, September 18, 2007	
	Maehara, January 24, 2011	Yoon, May 5, 2010	
	Matsumoto, May 1, 2011	Yu, April 5, 2008	
	Nakasone, March 21, 2009	Yu, November 24, 2009	
	Okada, January 29, 2010		
	Okada, May 2, 2010		
	Okada, October 26, 2009		
	Omi, April 15, 2007		
Omi, May 6, 2007			
Tanigaki, May 5, 2006			
Newcomer		Ban, October 24, 2005	Overall ODA; Quality of Aid
		Kim, November 30, 2011c	
		Lee, February 8, 2010	
		Song, October 30, 2007	
		Yu, April 5, 2008	

Table A2 Gross Disbursements and ODA as Percent of GNI of Selected DAC Donors

Donor(s)	2005		2006		2007		2008		2009		2010		2011		2012	
	USD millions	% GNI	USD millions	% GNI	USD millions	% GNI	USD millions	% GNI	USD millions	% GNI	USD millions	% GNI	USD millions	% GNI	USD millions	% GNI
DAC Countries Total	88,070.80	0.32	85,927.50	0.3	84,214.95	0.27	100,284.58	0.3	94,264.06	0.31	103,532.74	0.32	108,134.11	0.31	101,344.06	0.29
Belgium	1,329.00	0.53	1,418.22	0.5	1,317.03	0.43	1,482.66	0.48	1,663.39	0.55	2,126.41	0.64	1,990.65	0.54	1,476.97	0.47
Denmark	785.36	0.81	1,056.36	0.8	1,443.05	0.81	1,479.16	0.82	1,666.31	0.88	2,185.06	0.91	2,213.75	0.85	2,041.29	0.83
Finland	9.65	0.46	481.08	0.4	584.05	0.39	695.11	0.44	786.23	0.54	839.08	0.55	859.34	0.53	805.18	0.53
France	8,307.59	0.47	8,740.85	0.47	7,624.62	0.38	7,939.07	0.39	8,429.58	0.47	9,148.32	0.5	9,540.21	0.46	9,406.36	0.45
Germany	9,115.07	0.36	8,649.15	0.36	9,347.15	0.37	11,043.06	0.38	8,359.52	0.35	9,436.61	0.39	10,239.55	0.39	10,214.18	0.37
Japan	15,067.20	0.28	12,888.38	0.25	11,463.78	0.17	14,697.06	0.19	12,995.84	0.18	15,144.18	0.2	15,638.74	0.18	14,459.86	0.17
Korea	...	0.1	401.37	0.05	525.48	0.07	578.67	0.09	615.29	0.1	933.24	0.12	1,034.26	0.12	1,232.19	0.14
Spain	1,980.65	0.27	2,287.18	0.32	3,544.50	0.37	5,411.29	0.45	4,739.73	0.46	4,389.81	0.43	2,578.61	0.29	1,071.37	0.16
United Kingdom	7,185.93	0.47	8,258.69	0.51	7,357.33	0.36	7,847.40	0.43	7,710.44	0.51	8,364.44	0.57	8,773.06	0.56	9,029.30	0.56
United States	26,381.10	0.23	22,144.72	0.18	19,794.81	0.16	24,422.13	0.18	25,526.94	0.21	27,384.68	0.21	28,278.10	0.2	26,042.20	0.19

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

Table A3 Japanese Top Twenty Recipients by 2005-2012 Average, in USD millions received

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2005-12	
1	China	1,744.43	1,304.89	1,191.19	1,200.48	1,199.96	992.69	860.82	532.43	1,190.90
2	Indonesia	1,342.79	1,018.29	1,058.11	1,323.76	1,415.9	1,593.68	1,013.84	822.48	1,132.26
3	India	586.66	576.24	642.47	1,255.03	1,224.19	1,708.29	1,618.95	1,541.61	1,056.16
4	Vietnam	674.32	657.54	764.99	794.71	1,414.12	1,117.06	1,350.53	2,035.64	998.84
5	Iraq	3,529.78	806.28	883.92	1,919.89	28.12	144.44	377.21	374.95	872.98
6	Philippines	750.01	749.12	726.85	474.38	684.66	686.98	408.41	436.60	651.91
7	Thailand	675.31	276.43	137.36	118.97	115.32	226.01	294.03	289.03	357.94
8	Afghanistan	71.05	107.42	101.01	208.03	335.93	745.66	750.34	873.58	350.00
9	Sri Lanka	323.48	366.39	244.98	330.29	351.16	365.55	410.33	433.83	341.94
10	Bangladesh	111.43	286.38	192.11	886.95	128.57	142.54	201.62	449.50	296.91
11	Turkey	100.40	221.99	250.79	457.08	398.34	740.92	225.79	236.65	289.06
12	Nigeria	93.39	2,120.60	26.84	28.96	28.88	23.87	38.57	48.12	243.81
13	Malaysia	185.32	301.98	313.74	216.52	240.51	143.85	192.73	208.42	241.54
14	Pakistan	102.58	270.63	85.07	76.86	170.45	247.08	573.32	302.38	223.32
15	Congo, Dem. Rep.	379.30	28.11	22.93	51.22	65.70	80.43	1,215.78	93.86	198.64
16	Tanzania	36.11	39.39	721.66	70.99	120.47	104.6	119.44	147.91	159.47
17	Peru	136.71	110.21	153.52	121.84	135.61	259.33	198.62	112.44	156.59
18	Ghana	44.22	43.66	46.48	54.03	64.80	70.00	45.94	115.39	153.50
19	Egypt	110.60	69.08	104.92	163.65	153.72	167.51	115.29	194.85	126.34
20	Cambodia	101.47	107.06	117.56	114.77	128.48	149.57	133.25	184.76	125.05

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System (OECD 2014a)

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- 2010 – 2012 **Global Advancement Program (GAP)**
Academic Forum for Foreign Affairs (AFA) Vienna
- 08/2010 **ICEUR Summer School**
Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, Russia

Languages

German	native speaker	Spanish	proficient
English	fluent	Mandarin Chinese	basic communication skills
Japanese	proficient		

Conferences

- 06/2014 “More than just Words? Comparing Rhetoric and Behavior of South Korean Foreign Aid Policy”, paper presented at the conference *The Making of A Global Economic Player? Korea in a Comparative Perspective*, Central European University, Budapest

Publications

- Peitl, Julia. “Asia-Europe Meeting: its struggles and successes.” In *GAP-Journal 2010/11*, edited by Akademisches Forum für Außenpolitik – Wien, Hochschulliga für die Vereinten Nationen (AFA – Wien). Vienna: Aumayer Druck & Verlag, 2011, pp. 135-144