



**Consortium for Research on
Educational Access,
Transitions and Equity**

EFA Politics, Policies and Progress

Angela W Little

**CREATE PATHWAYS TO ACCESS
Research Monograph No 13**

March 2008



**Leading education
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Consortium for Research on
Educational Access, Transitions & Equity

Funded by DFID

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The research on which this paper is based was commissioned by the Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE <http://www.create-rpc.org>). CREATE is funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) for the benefit of developing countries and is coordinated from the Centre for International Education, University of Sussex. The views expressed are those of the author(s) and not necessarily those of DFID, the Institute of Education or the CREATE Team.

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ISBN: 0-901881-23-6

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List of Acronyms

DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
EFA	Education for All
FTI	Fast Track Initiative
GAD	Gender and Development
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GMR	Global Monitoring Report
GNP	Gross National Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-governmental Organisation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SWAp	Sector Wide Approach
TNC	Trans-national Corporation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations' Children's Fund
WCEFA	World Conference on Education for All
WID	Women in Development

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to colleagues who have offered constructive comment on earlier drafts of this paper, including Manzoor Ahmed, Rosalind Eyben, Keith Lewin and Steve Packer. I am very grateful to Caine Rolleston for assistance with the identification of relevant texts, comments on drafts, the creation of Figures 18 and 19, and the final presentation of this monograph.

Preface

This contribution to the Pathways to Access series offers an extensive and comprehensive review of policy analysis frameworks that shape Education for All and the politics of educational reform. It generates insights and explores conceptual models at both the national and international level. Its focus is on the application of these models to increase understanding of policy cycles, sustainability and of the factors that may determine success or failure of EFA related reforms over time. It introduces a historical perspective on the development of mass schooling systems as a reminder that the pathways towards EFA have been trodden successfully by many countries in the past and that there are lessons to be learned from their experiences. The final section concentrates on contemporary EFA policies and the politics that surround them at different levels.

The analysis sets the scene for further work within CREATE on policy analysis and policy dialogue. A series of country case studies of the political economy of EFA will be commissioned to analyse in depth the parameters that shape effective reforms to improve access to basic education.

Keith M. Lewin
Director, CREATE

Summary

The Millennium Development Goal 2 has a target of ensuring that, by 2015, all children will complete a full course of primary schooling. This is consistent with the second goal of the Dakar Framework of Action for Education for All that pre-dated it, except that the Dakar goal qualifies the Millennium Goal with ‘compulsory education of *good quality*’. Some countries have made spectacular progress towards increased access to education of good quality across all social groups; other countries have seen much less progress.

Development agencies regularly appeal to political will as a key requirement for progress on EFA. But what is political will? What role do political interests play in the formulation of public policies and in their implementation? What factors, other than political interests, promote progress in education for all? These are questions that CREATE intends to address in a series of case studies in the future.

This monograph is a prelude to these case studies and is intended to inform the conceptual framework and methods that will guide them. The monograph casts its literature net very wide. It addresses the literatures in educational policy, educational innovation and educational implementation in developed and developing countries over the past half century. It explores literatures from political science on public policy and development. It mines the literature on EFA policy and progress for glimpses of the political dimension. It delves into the history of the development of compulsory education in the West, both for the substantive lessons that may be learned, as well as for the conceptual frameworks and methods that have been employed.

EFA Politics, Policies and Progress

1. Introduction

1.1 Achieving EFA and the MDGs

The Millennium Development Goal 2 has a target of ‘ensuring that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling’. This is consistent with the second goal of the Dakar Education for All (henceforth EFA) framework except that the Dakar EFA Goal qualifies the Millennium Goal with ‘compulsory education of *good quality*’. Current estimates suggest that many developing countries will be hard pressed to meet the goal of primary school completion. And even fewer will achieve the completion of education ‘of good quality’. Yet some countries have made spectacular progress towards increased access to education of good quality across all social groups; in others access has improved among those social groups traditionally excluded from the mainstream.

The purpose of this monograph is to identify frameworks for education policy analysis, to review policies for increased access to education and to review the conditions, especially the political, under which such policies, both historical and contemporary, have been formulated. The monograph has been written as preparation for a set of future CREATE case studies of policies for improved access and quality of primary education.

Educational access, participation and quality have related but also separate determinants. These are rooted differentially in the wider political, social and economic system, the local community and the classroom. Although there is a large literature on each of these three dimensions, it is fragmented, by country and disciplinary approach. In the case of ‘quality’ it is a literature that struggles to impose a universal philosophy and pedagogy on a process that is culturally diverse.

1.2 Political Will

International and national advocacies for EFA and MDG regularly acknowledge ‘the need for political will’ in the achievement of goals. In its Framework for EFA Action for example, UNESCO asserts that:

Political will and stronger national leadership are needed for the effective and successful implementation of national plans (for EFA) (UNESCO, 2000, para 10).

Among the international agencies, the appeal to ‘political will’ represents an advance from the belief not long ago that well conceived technical solutions would bring about access, participation and quality¹. Yet ‘political will’ remains a vague term and is most often heard as the international community urges future action by national governments. The role of political will and political interests in successful experiences of EFA in the past have rarely been analysed.

This monograph addresses three main questions: What is political will? What role do political interests play in the formulation of public policies and in their implementation? What factors besides political will and political interests promote progress in education for all? As part of

¹ I am grateful to Steve Packer for this observation.

its research programme CREATE intends to undertake a series of EFA policy studies based around these questions in the future. To this end, this monograph synthesises what is known already and reviews a number of conceptual and theoretical frameworks that can be used to inform and frame future studies.

An understanding of political will and political interests is central to the policy dialogue strand of CREATE's work. The CREATE model (www.create-rpc.com) focuses on children excluded from basic education. These include:

- Zone 0** children who are excluded from pre-schooling;
- Zone 1** children who have never been to school, and are unlikely to attend school;
- Zone 2** children who enter primary schooling, but who drop out before completing the primary cycle;
- Zone 3** children who enter primary schooling and are enrolled but are 'at risk' of dropping out before completion as a result of irregular attendance, low achievement, and silent exclusion from worthwhile learning;
- Zone 4** children who fail to make the transition to secondary school grades;
- Zone 5** children who enter secondary schooling but who drop out before completing the cycle;
- Zone 6** children who enter secondary schooling and are enrolled but are 'at risk' of dropping out before completion as a result of irregular attendance, low achievement and silent exclusion from worthwhile learning.

The monograph will focus on literature relevant to, mainly, Zones 1, 2 and 3 (above) and to EFA Goal 2 – access to basic education of quality. The histories, politics and policies of the other five EFA goals – those of early childhood education (1), life skills (3), adult literacy (4), gender equity (5) and educational quality (6) are not the primary focus of the current monograph.

This monograph is organised in six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the study and explores the question 'what is policy?' It presents a compelling case for a greater understanding of the politics of policies for access through the experience one country, Sri Lanka. Chapter 2 reviews frameworks and concepts of policy formulation, implementation and institutionalisation relevant to studies of policies for Education for All. Chapter 3 highlights international influences on national policy formulation. Chapter 4 reviews studies of movements towards mass primary schooling historically, and the role played by policy in them. Chapter 5 reviews a small number of studies of contemporary progress towards universal access and the role of policymakers in that. Chapter 6 draws general conclusions and offers pointers to a series of CREATE policy planned for 2008 and 2009.

1.3 What is Policy?

Education policy has been defined variously. Over the past twenty five years the following definitions of policy have appeared in the literature. Policy is:

Broad statements of goals, objectives and means (Grindle, 1980: 6).

An explicit or implicit single decision or group of decisions which may set out directives for guiding future decisions, initiate or retard action, or guide implementation of previous decisions... (Haddad with Demsky, 1995:18).

...a process of bricolage; a matter of borrowing and copying bits and pieces of ideas from elsewhere... Most policies are ramshackle, compromise, hit or miss affairs, that are reworked, tinkered with, nuanced and inflected through complex process of influence, text production, dissemination and, ultimately, re-creation in contexts of practice (Ball, 1998: 127).

Education policy... deals with all texts, apart from curricula, which seek to frame, constitute and change educational practices (Lingard and Ozga, 2007: 2).

Some contemporary approaches to studying educational policy construe policy less in terms of a technical-rational instrument in the political process, and emphasise more the nature of policy as a social event to which language and interpretation are central. This social event involves contestation, compromise, divergent meaning, omission and contradiction. Ball (1994: 14) draws a useful distinction between *policy as text* and *policy as discourse*. While a policy text may rarely ever be read in the original, policy discourse pervades the social setting to which the policy applies. 'Policy text' is the encoding of a particular set of contestations and compromises at a particular time, while 'policy discourse' spreads the net wider to consider the forces, interests, ideas and perspectives which shape policy production over time.

At least three other categories of policy are helpful.

The first is policy as *implicit in practice*. Policies often go unstated and undiscussed and do not appear in texts. Yet the practices that appear on the ground, influenced by existing structures, procedures and expectations, are tantamount to a policy. Such policies may be thought of as *implicit* or *de facto* policies. For example Greenfield (unpublished) explores the scope and power of the implicit education policy of the practice of age-grouping in English schools. The practice of grouping children by calendar age across a span of twelve months is widely adhered to, but is an educational approach that is neither codified nor expressly stated nor questioned. Yet this unquestioned practice – or implicit policy – can have a significant, adverse, impact on the youngest children.

The second is *policy as ritual*. These policies appear in texts and proclamations but develop no further, either because the policies contain no plan for implementation or no plan for resources, or because policy makers never had any intention of implementing them. Policy texts may appear at appropriate political moments – and disappear soon after².

Linked with the second is policy that is *resource-rich* and *resource-poor*. Broad statements of goals, objectives and means cannot be taken seriously as policy if resources for their implementation are neither identified nor allocated³.

² I am grateful to Manzoor Ahmed and Steve Packer for this observation.

³ This point was made by Rama Rao at the CREATE National Seminar on Access to Elementary Education, New Delhi, 17-18 December 2007. See http://www.create-rpc.org/news_events/events_reports.shtml for further details of the seminar.

Then there are the blurred distinctions between policies, plans, programmes and practices. Where do policies end and plans begin? Where does policy formulation stop and policy implementation begin? Where does policy implementation become policy institutionalisation? Are the EFA and Millennium Development Goals policies? Are the Jomtien and Dakar Frameworks of Action policies? And is a national government policy that promotes goals consistent with those of the global EFA movement an 'EFA policy' even if it goes by another name?

For the purpose of this review, which is intended to lead, eventually, to new research on access policies at the country level, a policy for educational access will be understood primarily *as a statement of goals, objectives, plans and resources consistent with EFA Goal 2, usually embodied in 'texts', whose content is intended by its authors to guide and change educational practices in the future.* Furthermore, our concern here lies with policies formulated by and for national governments. The forces, interests, ideas and perspectives which shape the production of this text will be considered as influences on the process of 'policy text formulation'. These in turn are to be distinguished from the forces, interests, ideas and perspectives which influence policy implementation and policy institutionalisation, notwithstanding the blurring of the boundaries between them and their mutual interaction.

1.4 Politics and Progress Towards Education for All in Sri Lanka: The Springboard

The inspiration for this review of literature on the conditions that give rise to access policies arises from earlier work by the author on the political economy of education among the plantation community of Sri Lanka (Little, 1999). In *Labouring to Learn: Towards a Political Economy of Plantations, People and Education in Sri Lanka*, Little explores how and why access to primary and secondary education increased markedly from the mid 1980s among a hitherto disadvantaged community – the plantation Tamil community of Sri Lanka. Why was it that years of bureaucratic inaction on the part of government appeared to metamorphose into bureaucratic support and tolerance for programmes designed to increase access to basic education of quality among a community that had not participated in Sri Lanka's otherwise internationally-acclaimed record on education for all?

The explanation of positive change in *Labouring to Learn* combines the influences of economic, political and socio-cultural conditions and structures with those of powerful agents for change – politicians, bureaucrats and teachers. Education expansion over the period 1977-1994 was accounted for by the interaction of several sets of influence:

- direct state intervention through the take-over of schools
- indirect state intervention through the granting of citizenship
- growth of a labour surplus
- growth of foreign aid for social sector development in the plantations
- the agency of politicians in the context of civil war
- the agency of education officials of plantation origin
- the agency of critical mass of ambitious young teachers of plantation origin

The process of state take-over of plantation schools started in the 1950s, and became an election issue in the manifesto of the United Front in 1970. Take-over gathered momentum in the mid to late 1970s, but it took a full twenty years to be implemented across the sector. The policy of take-over provided an all-important legal framework within which plantations were

required to hand over two acres of land to the Ministry of Education who in turn were obliged to provide school infrastructure and teachers.

Shortly after the country's independence in 1948 a large section of the country's Indian Tamil population had been rendered 'stateless'. The gradual resolution of the citizenship question for stateless persons through the 1980s and 1990s contributed to an increase in the social demand for schooling in the plantations. Many families could now look forward to a future as educated citizens of Sri Lanka eligible to apply for government jobs.

The profitability of tea went into decline in the 1980s, leading to a growth of a labour surplus. Employers no longer needed to employ children and young adults. Youth unemployment was beginning to surface as an economic and political issue. Estate managers preferred to see children and young people enrolled in schools rather than 'roaming around' the estates. Since 'take-over', the state no longer obliged employers to bear the responsibility for the costs of schooling. Employers could afford to adopt a more relaxed attitude to the expansion of educational opportunities of the plantation labourers' children.

During the late 1970s various local, national and international policy discourses of development converged. *Inter alia*, these stressed equality of educational opportunity (a long-standing political position in Sri Lanka), education for all, education as a human right, development as education, and economic growth as a means to the end of human development. This resulted in the increased availability of foreign funds for development assistance to the social sector of plantations. These funds were usually 'ring-fenced' and could not be diverted for other purposes. Given the modest level of government funding available for the capital and human resource development of the plantation schools through the late 1970s and early 1980s, external funds were essential.

In the mid 1980s there was an influx of young teachers of plantation community origin. Sharing the same ethnic and community identity as their students these young people not only increased the number of teachers in schools, enabling them to expand, but also provided motivational role models for the next generation of primary and secondary school students. They provided images of plantation youth aspiring to and gaining government jobs.

By the mid 1980s a small but growing number of low and mid-level education officers of plantation origin were working in the national and regional administrations. Through their educational qualifications and teaching experience they had achieved positions in the education administrative service. Located in the national Ministry, but especially in regional education offices in plantation areas, they worked in concert to implement every programme that could be of benefit to plantation teachers and plantation schools. While most were of plantation Tamil origin some were of Jaffna Tamil origin but had teaching experience in the plantation areas. Some others were Moors (Muslims) who had taught in the Tamil medium and had been posted to positions of responsibility for plantation schools. Some maintained good relations with national and local level politicians, both Tamil and Sinhalese, with constituencies in the plantations.

The final, but by no means the least, influence was the broader political and ethnic crisis and the specific position of plantation Tamils within it. The political crisis and the growing civil war through the 1980s created the conditions in which new political opportunities opened up and could be grasped. This part of the analysis will come as no surprise to those who understand the political tapestry of Sri Lanka. But external audiences are often puzzled by a

story of progress among Tamils during this period. How and why, outsiders ask, did the state promote educational expansion in plantation areas during a period in which (i) the Sri Lankan state had been accused internationally of human rights violations against minority Tamils; (ii) there had been open warfare between Tamil extremists and the Sinhala-dominated state security forces as Tamils repeated their calls for an independent state of Tamil *Eelam*; and (iii) thousands of young and educated Tamils and Sinhalese died. Moreover, they ask, why would a government encourage investments in plantation people's welfare when the economic contribution of the plantations was waning? (Little, 1999) Surely, the odds were stacked against educational expansion?

Resolution of this conundrum lies in an analysis of the political position of the plantation Tamil community within the broader conflict, and the strategic actions of political leaders. The leaders of the two main political parties in Sri Lanka had long understood the importance of votes from minority constituencies. The vote of the plantation community was important in the deliverance of the United National Party to power in 1977 and its maintenance to the mid 1990s. Subsequently it was also important to the opposition People's Alliance in the mid 1990s. Much of the support to the two main political parties was delivered by supporters of the trade union cum independent political party, the Ceylon Workers' Congress, via their unrivalled leader, Mr Thondaman. Rather than joining the calls for a separate state – *Eelam* – from sections of the Tamil communities in the North and East of the island, Mr. Thondaman chose instead to accept ministerial positions and to promote the interests of the plantation community from within government. Seizing every opportunity to wring concessions from the state, he promoted increases to the minimum wage, housing, income generation, the resolution of the citizenship issue – and education. The broader political crisis faced by the President and his government and the strategic choice exercised by a specific political agency provide a major part of the explanation for increased access to education among the plantation community over the 1977-1994 period.

This analysis of progress towards educational access among one community of one country provides a compelling array of political, social, economic structural circumstance, influence and agency which combined to generate conditions conducive to education expansion. The analysis is embedded within social and economic relations stretching beyond the confines of the plantation; within a plural society in which plantation people have become gradually more integrated in the political mainstream; and within a national and global economy in which plantation production has waned over time. The analysis highlights the importance of understanding the broader political and economic circumstances in which politicians can see it to be in their interest to develop, promote or tolerate interventions for increases in educational access and to mobilise or accept resources for policies deigned to promote it. Conversely, had we focussed this story on an earlier period, say between 1956 and 1970, we would have highlighted actions by politicians and bureaucrats alike of a different kind – actions avoided, actions ignored and buried, actions stymied.

1.5 General and Specific Lessons

The analysis offers general and specific lessons. First, national policy elites play a key, if not over-riding, role in determining whether societies achieve EFA goals. Second, national and local discourses on equality of educational opportunity are very powerful drivers of change and probably more powerful than the international discourse. In this particular story, financial 'aid' from bi-lateral agencies contributed very directly to the translation of programme goals into action over a very long period of time. It was probably a necessary spur for change in this instance. However it was certainly not sufficient. Only as the Sri Lankan political crisis

intensified did some policy elites perceive and grasp an opportunity to use that external finance for varied ends, including the distribution of political patronage as well as educational opportunities for children.

In short, this story highlights the political conditions that encourage policy elites to see it to be in their interests to actively support or tolerate increases in educational opportunity among communities whose interests have been disregarded in the past. It also raises more general, comparative questions, across a range of countries, about common and unique conditions, and common and unique combinations of conditions, for progress towards EFA.

Such analysis, whether of single or multiple cases, requires a conceptual framework that builds from the above story, as well as from advances in the more general literature on educational policy and implementation. The next chapter reviews concepts and frameworks for the analysis of policy change and policy implementation.

2. Policy Analysis Frameworks and Concepts

2.1 Introduction

Literature relevant to the analysis of EFA policy formulation and implementation in developing countries is drawn from a wide range of sources. Much of this addresses education policy in general, but relatively little addresses EFA policy in particular. Some addresses policy in sectors beyond education (e.g. economic development policy, health policy, agricultural development policy), but with implications for education policy in general and EFA policy in particular. While much of the literature in this chapter employs cases from developing countries, most of the analytical concepts used in the English-language literature are drawn from theoretical and conceptual frameworks developed in developed countries of the North. Although this does not invalidate the application of concepts and frameworks to developing country contexts, their use invites a continuous critical review of those that appear to travel well across contexts and those that, being more firmly rooted in the contexts that engendered them, travel less well. Much of the literature on education policy and policy in general has been based on distinct *stages of policy activity*, starting with policy formulation, moving in time to policy implementation, policy evaluation and policy institutionalisation, though, as we shall see, much of the early work on implementation focussed on project, rather than broad policy implementation and generally took for granted the stage of policy formulation.

2.2 Implementing Educational Change

Most studies of education policy in developing countries through the 1960s and 1970s focussed on education innovations and their implementation rather than their origins. In 1983 Paul Hurst provided a comprehensive review of literature on educational change and innovation up to the early 1980s. He defines change as

securing a satisfactory rate or level of take-up of a proposed change of practice, assuming that adoption of the innovation is intended to improve relevance and effectiveness, or equity, or efficiency (Hurst, 1983: 1).

Hurst discusses the problem of implementation, three strategies of implementation and four broad theoretical approaches to change. The ‘problem’ of implementing innovations or change, he asserts, is defined in terms of how ideas are translated into action. Translation problems occur whether an idea is generated by people themselves or by others. Home-grown ideas are not intrinsically superior to ideas borrowed from others, whether inside or outside a country.

Assessments of the implementation of innovations/reforms should be distinguished from their effectiveness. Commenting on the 1970s literature on the failure of educational reforms to compensate for inequalities in society, Hurst (1983) reminds us that the question of implementation is logically prior to that of effectiveness. An innovation cannot be judged to have been ineffective if it has not been adopted and sustained over a period of time. Moreover, obstacles or barriers to change are not specific to the education sector.

Pastoralists, peasant farmers, factory workers, school teachers, bureaucrats, professional people and business executives have all been found to manifest so-called ‘resistance to change’. But it is also important to note that they have proved equally

capable on other occasions of making radical and profound changes. It is difficult to imagine a more dramatic change than nomadic pastoralists... settling on the coast to take up fishing – yet this has happened in Somalia (Hurst, 1983: 7).

Hurst suggests that teachers and educational administrators respond to new ideas in ways that are not fundamentally different from other groups. The organisational context within which people work does not determine their behaviour completely. Rather, organisational contexts, or more specifically the past and present behaviour of other members of that organisation, influence their choices of action.

Strategies of implementation are defined as ‘alternative courses of action intended to facilitate an optimum level of adoption over time of some change in practice’ (Hurst, 1983: 14). Three types of strategy are identified. The first focuses on the role of extrinsic benefits (rewards) or penalties (punishments) or both. The second focuses on the role of ‘change agents’ or ‘change makers’ as people who help others and their institutions to solve problems and effect change in behaviours (e.g. Lewin with Stuart, 1991). A third is participation in decision-making, encouraging people to participate in making decisions about changes that will affect them. Dahlin’s critique (quoted in Hurst, 1983) of this last approach, based on a series of case studies of educational innovation from the 1960s, remains pertinent as decentralisation policies are promoted as part of the global discourse on EFA.

One must also guard against the simple assumption that participation is more ‘democratic’. In most cases where localism is favoured it means control by local professional groups, particularly teachers. If other interest groups are neutralised by giving power to local professional groups, this may well be considered an undemocratic strategy, operating to conserve practices which others may wish to see change dramatically (Dahlin, quoted in Hurst, 1983: 19).

Hurst sets discussions about strategies for implementation within two theoretical paradigms, each embracing two approaches. The first paradigm is that of *control*, embracing the approaches of (i) systems or structural analysis and (ii) diffusionism. The second paradigm is that of *change* embracing the approaches of (i) conflict/dependency and (ii) phenomenology.

In the control paradigm, prevailing social relations and patterns of behaviour are taken as given. Innovation is ‘seen as a process of adaptation and adjustment by which the social system seeks to maintain control in order to survive’ (Hurst, 1983: 22). In the change paradigm

there is no underlying or enduring stability... human behaviour (is)... a historical process over time, of which change is a normal and ubiquitous feature – gradual and evolutionary in some accounts, epochal and revolutionary in others (Hurst, 1983: 22).

The systemic change approach within the control paradigm understands change to occur in response to external variation in the system’s environment. Initially, human systems resist change. If and when they do change this is done in order to restore equilibrium and maintain identity. The stimulus for change is exogenous and ‘innovation is sometimes regarded as a quasi-pathological spasm rather than a normal process’ (Hurst, 1983: 22). The diffusionist approach to change is also predicated on existing systems of communication. Information sources, messages, channels, receivers and feedback loops condition the ways in which new ideas are accepted or rejected is determined. Neither the prevailing information system nor

the value of the innovation being communicated is regarded as problematic. The problem lies somewhere in the chain of communication between the source and the feedback.

Within the change paradigm, the conflict/dependency approach draws from Marx and Lenin. Responses to innovation are analysed either in terms of class conflict and ideology or in terms of relations of dependency between countries and transnational capitalist elites. As noted earlier this approach has been used frequently to explain educational failures or rejection of innovation. It is less useful as an explanation of innovation and positive change. The phenomenological approach views behaviours as determined by people's constructions or models of the world. Analyses of change within this approach focus on personal and social group definitions of situations, values and knowledge and the logic and politics of decisions for action.

Subsequently, Lewin (1991b: 283) offers an overview of six broad organisational approaches to policy formulation and implementation. These are (i) systems, (ii) bureaucratic, (iii) scientific, (iv) problem solving, (v) diffusionist, and (vi) charismatic. Systems approaches see education systems as a sub-system of wider social, economic and political systems. Education systems have to be 'tuned' to generate outcomes that meet needs identified by society and its political processes. Reform is a systematic process through which goals are translated into necessary actions within the education sub-system which itself is separated into many different functionally related parts. Ideally, education systems exist in a dynamic equilibrium with changing needs. Bureaucratic approaches are more rigid and are characterised by hierarchy, line management, strong role definition and top down flows of information. Goals are centrally set targets by small political power elites and these goals may or may not respond to social needs. They are often static over periods of time related to political cycles. In contrast, scientific approaches to reform depend more on goal-directed research activity to identify the changes and improvements needed. Research provides the basis for development activity shaped by goals that are influenced by the concerns of professionals working within the system. Problem solving approaches are similar but are more likely to be driven by 'organisational pain' and dissatisfaction with aspects of the education system. Diagnosis is followed by solution searching and adoption of changed practices. Educational organisations learn to institutionalise change, and policy emerges from the actions of actors in institutions. Diffusionist approaches depend on the spread of effective reforms through professional learning and demonstration effects linked to new practices. The osmosis of ideas across groups of professionals is central to this approach. Lastly, charismatic approaches depend centrally on the personal characteristics of a key actor who can generate consensus on goals, inspire followers to adopt new practices, and generate commitment to reform. Goals often reflect personal beliefs.

In 1989 Michael Fullan, writing for the World Bank, provided an updated review of the literature on the implementation of educational change through the 1970s and 1980s and with a focus on the North American and European contexts. He explores the question 'what is educational change?', identifies a range of causes and processes of change and assesses some similarities and differences between North American and European educational change contexts and those of developing countries (Fullan, 1989).

Drawing on a body of literature that overlaps with that employed by Hurst, but with a stronger focus on North America, Fullan notes that 1970s research distinguished the adoption of, or 'the decision to take on', an innovation from the innovation itself, manifested through

its 'actual use' (Fullan, 1989: 2). The 1970s literature was pre-occupied with why innovations failed rather than succeeded:

We learned more about what not to do than anything else (don't ignore local need, don't introduce complex, vague innovations; don't ignore training needs; don't ignore local leaders and opinion makers). (Fullan, 1989: 3)

An analysis of fifteen case studies examining the implementation of educational innovations yielded four main categories of determinants of, mainly unsuccessful, innovations:

- characteristics of the innovation (explicitness, complexity)
- strategies (in-service training, resource support, feedback, participation)
- characteristics of the adopting unit (the decision process, organisational climate, environment-support, demographic factors)
- characteristics of the external systems (design, incentive, evaluation, political complexity)

Lewin (1985) noted that the frequent observations in the innovation literature of the failure to reform successfully had at least two other dimensions. First, 'failure is always relative to expectations. Reform projects, especially those that are externally financed, often promise more than they can reasonably deliver' (Lewin, 1985:121). This is likely if there is competitive bidding and high aspirations for projects. Second, he argues that realistic project planning depends on appreciation of what *is* as well as what *ought* to be. Too often reforms are introduced that assume things that ought to be true – for example, high levels of teacher professionalism and commitment, adequate basic infrastructure, class sizes of 30, a secure environment for learning – but which are in fact often not the case. If the antecedent conditions for an innovation are seriously misjudged, failure to reform is almost inevitable.

A second phase of research, from the late 1970s to late 1980s, focussed more on successful innovations. Various defined as increases in student achievement, teacher behaviour change and commitment, success was linked with administrative commitment and support, ongoing technical and other assistance, and systems for monitoring progress. The description of the phases of change shifted from adoption and innovation to initiation, implementation and institutionalisation. Initiation involved needs assessment, deciding to start, mobilising resources, developing initial commitments. Implementation involved designing action plans, carrying out plans and maintaining commitment. Institutionalisation involved building-in the process, evaluation and consolidating commitment. While initiation, implementation and institutionalisation are presented as phases, steps or stages their relationship is

not precisely linear – mobilisation continues into implementation, new participants are added after implementation commences, evaluation begins early in the process, and so on (Fullan, 1989: 9).

Addressing the question 'what is educational change?', Fullan urges us to consider changes in what teachers do (their practices and related skills) and think (their beliefs and understanding).

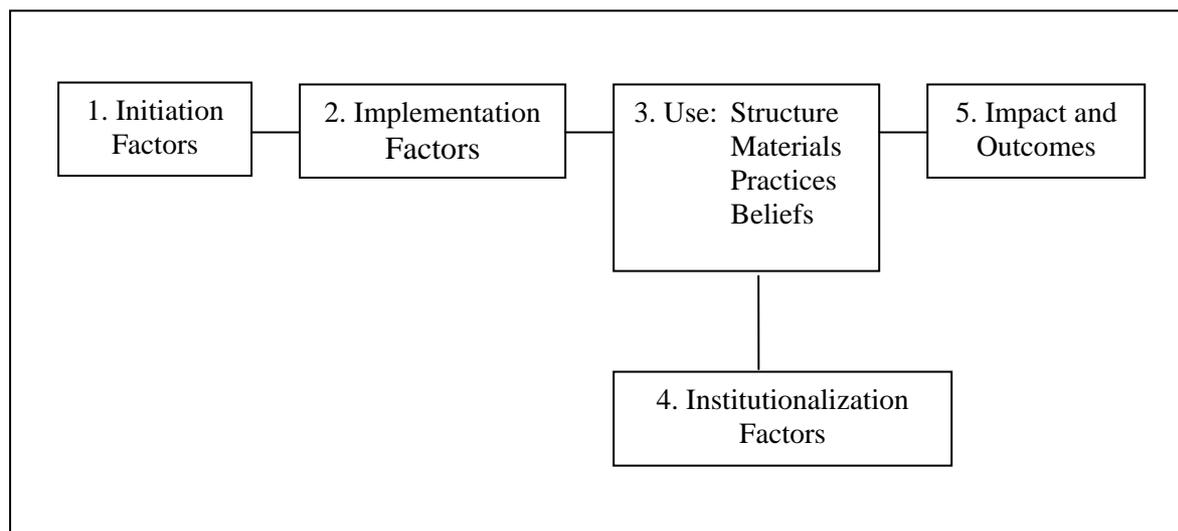
Policy decision and initial delivery and setup... will achieve some degree of change, but this represents the more obvious, structural aspects of change in comparison with the new skills and understandings required of front-line implementers. In the absence

of the latter, only superficial change is achieved. The effectiveness of a change project stands or falls with the degree to which front-line implementers use new practices with some degree of mastery, commitment and understanding (Fullan, 1989: 8-9).

Fullan's observations on policy decisions, delivery and teachers encourage a re-examination of what we might count as change in the context of current movements for EFA. Policy decisions and new delivery systems for building infrastructures, textbooks, resources, while important, are means only to the more fundamental aspects of change in what teachers do and think in the classroom. In terms of our CREATE model of Zones of Exclusion (Lewin, 2007 and section 1.2 of this monograph) these behaviours and actions are critical to an understanding of the processes of exclusion in Zone 3. How are teachers' actions and thoughts influencing the thoughts and actions of learners at risk of dropping out? How were those who have already dropped out influenced by teachers' actions and thoughts? And what positive actions, if any, are teachers taking, with respect to children in Zones 2 and 3, as well as in Zone 1? What incentives do teachers have for taking such actions?

Fullan offers a framework for conceptualising the change process with a particular focus on implementation (Figure 1). It should be noted that Fullan focuses his attention on change at the level of teachers in schools, much of it in the area of curriculum. Fullan subdivides Box no 2 – implementation factors – into seven characteristics of the process and three characteristics of the change project. These factors are set out in Figure 2.

Figure 1 General Logic of the Change Process



Source: adapted from Fullan (1989: 10)

Drawing on earlier work by Huberman (1981), Fullan (1989) underlines the dimension of actor agency in the change process. Typically, change agents speak of challenges encountered during the initial stages of change. Over time this is followed by some settling down, especially when strong administrative support and assistance is present. Mastery over discrete elements of the programme precedes understanding of the structure and rationale of the larger programme, suggesting that changes in attitudes, beliefs and understanding follow rather than precede changes in behaviours. Successful change processes are characterised by the achievement of progressive mastery by front-line implementers and the building of commitment by managers and implementers. However these outcomes appear to be achieved through a planned management process that addresses each of the ten factors above.

‘Successful implementation is an individual development process within certain organisational conditions and strategies’ (Fullan, 1989: 24). Given the clear focus here on individual development it is not clear where teacher incentives and teacher perceptions of incentives for change sit within the above framework.

Figure 2 Factors Influencing Positive Implementation

<i>Characteristics of the Process</i>	<i>Characteristics of the change project</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ongoing in-service and leadership • School-level (principal) leadership • Local direction, commitment and support • Clear process of implementation and institutionalisation • Monitoring and problem solving • Community support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clarity/complexity of the change • Consensus/conflict about the need • Quality/practicality of the change

Source: adapted from Fullan (1989:11)

Since this review had been commissioned by The World Bank, Fullan goes on to review the extent to which the above frameworks might transfer to the change settings in developing countries in which the World Bank was involved during the 1980s. Figure 3 compares the characteristics of cases of change in the North American context which dominated the education reform literature at that time with those of World Bank ‘projects’.

Figure 3 indicates that many of the North America cases reviewed by Fullan are small, specific and operate on a short time-frame. World Bank projects, by contrast, focus rather more on large scale reform (described by Fullan as ‘bundles of innovations’) and are implemented within a longer time frame. Implementing infrastructures in North America are generally much stronger than those found in most developing country contexts. Infrastructures include money; trained change agents; developed, tested innovation and associated materials; wide ranges of expertise; systems for communications; and guaranteed resource flow. Political and economic stability is more common.

Figure 3 Characteristics of Innovations and Reform: North America and World Bank Projects Compared

<i>North America</i>	<i>World Bank projects</i>
Specific innovations	Reforms
Small scale	Large scale
Short time frame	Long time frame
Strong infrastructure	Weak infrastructure
Political and economic stability	Instability

Source: adapted from Fullan (1989)

2.3 The Politics of Policy Implementation

Implementation also formed the focus of Merilee Grindle’s 1980 edited collection *Politics and Policy Implementation in the Third World*. Although Grindle does not focus specifically on education policies and programmes in this early work, her insights on the politics of policy implementation in general are of enormous value. In contrast to analyses in the 1960s and 1970s on the ‘administrative apparatus and procedures of implementing bureaucracies or on the characteristics of bureaucratic officials’ (1980: 4), the 1980 collection focuses on the characteristics of policies/programmes, political regimes and their respective links with policy implementation. Two questions framed the case studies reported in this collection:

What effect does the content of public policy have on its implementation?

How does the political context of administrative action affect policy implementation?

Grindle suggests that the content or type of policy influences the type of political activity that surrounds the policy-making and policy-implementing process. Contrasting monetary policy with education policy she writes:

The activation of monetary policy usually depends upon a limited number of key decision units in the national capital, such as high-level actors in the finance ministry and the central bank. Education policy, on the other hand, is executed by a large number of individual decision makers dispersed throughout an extensive geographic area but usually belonging to a single bureaucratic organisation (Grindle, 1980: 9).

Policy implementation will be affected by whose interests are affected, the types of benefits anticipated, the extent of the change envisioned, the site of decision-making, the nature, expertise and dedication of programme implementers and the level of committed resources.

Synthesising the cases presented in the Grindle volume, Cleaves (1980) identifies a series of ‘less’ and ‘more problematic’ policy characteristics that affect implementation (Figure 4).

Figure 4 Characteristics of Policies and their Implications for Implementation

<i>Less problematic</i>	<i>More problematic</i>
Simple technical features	Complex technical features
Marginal change from status quo	Comprehensive change from status quo
One actor target	Multi-actor target
One-goal objective	Multi-goal objectives
Clearly stated goals	Ambiguous or unclear goals
Short duration	Long duration

Source: Cleaves (1980: 287)

Policies which involve complex technical features, significant expected change, multiple target groups, multiple/ambiguous goals, and which are of long duration are likely to pose significant challenges during the phase of implementation. While these observations may seem ‘obvious’ it is surprising how frequently policy formulators overlook their wisdom.

The political context or environment in which administrative action is pursued also influences implementation. This includes the power, interests and strategies involved, the characteristics of institutions and regimes, the compliance of different sets of actors and the responsiveness of implementing institutions.

Implementation involves a wide range of actors engaged in ongoing decisions about a wide range of specific allocations of public resources ‘and many others may attempt to influence decisions’ (Grindle, 1980: 10). In a recent analysis of primary education planning and policymaking in Sri Lanka, for example, Little (2003) asked

Who are the educational planners, where are they and what do they do?

In this case, responsibility for policy formulation rested officially with the National Education Commission. The responsibility for translating those policies into implementable and resourceable plans lay with many people at many levels. These included, *inter alia*,

- Officers in several departments in the Ministry of Education
- Officers in several departments in the National Institute of Education
- Officers in several departments of the Ministry of Finance and Planning
- Officers in several departments of each of eight Provincial Departments of Education
- Officers in c. 25 Zonal Departments of Education
- Officers in c. 100 Divisional Offices of Education
- School principals (c 10,000)
- School teachers (c 70,000)
- Plus parents, children, suppliers, building contractors, and
- National and Provincial politicians

Different sets of actors are likely to have particular interests in the programmes and make demands on allocation procedures. These demands are often in conflict. Conflict resolution will depend on respective resources, power positions and strategies employed.

Analysis of the implementation of specific programs therefore may imply assessing the ‘power capabilities’ of the actors, their interests and the strategies for achieving them, and the characteristics of the regime in which they interact. This in turn may facilitate assessing the potential for achieving policy and program goals (Grindle, 1980: 12).

This type of analysis is useful for policy research. The assessment of the ‘power capabilities’ of actors might form an integral part of a *post hoc* analysis of policy implementation. However, the implications of this for the practice of policy development and policy implementation are less clear.

Made in the early 1980s, Grindle’s observations, taken together, resonate with contemporary challenges facing the implementation of EFA policies for access and quality. The content of an EFA programme will determine the mobilisation of groups who support and resist its implementation. While an EFA programme focussed on quality (CREATE Zone 3) will not generally involve building contractors, one focussed on initial access and expansion of facilities (CREATE Zone 1) is likely to involve building contractors in a major way. An EFA programme focussed on initial enrolment may also involve the appointment of large numbers

of new teachers and attract support from teachers' unions. A programme focussed on quality (CREATE Zones 2 and 3) may involve current teachers undergoing training and changing their behaviour. Because of the extra demands made of teachers for training and effective teaching such programmes often attract less support from both the teachers and their unions. Each of these 'stakeholder' groups has interests which will be expressed in varying ways.

Policies for EFA implemented through centralised and decentralised systems of administration will involve rather different interactions between actors at different levels. Decentralised systems for resource allocation and service delivery involve considerably more room for local level administrators and politicians to influence resource and service delivery decisions than a highly centralised system.

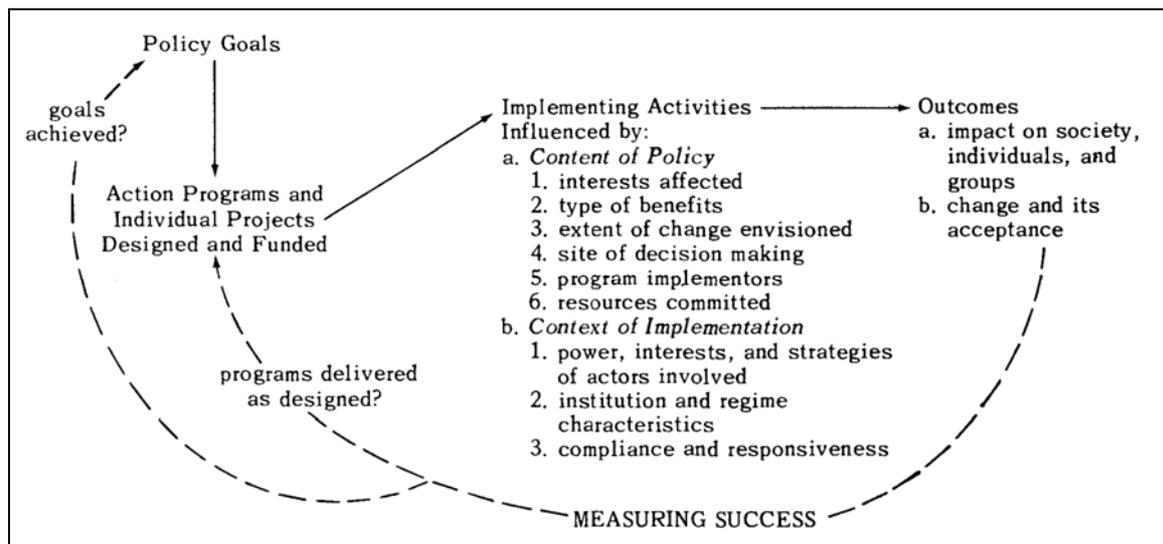
Officials need to achieve compliance among several sets of actors. They need the support of political elites, of their own and other implementing agencies, of bureaucrats, of local political elites and of the beneficiaries which, in the case of EFA policies, include students, households, local communities and teachers. Simultaneously, officials must manage opposition to the content of policies and attempt to transform opposition and subversion into acceptance or at least toleration.

Public institutions and their members also need to be responsive to new policies.

The problem for policy administrators is to ensure an adequate amount of responsiveness to provide flexibility, support, and feedback, while at the same time maintaining enough control over the distribution of resources to achieve the stated goals... to be effective, implementers must be skilled in the arts of politics and must understand well the environment in which they seek to realise public policies and programs (Grindle, 1980: 13).

Policy implementation, seen as both a political and administrative process, is represented schematically in Figure 5.

Policy goals need to be translated into funded action programmes and projects before implementation begins. The process of implementation is influenced by the content of the policy (in terms of interests affected, types of benefits expected, the extent of change envisioned, sites of decision-making, the number and type of programme implementers and resources committed) and the context of implementation (power, interests and strategies of actors involved, institution and regime characteristics, compliance and responsiveness). These in turn lead (or not) to outcomes which feed back (or not) into the design of action programmes in the future, and to an assessment of the achievement of policy goals. This model is essentially linear with one major feedback loop from outcomes to new or revised goals, action programmes and projects.

Figure 5 Implementation as a Political and Administrative Process

Source: Grindle (1980: 11)

Grindle (1980:15) suggests that this model applies differentially in different contexts. Specifically, she suggests that political activity will be concentrated at different stages of policy in the West (United States and Western Europe) and in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the US and Europe, political activity and the representation of individual and collective interests is generally concentrated at the stage of policy formulation. She goes on to suggest that in Third World countries, by contrast, political activity is more likely to occur during implementation and for two reasons: first, the remoteness and inaccessibility of the policy-making process to most individuals and second, the scarcity of resources and widespread need which sharpens the perception of who is gaining and who is losing from implementation.

Grindle's conclusion that political activity is concentrated differentially in the stages of policy formulation and implementation in the 'West' and in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is a sweeping generalisation which clearly deserves further investigation across a range of contexts and cases. It also overlooks the importance of distinguishing between different types of political regime. Countries with functioning parliamentary democracies and diverse and vibrant civil society organisations are likely to encourage political involvement in the many 'stages' of policy. Countries with authoritarian and one-party states are less likely to tolerate political engagement at any stage of the policy process.

2.4 Policy Cycles

Through the 1990s the use of the term 'policy cycle' became more common across a range of sectors. The idea of a cycle in which inputs from a first cycle of implementation feed back to a revision of actions and implementing activities is implicit in Grindle's model above. Haddad (1994) and Haddad with Demsky (1995) set out cycles of policy formulation and implementation more explicitly and with reference to education. The 'cycle' distinguishes

- the *analysis* of the existing situation, which feeds into
- the *formulation* of policy options
- the *evaluation* of policy options
- the *adoption* of the policy decision

- the *planning* of policy implementation
- the *implementation* of the plan
- the *assessment* of policy impact
- *adjustment* of the policy options or the implementation plans
- the transition to a *new policy cycle*

These stages are set out below in Figure 6.

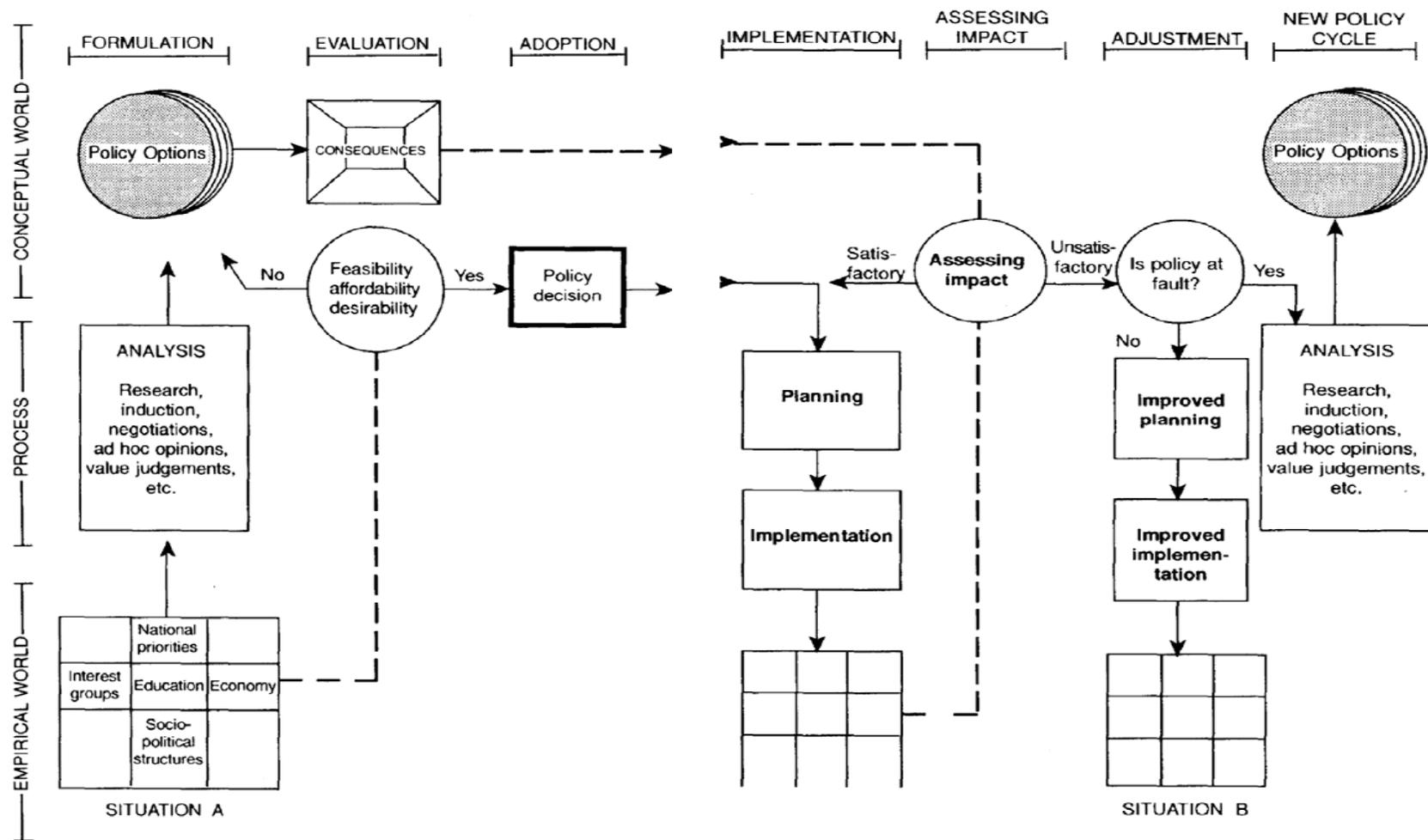
Haddad with Demsky (1995) elaborate the policy decision and adoption stage further by theoretical considerations drawn from the 1970s social science literature. The policy decision stage combines two dimensions – who does it (*the actors*) and how (*the process*).

Actors are described along a continuum, ranging from the societal personalistic mode at one extreme to the organisational bureaucratic mode at the other. In the societal personalistic mode, decisions are reached by negotiation among interest groups (including various government ministries, teachers' unions). Personal conceptions of problems and individual values play a role. In the organisational bureaucratic mode, decisions are made collectively within organisational entities, for example, the military or an international development organisation (Haddad with Demsky, 1995: 22).

Processes are described along a continuum ranging from the synoptic (i.e. comprehensive) mode at one extreme to the incremental at the other. In the synoptic mode, a single authority plans for the whole of society, 'combining economic, political, and social control into one integrated planning process that makes interaction unnecessary' (Haddad with Demsky, 1995: 20). In the incremental mode, piecemeal analysis is undertaken, policy options are based on uncertain and fluid knowledge and only limited policy adjustments are made. This process mode relies on 'interaction rather than on a complete analysis of the situation to develop a blueprint for solving problems' (Haddad with Demsky, 1995: 20). These two dimensions combine orthogonally to generate four quadrants (Figure 7).

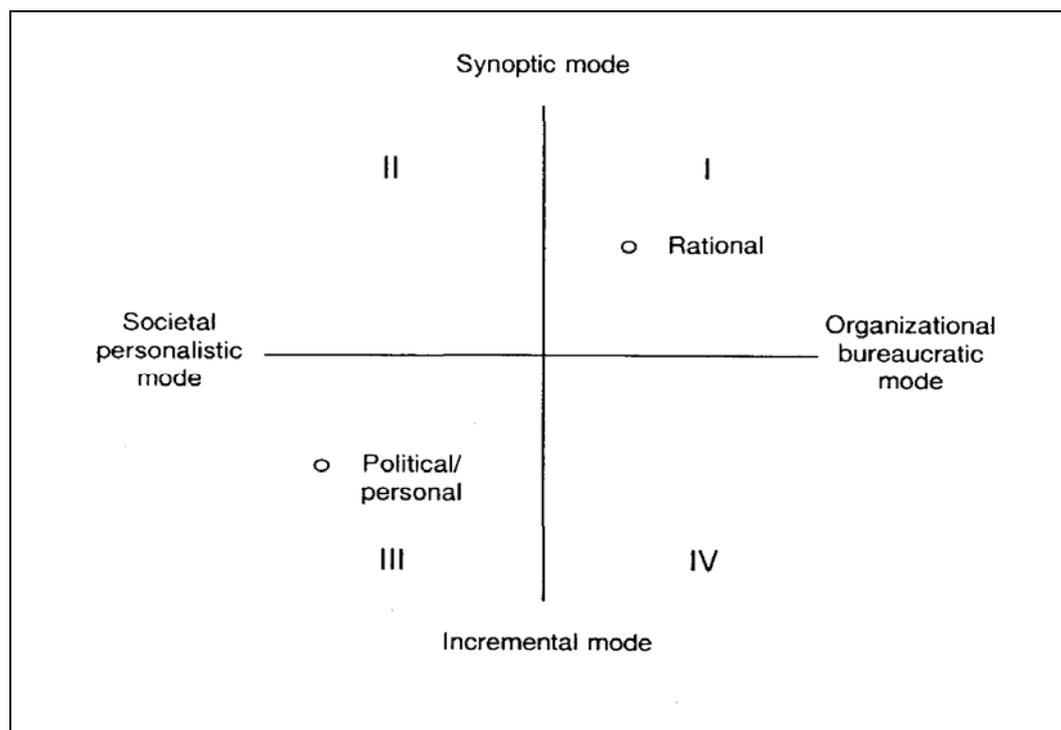
Quadrant 1 hosts the *rational model of policy formulation* in which the process is synoptic and the actors organisational-bureaucratic. Decision-making is 'unitary, rational, centrally controlled, completely technical and value maximising' (Haddad with Demsky, 1995: 22). Quadrant 3 hosts the *political/personal model of policy formulation* in which process is incremental and the actors societal-personalistic. Here policy-making is a 'political activity, characterised by political bargaining, value judgements and multiple rationalities' (Haddad with Demsky, 1995: 22).

Figure 6 Haddad and Demsky's Policy Cycle



Source: Haddad and Demsky (1995: 26)

Figure 7 Haddad and Demsky's Dimensions of Policy Making



Source: Haddad and Demsky (1995: 21)

The authors apply this framework to four cases of educational policy and planning. These are: in Peru (sector wide reform from 1968 focussed on the integration of practical and academic subjects); in Jordan (secondary school diversification in the early 1970s); in Thailand (secondary school diversification from 1966); and in Burkina Faso (expansion of primary education through rural non formal education and traditional primary schools in urban areas from the early 1960s). Much of the policy decision making observed was classifiable within quadrant 1 (see Figure 7 above). In other words, decision making was approached synoptically (i.e. comprehensively) by bureaucratic organisations, especially in the early policy cycles. In subsequent policy cycles the synoptic and societal/personalistic mode appeared to hold sway in Thailand, Jordan and Burkina Faso.

Several authors have applied these frameworks to independent analyses of policy and planning. Little (2003) applies elements of Figures 6 and 7 to the education policy-planning process in Sri Lanka during the 1990s. The Sri Lankan education reforms announced in the mid 1990s included a strong emphasis on quality improvements in primary education (CREATE Zone 3) and continued improvements in access to education for the most socially disadvantaged groups (CREATE Zones 1 and 2). As such the goals of the reform were thoroughly consistent with the global goals of education for all promoted at the EFA Jomtien conference some years later. However, the imperatives for reform lay not in an international conference but in a political crisis borne of a growing civil war and youth unrest of the 1980s. National policy reforms emerged in response to a national and domestic political crisis. This is consistent with Haddad with Demsky's (1995) approach which positions national political and educational elites at the heart of the policy formulation process. Even if the policy planning process and aspects of policy implementation were funded, in part, through external resources, the orientation of that process was towards national

policy, which in turn grew out of the national political imperative of youth unrest and ethnic nationalism.

The continued importance of national policies for EFA stands in contrast to some of the messages implicit in international EFA frameworks for action. The Jomtien and Dakar Frameworks for Action emphasise the role and importance of National *Plans* for EFA action. Educational planning forms the link between policy goals and action on the ground. However, in the transition from World EFA Goals to National Plans of Action the texts of both Frameworks appear to by-pass and implicitly devalue the role of national policies for education. There appears to be an implicit assumption in the Frameworks for Action that *World Goals* and *National Plans* of Action *can* be linked directly, with little reference to systems of national and sub-national *policy* formulation. Conversely, while Haddad and Demsky place the national process at the heart of policy formulation, their model underplays the now increasing role of international organisations in that process in heavily aid-dependent countries.

Haddad and Demsky identified two opposing models of the policy-planning process: the technical-rational and the political (Figure 7). The Sri Lankan case suggested that the political imperative was paramount in the initial stages of policy-formulation but that there was a significant role for a technical-rational approach at the stage of planning. However even at the point of planning, and especially at the transition from planning to implementation, the interaction between the political and the technical-rational remained strong (Little, 2003).

Haddad and Demsky also suggested that policy adjustments usually occur after implementation (Figure 6). The Sri Lankan case demonstrated how, in the case of school restructuring and rationalisation, adjustments to policy and planning were made *prior to* the stage of implementation (Wehella, 2001). Adjustments to both the policy and plans occurred as the work of the national planners moved to that of the provincial level, and the provincial engaged in consultations at the school level. It was at this point that political and community resistance was met and the national planners were forced back to the drawing board, several times. The scheme accepted eventually by the provinces as potentially implementable was much less radical than that implied by the policy-makers and initially codified by the planners in 'policy texts' circulating within the Ministry and provincial administrations (Little, 2003).

Policy adjustments also relate to the cycles of political regimes. Since cycles of regime are often much shorter than cycles of educational policy change and implementation, radical adjustments to policy can be made by a new regime prior to substantial implementation of the original policy.

Evans, Sack and Shaw (1995) analyse cases of educational policy making in Benin, Ghana, Guinea, Mauritius, Mozambique and Uganda in the late 1980s. In contrast with what they perceive to be Haddad's linear and staged cyclical model, they argue that policy making and policy implementation is

A messy, fluid process which cannot be reduced to a simple linear model.... reality is more complex, less clearly ordered, and seldom reflects a simple application of technical rationality in decision making (Evans et al, 1995:5).

Rather than a set of discrete steps, the elements of the policy cycle are experienced as a continuously interactive process:

The formulation of policy options is continuous... with important inputs being made even after the adoption of a particular policy option... even well into the implementation stage powerful actors can and will seek to influence the translation of policies into regulations and actions. Policy leaders often underestimate the importance of the large numbers of mid-level bureaucrats and school-level educators who will influence the form which policies take in practice... under some circumstances these actors can block or reverse policies when they reach local levels (Evans et al, 1995: 5).

By way of reply, Haddad suggests that the concept of the policy cycle is oversimplified for purposes of analysis. 'In reality no country goes through such a circle, rather it goes through many loops' (Haddad, quoted in Evans et al, 1995: 4). It should also be noted that while actors frequently reverse or stall implementation they often do not change the initial policy texts. If they do change the text they are, by definition, creating an amended policy text.

2.4.1 The Planner's Paradox

One assumption contained within the policy cycle approach is that failures of implementation lead to new policy cycles and the creation of better policy. Lewin notes that cycles of policy reform contain within them a paradox (1991a: 15). Simply stated, the planner's paradox suggests that:

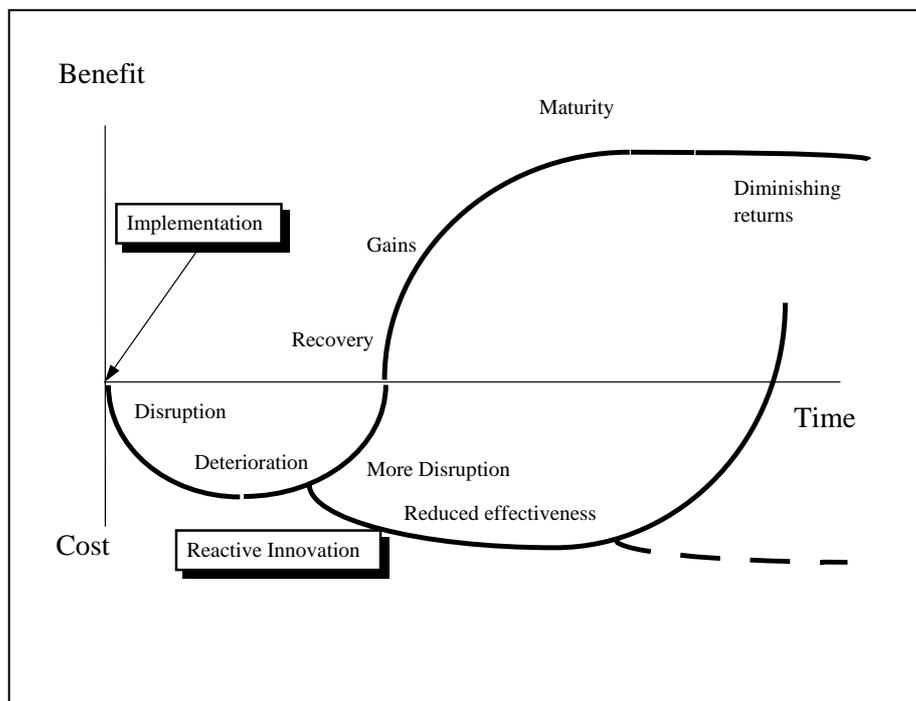
Innovation is needed where education systems fail to deliver equitably an acceptable quality of learning.

However, innovation is disruptive, resource consuming and unevenly implemented.

Innovation adversely affects the equitable delivery of learning at an acceptable level of quality.

Innovation is needed

The paradox is that reform based on new policy may make things worse before they get better. In the initial stages, costs outweigh benefits. If the reforms are well conceived and implemented, at some point the benefits outweigh the costs. After a longer period the system re-stabilises and gains diminish since the reforms have been fully adopted. The risk is that policy systems may be over sensitive to short term deterioration in performance. Reactive innovation can occur at or near the nadir of the innovation cycle. If political resolve is weakened, courage in short supply (and possibly an election near), then new policy and more innovation is called forth. This may further diminish performance and result in more disruption and uncertainty. This is presented schematically in Figure 8 below.

Figure 8 Costs and Benefits of Education Policy Reform Implementation

Source Lewin (1995: 217)

Lewin (1995: 217) illustrates the problem thus:

An innovation occurs with its attendant costs which at first suppresses the achievement of desired goals. Unhappiness is widespread. Teachers complain that new methods and materials are inferior to those with which they are familiar and/or that they need a lot of time to understand and use innovations effectively. Unrealistic amounts of in-service training may be demanded to overcome the insecurity of adopting new practices. Performance indicators fail to show the expected gains. Politicians run for cover and curriculum developers and educational administrators get blamed for offering poor advice. More reforms are called for... Innovators often get ahead of themselves. It is not necessary to postulate a class of hyperactive innovators of the ready, shoot, aim variety to accept the possibility that too much innovation can be bad for a system. And it is at least prudent to question the motives of what I might call 'serial innovators' who produce new innovations so rapidly that design never reaches development, and far less implementation, adoption or evaluation before the progenitor has moved on to another green field site.

Lewin goes on to cite an example of perverse outcomes of policy that reinforce the point. First, in the 1970s, Sri Lanka embarked on radical across the curriculum reform which included the introduction of a new secondary integrated science curriculum. It was intended to increase relevance and teachability, and enhance the performance of rural students. To the surprise of some, the first year's results for rural schools deteriorated relative to those of their urban counterparts. What was happening was that relatively well resourced urban schools with a greater critical mass of qualified and experienced teachers were able to adapt far more quickly to the new materials and examination syllabus. They also often enjoyed direct access to the curriculum writers

who they could interrogate. The urban-rural gap in performance increased not diminished. Soon after the curriculum was reformed again.

The simple message from this work is that perhaps stability is as important as change in the educational development process. The gains from reform have to be more than marginal to cover the costs, and have to be given time to mature. If systems are too heavily stressed with a multiplicity of new practices, confusion and inconsistency may proliferate and initial enthusiasm evaporate in favour of apathy or resistance. The main actors in all education systems (teachers and students) have considerable negative power to block excessive or unwelcome reforms no matter how well intentioned.

2.4.2 Policy as Discourse

Working from a very different context – education policy in OECD countries and England in particular – but during a similar period of time, Ball (1994) also offers the concept of a policy cycle. In an earlier CREATE monograph, Lall (2007) suggests that Ball's (1994) concept of policy embraces its formulation, the creation of policy texts and the interpretation of a policy text in practice. Ball (1994) applies the term 'policy cycle' to a range of contexts. These include

1. Contexts of influence: where interest groups struggle over the construction of policy discourses and where key policy concepts are established
2. Contexts of practice: where policy is subject to interpretation and recreation
3. Contexts of policy text production: where texts represent policies
4. Contexts of outcomes: where the impact of policies on existing social inequalities is seen
5. Contexts of political strategy: in which political activities which might tackle such inequalities are identified

Like the stages approach, this policy cycle implies movement in time from the construction of policy discourses (in Haddad's model this would embrace the stage of setting the policy agenda and the formulation and assessment of policy options), to contexts of practice (in Haddad's model this would embrace the stage of implementation of policy, in which policy as implemented and experienced comes to define the policy). There would be movement eventually to the contexts of outcomes (in Haddad's model the stage of evaluation of policy impact).

Ball's policy cycle differs from Haddad with Demsky's policy cycle in important ways. First, it emphasises the importance of understanding the processes of policy formulation and the production of policy texts. Second, it draws attention to the role of political activities in the formulation and implementation process. And third, Ball focuses on the continuous interpretation and recreation of policy goals by a range of actors to a greater extent than either Grindle's implied (1980) or Haddad's more explicit policy cycle (1994 and 1995). Both Grindle and Haddad recognise the several feedback loops between the different stages of the overall policy process, but Ball emphasises the continuous interpretations and recreations of policy that occur as more and more actors become involved. For Ball, 'policy as discourse' is subject to continued reconstruction which might be construed as policy reformulation

reinterpretation and reimplementation in practice. Ball's approach also differs from several others in his pre-occupation with the impact of education policies on inequalities. While the reduction of social inequalities and increase in social equity are indeed the goal of large numbers of policies, these are not the only goals of education policy.

By contrast, Evans et al (1995) reflect on and analyse policy with a view to influencing their and others' policy actions in the future. They attempt a reconciliation of what they term the 'steps and stages' approach with the 'fluid process' approach as follows:

Instead of seeing these stages as rigidly sequential, each one can be viewed as a challenge to be faced at some point in the process of policy formation and implementation. Nonetheless thinking of the policy process as a logical sequence of steps can help to make sense of the challenge, even though it does not provide fully applicable guidelines for policymakers working in real world settings. Since.... environmental characteristics strongly influence every stage of the process, at any given point a country can be addressing a particular stage or even several stages at once, without having dealt with the 'previous stages' (Evans et al, 1995: 4).

A very recent study of policy-making in Uganda meshes the steps and stages and fluid approaches well (Hoppers, 2007). Hoppers' study does not focus directly on EFA Goal 2 and primary education. Rather, it explores the dynamics of participatory practices in the development of policies for disadvantaged children through non-formal education provision. The dynamics include the political, legal, economic, socio-cultural and institutional factors and the power relations that influence the roles played by a range of stakeholder groups and their interactions. The fluidity of the process is illustrated by the decision by some policy actors to implement a draft version of the policy *before* it had been submitted to parliament.

Administrative implementation preceded the submission of the draft Policy to parliament. In turn the latter has preceded the submission of the legal basis for the same Policy. Thus, if the Bill, which is still to be submitted, is enacted with its current stipulations, the whole process would have to be rolled back so that the evolving appropriation as well as the Policy text can be aligned with the Bill (Hoppers, 2007: 16).

Despite the engagement of many groups of stakeholders in this particular process of policy formulation, Hoppers concludes that this will not guarantee a 'democratic' outcome as the

Open-ended and unconfined nature of such policy process allows for counter-actions in the political, legal and financial domains that preserve the existing education hierarchy and use the policy process as a course of compensatory legitimation for the state (Hoppers, 2007: 2).

It is likely that the idea of over-lapping stages in policy formulation and implementation is not unique to national governments. Aid agencies too can be

involved simultaneously in multiple stages of activity without having dealt fully with the previous stage.

One interpretation of the challenge to the linear, sequential policy cycle is to view everything and everyone as mutually inter-active in space. Policy formulators influence policy implementers; policy implementers influence policy formulators. This view certainly resonates with policy practices as experienced on the ground. However it is also important to recognise that continuous as well as staged processes, multi-directional as well as linear processes are locked in to the logic of time. *Time moves forward*. While practices influence policy as much as policies influence practices, it is practices at time X that influence policy at time X+1, and policies at time X+1 that impact on practice at time X+2. Policies at time X+1 do not impact on practice at time X (except in so far as a policy actor's anticipation of a future policy might influence his/her practice at time X). For those who intend to study the process of policy formulation and practice, the inclusion of the dimension of time is important not only conceptually but also methodologically. Studies of policies and of policy processes have to start some where and at some time.

2.5 The 'Agency' of Policy Elites in Policy Formulation

Grindle's early work (1980) focussed on policy implementation during the 1960s and 1970s, and the role of politics in it. In her 1991 work with Thomas, *Public Choices and Policy Change: The Political Economy of Reform in Developing Countries*, she focuses rather more on the processes of policy formulation and the scope for the exercise of choice by 'decision makers'. Although Grindle and Thomas use the term 'policy elites' almost interchangeably with 'decision-makers' this book appears to focus on the subgroup of policy elites who work as government officials in one Ministry or another. Their analysis does not focus on the agency of politicians.

During the 1980s, long accepted development goals – state-driven economic growth and social welfare – were replaced by the discourse of market-driven economic development and decentralised forms of government. Policy changes in line with this discourse were widespread. Noting that much previous analysis (including their own) had focussed on the obstacles to development and policy implementation, Grindle and Thomas were surprised by the degree of policy change observed in the 1980s. They ask:

How can such changes in important economic policies and institutions be accounted for?

The analysis begins with a set of observations about policy choice drawn from professional experiences reported of policy decision-makers 'in developing countries'. Notwithstanding the broad sweep of this term, and the risk of gross over-generalisation across radically different political, economic and social contexts, Grindle and Thomas assert that:

- Decision makers are not fully constrained by the interests of social classes, organised societal interests, international actors, or international economic conditions, but have space for defining the content, timing and sequencing of reform initiatives.

- Decision makers often have articulate and logical explanations of the problems they seek to resolve based on their experience, study, personal values, ideology, institutional affiliation or professional training.
- Decision makers may alter their perspectives on what constitute preferred or viable policy options in responses to experience, study, values, ideology, institutional affiliation and professional training.
- Decision makers often take active and formative roles in shaping reforms to make them politically acceptable to divergent interests in society or in government.
- Bringing about changes in public policies and in institutions is a normal and ongoing aspect of government and a normal and ongoing function of many officials.

(Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 19)

Grindle and Thomas (1991) set out a wide range of theoretical positions that have implications for explanations of policy choice and classify these as *society-centred theories* or *state-centred theories*. Their strengths and weaknesses, especially in terms of their power to explain the behaviour of decision makers and policy managers, the choices they make, and the factors that influence those choices are assessed (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 2). A summary of their review of six theories is presented below.

2.5.1 Society-centred Approaches

The literature of political science and political economy offers three influential society-centred approaches to understanding economic and social policy choice. In the class analytic, pluralist and public choice approaches the activities of states and policy elites are understood as dependent rather than explanatory variables. Policy choice is a function of social class and social group formations in national societies or their extensions in international contexts.

2.5.1.1 Social Class

Marxist class analytic approaches locate explanations of policy and of policy change in relationships of power and domination among social classes. Marxist-inspired 'dependency' analyses have been adopted widely to explain the political economy of development, and focus on relationships of

domination and subordination that emerge through an international context of capitalist development and subsequently incorporate class relationships within a society economic relationships defined the nature of the conflict... Political interaction derives from economic conflict and politics is a significant manifestation of class conflict. The primary function of the state in Marxist formulations is to ensure the legal, institutional and ideological hegemony of the dominant class or class alliance over subordinate classes (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 20).

Classical Marxist theory positions policy elites as tools of the dominant classes. Neo-classical approaches allow policy elites greater freedom to go beyond the interests of specific classes to the interests of the survival of the capitalist order, nationally and

internationally, an autonomy that is possible when dominant classes are in conflict with each other.

Class analytic models correctly note that policy makers are constrained by economic structures and their political manifestations, but they define away the issue of choice in policy making, other than to assert that at specific historical moments, policy elites have relatively more independence to determine policy content than at other moment, when their actions are severely if not totally constrained by the class basis of political authority (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 22).

2.5.1.2 Pluralist

In pluralist approaches policy choice results from ‘conflict, bargaining and coalition formation among a potentially large number of societal groups organised to protect or advance particular interests common to their members’ (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 22). Economic interests predominate but interest groups also form around ethnicity, religion, caste, values and region. In this approach political society comprises large numbers of interest groups that compete with each other over policy and at times coalesce to promote common policy goals. Initiative for policy change lies with social groups and the resources available to them for mobilising their interests. The state is part of the political arena in which ‘such groups conflict, negotiate, bargain, form coalitions and generally do battle over policy output’ (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 23) and their principal role is to arbitrate competing interests. This approach resonates well with the policy and political context of the United States, but it resonates less well with that found in many developing countries

where votes and lobby activities may not be useful ‘currencies’ for interpreting societal preferences and where much policy may never be discussed outside the halls of government (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 20-21).

2.5.1.3 Public Choice

Public choice theory is similar to pluralist approaches in as far as political society is assumed to comprise self-interested individuals who coalesce around organised interests to acquire access to public resources. They

use money, expertise, political connections, votes and other resources to extract benefits or rents from government through lobbying activities, through elections and other direct forms of political involvement, or through the imposition of rewards and sanctions on public officials (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 24).

The term ‘*rent-seeking societies*’ is used to describe entire political systems in which this type of activity is pervasive. In contrast with pluralist approaches, elected public officials concerned with remaining in power are active participants in this process and seek to provide benefits to those interests they believe will help them retain office. Non-elected public officials too ‘respond to the pushing and hauling of interests groups because they can derive rents from providing favoured access to public goods, services and regulations’ (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 25) resulting in policy choices that can be harmful as well as beneficial for society as a whole.

Public choice theory goes beyond the pluralist view of the state as a neutral arbitrator, explains why public officials can be complicit and indeed active in the formulation of policy detrimental to society. It also explains why the state constrains policy change. However, it offers little by way of explanation of how and why policy changes occur.

2.5.2 State-centred Approaches

In contrast to the above, the *policy science* literature focuses more explicitly on the actions of decision makers within the organisational context of the state. The decision maker is neither a tool of the state nor of social groups. The decision maker employed by the state has the freedom to exert choice.

State-centred explanations indicate that policy change is best understood by focussing first on the perceptions and interactions of decision makers and others in particular organisational contexts in government. When such perspectives consider the influence of societal interests, they generally do so by treating lobbying, pressure group politics, public opinion, and voting as intervening variables that affect the policy responses of public officials. Thus they differ significantly from society-centred explanations in terms of where they expect the initiative for change to emerge (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 27).

2.5.2.1 Rational Actor

The rational actor approach views policy makers as accumulators of information, designers of alternative courses of action and selectors of options on the basis of preferred goals. This view lay behind much educational planning throughout the 1960s and 1970s in developing countries. The initial view of the rational actor has been modified through concepts such as ‘bounded rationality’, ‘satisficing’ and ‘incrementalism’. These allow for the possibility that

because of the complexity of perfectly rational choice and its costs in terms of time and attention, decision makers (whether individuals or organisations) do not usually attempt to achieve optimal solutions.... but only to find ones that satisfy their basic criteria for an acceptable alternative (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 28).

On this point Lewin (1991a: 19) notes:

Decisions have to be made without the availability of enough information to allow rational choice between options to be made, and before the effects of previous decisions can be assessed. Innovations may then build on a bedrock on which is the sand of previously unimplemented change.

The concepts of bounded rationality, satisficing and incrementalism help to explain why far reaching reform measures are not adopted more frequently. But rational actor models explain fundamental change less well. They also restrict the rationality exercised by decision makers to the organisations within which they work. They provide ‘little insight into how societal interests, historical experiences, ideologies,

values, alliances and other factors penetrate the world of the decision makers and shape or even determine decisional outcomes' (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 29).

2.5.2.2 Bureaucratic Politics

The bureaucratic politics approach focuses on competition between actors in bureaucratic organisations. This approach allows considerable autonomy on the part of decision-makers within state governments, an autonomy which is constrained only by the power and bargaining skills of other bureaucratic actors and by their own hierarchical positions of power, their political skill and the bureaucratic and personal resources available to them (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 29).

This approach helps one understand conflict within state organisations and power relations between them. Grindle and Thomas suggest that this approach may be useful in the analysis of policy making in developing countries where the role of the state is extensive. However, since it was developed to explain foreign rather than domestic policy-making, the approach has limitations. It does not explain policy choices made after extensive or prolonged social conflict and provides little insight on how historical context and constitutional processes shape and influence policy outcomes.

2.5.2.3 State Interests

In the state interests approach states are analytically separable from society and have some autonomy. These interests include the reduction of conflict and maintenance of social peace, with the pursuit of national development as defined by policy elites representing particular regimes and the maintenance of power.

Policy change is accounted for by

changing circumstances that encourage new definitions of problems and solutions to them, by efforts to achieve overarching state interests that may require new initiatives when prior policies have given rise to unintended consequences, or through conditions that alter the relative autonomy of the state (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 32).

The state interests approach underlines the activism of political leaders and policy makers in determining policy outcomes and is particularly useful in developing countries where the state often takes the initiative in driving society towards development goals. It provides a less convincing explanation of how decision-makers develop particular preferences.

After reviewing these six theoretical positions, Grindle and Thomas (1991) conclude that none of their initial propositions drawn from the observation of professional experience fits easily with any single one, especially the society-centred approaches in which little initiative, leadership or problem solving capacity is attributed to policy elites. Their alternative model of the policy process is based around (i) the background characteristics of policy elites (by which, in this context they mean, mainly, government officials, not politicians); and (ii) the constraints and opportunities created by the broader contexts within which they seek to accomplish their goals (iii) the conditions that influence specific instances of policy change.

Broadly, these three elements involve addressing three questions:

- What do policy elites bring with them by way of personal attributes and goals, ideological predispositions, professional expertise and training, memories of similar policy situations, position and power resources and political and institutional commitments and loyalties?
- How do contextual factors such as societal pressures and interests, historical and international contexts, economic conditions, the bureaucratic capacity of the government and the policy environment shape policy elites, motivations, opportunities for reform and perceptions of goals to be achieved?
- What are the specific conditions of crisis/non crisis, decision criteria and policy characteristics which account for specific instances of policy change?

Grindle and Thomas (1991) address these questions in relation to a series of cases of policy reform and institutional reforms. These include the macroeconomic policies of devaluation and structural adjustment in Ghana (1971) and Korea (1960-66) respectively; primary health care in Mali (1975 and 1979); public water supply in India (1980-1988); and decentralisation in Kenya 1976-1978. Although educational policies were not selected for study, the propositions generated by an analysis of these cases have relevance for them.

1. Policy elites can have particular goals for the activities of the state. These goals are formed by a shared ideology or approach to problem solving that can be derived from the embedded orientation of the state, from the historical development of state activities and the way in which the state's role has been defined, from particular positions in government, and from personal values, ideological predispositions, professional training and experiential learning.
2. Policy elites incorporate the concerns and orientations of a particular regime and are concerned to ensure its survival through their actions.
3. Policy elites are never fully autonomous but are always invariably constrained by societal pressures and interests, historical and international contexts, domestic economic realities and bureaucratic capacity and compliance. These perceptions and conditions create the general context within which policy elites manoeuvre to craft solutions to major societal problems.
4. Policy elites are not invariable heroes nor are their choices ever likely to be disinterested. Reform is not necessarily viewed by them as beneficial, and they may actively try to subvert initiatives for change as well as promote them. Moreover they can make mistakes in the policies they prescribe in terms of their economic, political and social impact.

(Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 41)

The backgrounds, motives and perceptions of policy elites may play a more important role in the general policy process in developing country than in developed country contexts. Decision makers in developing countries assume central roles in initiating, shaping and pursuing public policies and their actions tend to be more visible and central in determining outcomes. This centrality and visibility arises because of

- uncertain information (shortage of information leads to greater reliance on intuition and experience than officials in developed countries)
- economic uncertainty because of the vulnerability of (especially agricultural) economies to world market prices
- conditions of poverty increase public expectations of policy makers and their interventions with regard to the stimulation of economic growth and the provision of social welfare but at the same time limit the resources available for development policies
- pervasive state influence in the economy (many developing countries gained independence when governments worldwide were involving themselves more actively in economic management and state-building and became more pronounced)
- centralisation of decision-making.

In turn these characteristics are ‘a result of a legacy of colonial rule, the nature of state-building and nation-building activities and structural vulnerability to international and domestic economic and political forces’ (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 45).

A very useful distinction is made between the circumstance of crisis and non crisis (or ‘politics as usual’) as a precursor to reform, though it does not necessarily determine the content of the reform.

In all our cases of crisis-ridden reforms, circumstances influenced the stakes and timing of reform but policy elites, however pressured they felt, always had options available to them, including the options of not acting or of experimenting with alternatives to extremely high-risk actions (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 74).

As we saw in Chapter 1, the circumstance of civil war and political crisis in Sri Lanka provided a context in which programmes for change in the access of children in the plantations took place. We return to this point in Chapter 4.

2.6 Policy Elites, Filters and Lenses

Policy elites filter policy options through at least four lenses – technical advice, bureaucratic implications, political stability and support and international pressure (Figure 9). The concerns that influence the decisions made by policy elites depend on the lens through which policy options are being filtered by other policy elites. When the technical lens is emphasised ‘technocrats’ and some foreign advisers will have influence. When the orientation is political stability and support then the political leadership, the military and dominant economic elites will hold greater sway.

Figure 9 Criteria for Choices about Policy and Institutional Reform

<i>Lenses</i>	<i>Concerns influencing decisions</i>	<i>Influential actors</i>
Technical advice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information • Analyses • Options presented by advisors, experts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technocrats • Ministers • High level bureaucrats • Foreign advisors
Bureaucratic implications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Career objectives of individuals • Competitive position of units • Budgets • Compliance and responsiveness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ministers and other high level bureaucrats • Middle level bureaucrats • International bureaucrats and advisers
Political stability and support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stability of political system • Calculus of costs and benefits to groups, classes, interests • Military support or opposition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political leadership • Dominant economic elites • Leaders of class, ethnic, interest associations • Military
International pressure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to aid, loans, trade relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IMF • World bank • USAID • Other multi-lateral, bi-lateral agencies • Governments of former colonial powers • International banks

Source: Grindle and Thomas (1991: 96; Table 5.1)

Different groups of actors coalesce around the various lenses and the concerns of policy elites range from information and analyses of the technical lens, to the career objectives of individuals of the bureaucratic lens, to a calculus of costs and benefits to groups, classes and interests through the lens political stability lens and access to aid and loans and the support for trade relations through the lens of international pressure.

Lewin (1987: 50) draws attention to the importance of understanding the locus of control over decision making. Policy may be determined internally within a system or externally by actors outside the system, or even outside a country. From the perspectives of different actors, policy and its implementation may be seen as more or less controllable and coupled with more or less uncertainty. Drawing on attribution theory from social psychology he developed a matrix illustrating these dimensions (Figure 10).

Figure 10 The Locus of Control of Decision-Making

	Controllable		Uncontrollable	
	Certainty	Uncertainty	Certainty	Uncertainty
Internal				
External				

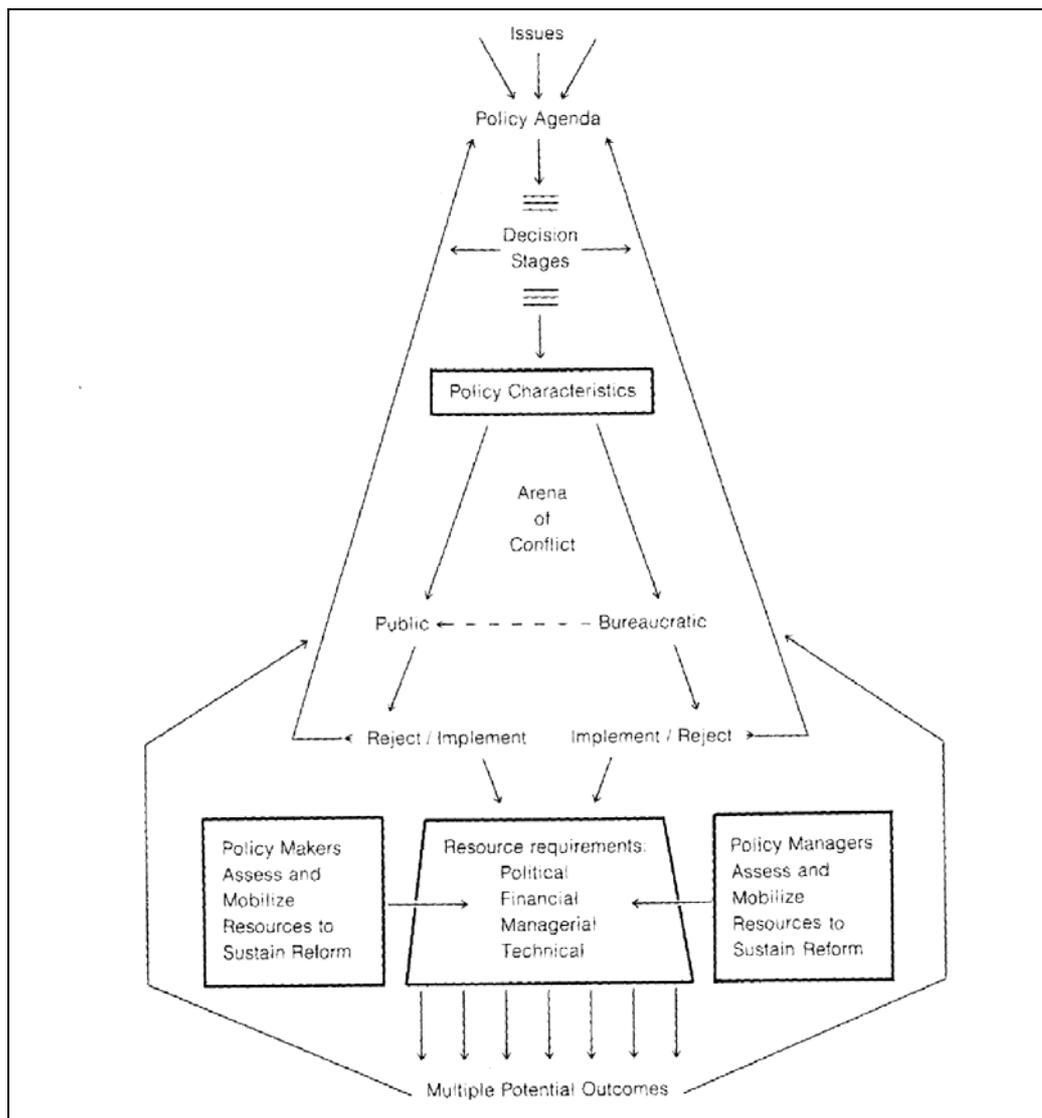
Source: Lewin(1987: 50)

Thus a particular set of reforms linked to EFA may be adopted as a result of external pressure, or internal setting of priorities. Some reforms will be more controllable and have more certain consequences than others. Developing new textbooks is controllable and there is some certainty about the nature of the outcome. In-service training is also controllable but much less certain in terms of outcome. Introducing new pedagogies into schools is inherently difficult to control in most systems and the impact is often uncertain since actions in classrooms are generally not programmed in detail. Demand for schooling is only partly controllable by education authorities since it depends on opportunity costs and many other factors external to the system. If demand softens then it is fairly certain school places will be left empty.

Returning to their earlier 1980 concerns with policy implementation, and on the basis of their case studies of policy formulation, Grindle and Thomas conclude that

implementation is an interactive and ongoing process of decision making by policy elites and managers in response to actual or anticipated reactions to reformist initiatives... The central element in the model is that a policy reform initiative may be altered or reversed at any stage in its life cycle by the pressures and reactions of those who oppose it. Unlike the linear model, the interactive model views policy reform as a process, one in which interested parties can exert pressure for change at many points. Some interests may be more effective at influencing high level officials in government, others at affecting the managers of the implementation process or those who control the resources needed for implementation (Grindle and Thomas, 1991: 125-6).

Figure 11 (below) extends their 1980 model of policy formulation and implementation. In contrast to the model of policy implementation offered in Grindle 1980 (Figure 5 above), Figure 11 focuses more on the issues that give rise to policy agenda and to the contexts and influences on policy decision and adoption. Policy characteristics of the kind emphasised in Figure 5 (e.g. the content of policy and contexts of implementation) remain important but are contained within 'policy characteristics'. Arenas of conflict characterise the implementation of policy to a greater extent than in the earlier model, and there are many more opportunities in this model for interest groups to challenge, resist and reinterpret policy as it is implemented. The processes of formulation and implementation are characterised by greater degrees of interaction between policy formulators and policy implementers.

Figure 11 An Interactive Model of Policy Implementation

Source: Grindle and Thomas (1991: 127)

2.7 The Politics of Education Reform, Revisited

In *Despite the Odds: The Contentious Politics of Education Reform*, Grindle (2004) applies her enduring concerns with policy elites, policy choice and policy implementation to a series of education reforms in Latin America during the 1990s. Her central research question is: How can we account for successful reform initiatives when the political odds are stacked against change?

Definition of objectives and means, the interests of winners and losers, and shifting burdens of responsibility and accountability were among the many factors that brought reformers, politicians, teachers' unions, education administrators, governors, mayors and others into conflict over the nature and scope of education policy during the decade. In these conflicts the line-up of reform forces was almost always imposing, support for change was at best lukewarm; and political institutions were usually unfriendly to initiatives that would alter the status quo. Despite the political odds, at least twelve countries

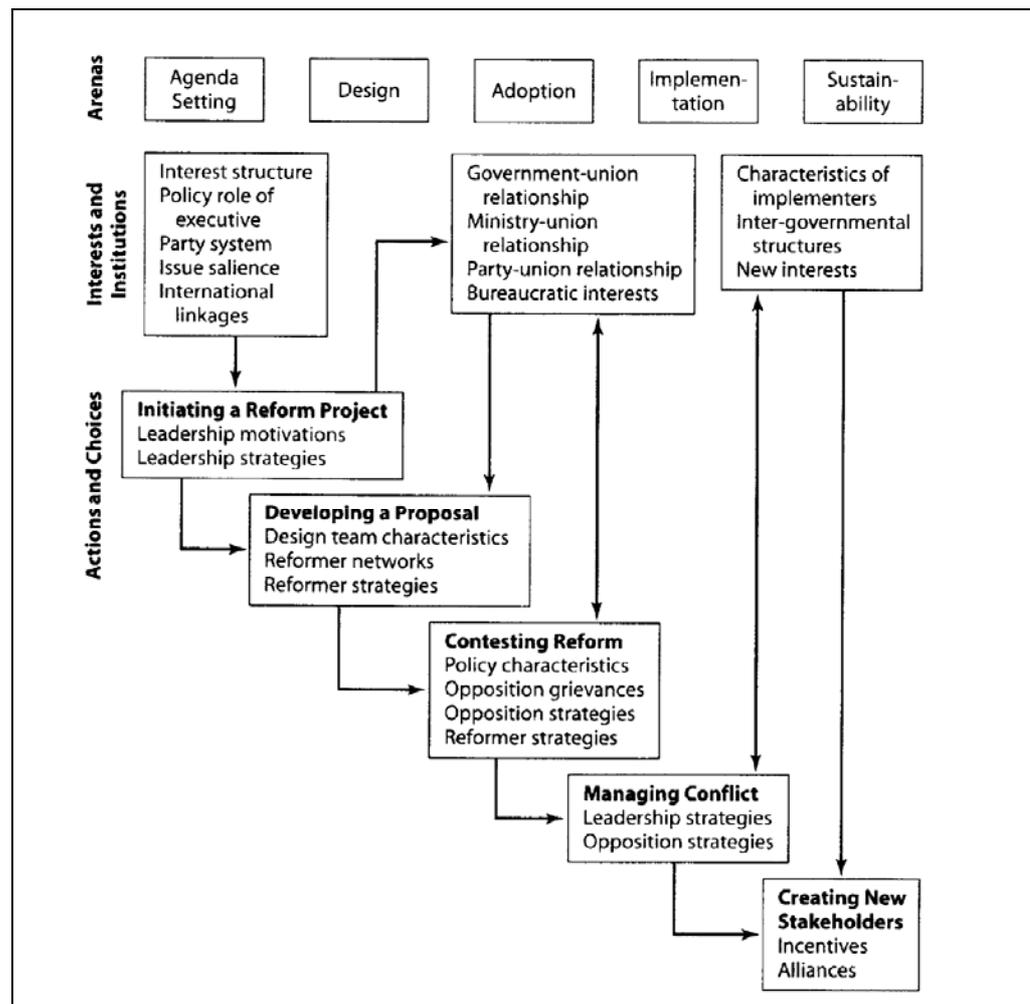
in Latin America introduced important changes in national education policies during the 1990s, Defying predictions that they would shy away from contentious issues, politicians supported many of these changes, even in the face of mobilised opposition, acrimonious debates and resistant bureaucracies. How did this happen? (Grindle, 2004: 1)

Grindle suggests that most analysts of education policy focus on evaluating policies to improve conditions in the sector through a focus on the policy outcomes of efficiency, equity and achievement. This kind of analysis, she suggests, usually takes the process of reform for granted. In contrast to this approach she examines

how improved education becomes part of a political agenda, how reform initiatives are developed, what interactions and negotiations shape or alter their contents, how important actors and interests respond to change proposals, how initiatives are implemented and sustained once they are introduced (Grindle, 2004: 2).

In short, Grindle is concerned with the politics surrounding initiatives for change in the 1990s in Latin America, in how politicians find the 'room for manoeuvre' when policies are contentious and in the limitations faced by reformers. The detail of her findings, based on 39 case studies of EFA, will be discussed in Chapter 4. The more general conceptual model of the policy reform process is presented in Figure 12.

Figure 12 The Process of Education Policy Reform



Source: Grindle (2004: 17)

Designed to reflect the analysis of education reforms, the model identifies how interests, institutions and reformers interact. It identifies the five arenas in which both political and bureaucratic aspirations and actions shape the formulation of policies – agenda setting, design, adoption, implementation and sustainability. The model identifies the interests and institutions that influence those who promote and oppose policies within each of the different arenas. The policy role of the executive, the nature of the political party system, and the political salience of the issue are important in the agenda-setting arena. Relationships between government and unions are vital in the adoption arena while the characteristics of implementers such as teachers are central to the arena of implementation. These factors ‘do not determine reform but rather affect the characteristics, motivations, strategies and actions of actors in the reform process’ (Grindle, 2004: 16).

Grindle (2004) acknowledges that these phases of agenda setting, design, adoption, implementation and sustainability are interrelated (e.g. the anticipation of implementation problems can influence policy design; implementation actions can alter the meaning and content of policy). It is nonetheless useful to explore interrelations in specific phases within an overall process orientation.

Each [phase] can be understood as an arena in which political and bureaucratic interactions take place and affect what happens in subsequent arenas. This process orientation reveals that actors differ in the extent to which they participate in different arenas. As an example, the case studies indicate that teachers' unions were not usually important in setting a national agenda for education reform, and often did not participate in policy design, but became critically active participants in arenas in which policies were approved, implemented, and sustained. Thus the engagement of interests in opposing or supporting change varied across distinct arenas. (Grindle, 2004: 16)

Figure 12 indicates that what Grindle terms 'international linkages' form an important set of interests and institutions that influence actions and choices, especially within the agenda setting arena. Chapter 3 will explore this dimension further.

2.8 Summary

This extended review has drawn examples of frameworks and concepts of policy analysis from a diverse contemporary social science literature and a wide range of contexts. Its wide ranging scope has been designed to ensure that future CREATE policy analysis researchers are exposed to a range of possible conceptual categories prior to the design of their studies.

The different traditions of research and writing from which this review has drawn have much to offer. The 1970s work on education innovation in both developed and developing countries focussed largely on the implementation difficulties issues faced by those who initiated educational change through the vehicle of specific educational projects. This work drew attention to the interplay between the characteristics of the innovation, the implementation strategies followed, the characteristics of the adopting unit and the characteristics of external systems in the determination of (mostly) failure and difficulty. The 1980s literature focussed more optimistically on factors influencing the successful implementation of change projects. A 'general logic' of the change process focussed on initiation factors; implementation factors, subdivided into characteristics of the change process and characteristics of the change project; the use of the innovation in the context of characteristics of institutionalisation; and impact and outcomes. This literature has accorded a central role to the agency for change of teachers, educational leaders and managers. Notably, this literature is drawn from change projects involving teachers in schools, in, largely, North American contexts. This does not necessarily invalidate the value of this version of the logic of change to educational worldwide, but it does invite cautious application in contexts of educational change that include but go beyond the classroom, as would be the case in educational programmes designed to reduce exclusion in CREATE Zones 1 and 2. The contrasts between educational change projects in varying contexts is well exemplified in Fullan's (1989) comparison of change projects in North America and in the context of World Bank projects in developing countries. Typically educational change projects in North America in the 1980s were small scale, specific innovations with a short time frame supported by a strong infrastructure and political and economic stability. By contrast, World Bank projects implemented in conjunction with national authorities in developing countries were more often large scale reforms implemented over a long period of time in conditions characterised by weak infrastructures and often political and economic instability.

Policy studies and policy science literatures developed from and applied to contexts beyond education also offer an invaluable set of conceptual tools. With its 1980s focus on the political context of administrative action, the work of Merilee Grindle and associates deserves attention. Crucially, policy implementation is influenced by whose group interests are affected, the types of benefits anticipated by different groups, the extent of change envisioned, the site of decision-making, the nature, expertise and dedication of programme implementers and the level of committed resources. The political environment in which administrative action is pursued also influences implementation. These include the power, interests and strategies involved, the characteristics of institutions and regimes, the compliance of different sets of actors and the responsiveness of implementing institutions. The treatment of policy implementation as a political and administrative process led to the idea of a policy cycle running from policy goals *to* action programmes *to* implementing activities *to* outcomes *to* feedback to action programmes and policy goals. Haddad developed a similar idea of policy cycles with specific reference to education. Grindle's work addressed the political context of administrative action across several sectors.

More recent work on education policy cycles, notably by Ball in the context of OECD countries, and Evans et al and Hoppers in the context of Anglophone and Francophone African countries, has questioned the linear, sequential logic of action implied by these early policy cycles. Rather, policy goals are continually reconstructed as more and more people become involved in their implementation and in some cases implementation precedes rather than follows the formalisation of policy.

Work on policy cycles has moved the focus of policy analysis attention to the stage of policy formulation and its determinants. In early work in the 1960s-1980s this or that set of policy goals was generally taken for granted: the issue for both analysts and for activists involved in policy work on the ground was to understand the determinants of implementation and how to act on this knowledge. Subsequent work on policy formulation focussed on the 'agency of policy elites' or, to be more specific, the 'room for manoeuvre' of government officials involved in the identification and formulation of policy choices. Grindle and Thomas offer a thorough-going review of theories of policy choice current at the end of the 1980s and ask whether and how the respective theories account for the agency, leadership, initiative and problem-solving abilities of policy elites which appear in multiple ways on the ground. In seeking to fill this conceptual gap they highlight the background characteristics of policy elites, the constraints and opportunities created by the broader contexts within which policy elites seek to accomplish their goals and the conditions that influence specific instances of policy change. They also speak of filters and lenses – of how policy elites filter policy options through the lenses of technical advice, bureaucratic implications, political stability and support and international pressure. And in recognition of earlier critiques of linear sequential models they conceive a new interactive model of the policy process in which (i) the content of policy and contexts of implementation remain important but in which (ii) the scope for interest groups to challenge, resist and interpret policy is enhanced and (iii) there are greater degrees of interaction between policy formulators and policy implementers.

Grindle's application of earlier work to the politics of education reform in Latin America refines the model even further and distinguishes arenas of policy (agenda setting, design, adoption, implementation and sustainability) from interests and institutions, and from actions and choices. The direct and reciprocal linkages between interests, institutions and actions and choices are many. Underlying the model is a process that moves forward in time. The dimension of time running through the process of interaction between policy formulation and policy implementation is, in this author's view, fundamental to an understanding of how policy is formulated and of how *and when* different policy contexts interact.

The conceptual models reviewed in this chapter focus on the process of national policy formulation. Each includes some reference to the role of external, international agency involvements in the process of policy formulation and implementation, but none develops that dimension in any depth. The international policy dimension provides the focus of the next chapter.

3. The International Policy Dimension

3.1 Introduction

In much of the above, passing references have been made to substantial involvement of agencies external to a country in the processes of educational policy formulation and policy implementation. This constitutes one of the main sets of economic, political and social characteristics that continue to distinguish some developing country contexts from those of North America and Europe. On the one hand, international agencies interact with the agencies of national and local policy formulation; on the other, international agencies interact among themselves and with states and non-governmental organisations to create international declarations, policies, frameworks, guidelines and requirements. Through the 1960s and 1970s much international development assistance proceeded on the assumption that policy formulation was the responsibility of national governments while ‘assistance’ was provided to facilitate its implementation. Some external governments ‘tied’ their aid to particular types of programmes, services and products through technical assistance. Over time the international development community has become progressively more proactive in determining education policy formulation, especially those in relation to EFA, and in financing their implementation.

The international development community is made up of individual and groups of actors who bring to their work ideas about development and the role of education within it. They also bring ‘identities’ which extend beyond the national and the local host context. Crucially, international development communities command resources in the form of finance, ideas, and information and social networks. Some writers (e.g. Mundy, 2006) speak of an ‘international development regime’. Others speak of an international architecture for education for all (Packer, 2007).

This chapter explores the mechanisms through which international development agencies influence national policy-making in developing countries. It examines the ideas of world blueprints for education and international discourses about education. It goes beyond the specific processes of policy-making with respect to EFA Goal 2 and addresses EFA policy more generally.

3.2 International Education-For-Development Regimes

In *Education for All and the New Development Compact*, Karen Mundy (2006) traces the development of an international consensus around EFA policy, the mobilisation of finance to support it and the development of new forms of multilateralism and global governance in the 21st century. She charts the development of an international education-for-development regime in which external agencies and development agents play an increasingly important role in the determination of national and local educational policies in some developing countries.

Mundy describes key features of the 1960-1995 period. Notions of education as a universal right figured strongly in international texts from at least 1948 when the United Nations produced its Universal Declaration of Human Rights. UNESCO promoted mass education in its regional conference in Addis Ababa, Santiago and Karachi from the early 1960s, the world and national literacy programmes through the

1970s and 1980s and international literacy year declared in 1990. During this period internationally-supported declarations were not matched by major flows of funding or technical expertise. Mundy suggests three main reasons:

- Donors assumed that national governments would/should fund and provide universal primary education.
- Recurrent costs (e.g. teachers and textbooks) which form the largest element of any public education budget were seen by donor governments as ineligible for aid funding. To fund the recurrent costs of education in another country would be financially unsustainable.
- The bilateral donors tied aid to economic and political interests and tended to fund programmes of post-primary training foreign scholarships and institution-building.

(Mundy, 2006: 25)

Although the international community as a whole could be seen as encouraging policy ideas in relation to the establishment and expansion of state-led mass education systems, the absence of large scale finance for it meant that no formal system of governance or coordination among its many actors emerged. UNESCO was the major actor but it had limited resources for implementation. UNICEF began from the 1960s to develop programmes for children independently of UNESCO and the World Bank became actively involved in education, also from the 1960s. While the multilateral effort was fragmented,

virtually every industrialised country... included education sector programmes in its bilateral aid programme at wildly varying levels of between 3 and 30% of total bilateral official aid. No single bilateral donor outweighed the others financially – not even the US, despite its position as a hegemon in the global system. The net result was an education-for-development regime characterised by many small to medium sized, short term, bilateral transactions, often working at cross purposes (Mundy, 2006: 27).

The number of international agencies was limited to three major multilaterals (UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank) and a number of bilateral organisations operating via an array of aid modalities. Very few international non-governmental agencies and actors were involved. Large volunteer programmes were exceptions (e.g. the British Voluntary Service Overseas, the American Peace Corps and the Canadian Universities Service Overseas) through which technical assistance (mostly young and recently graduated persons) was provided to education systems and other sectors of development. Volunteers tended to work at the secondary and university levels of education.

Mundy suggests that the new regime dates from the mid 1990s, post Jomtien. Education she argues is now part of a new consensus on global development. *Inter alia*, there has been

- a broad rapprochement between the neo-liberal and pro-economic globalisation approaches across the IMF, the World Bank and a range of UN organisations – all now address poverty, equity and the role of the market in education.

- the reformulation of the Dakar EFA goals within the list of Millennium Development Goals declared at the Millennium Development Summit in Monterrey and endorsed by the UN and its agencies, the Bretton Woods institutions and OECD governments (www.undp.org/mdg).
- the establishment of the annual EFA Global Monitoring Reports and a more systematic attempt by UNESCO to follow-up and support national EFA plans.
- the establishment of a UN task force on gender equity, a Fast Track Initiative for funding EFA and EFA flagship programmes of UN agencies.
- the creation of new forms of donor coordination at country level. The first is the construction of poverty reduction papers (PRSPs) in which education and other social development goals are integrated with plans for macroeconomic stability, liberalisation and debt repayment. The second is the sector-wide approach (SWAp) in which all stages of education are addressed and in which bilateral agencies contribute to a coordinated plan and a sharing of its funding with the relevant government ministries.
- the emergence of new actors, partnerships and accountability politics. Political actors on the international stage are actively encouraging new types of partnerships with civil society and private sector organisations. The growth of transnational organisations representing coalitions of civil society – sometimes referred to as International Non-governmental Organisations (INGOs) – is marked.

(Mundy, 2006: 29-44)

Most significant are plans to increase aid flows generally. Mundy (2006) reports a planned rise of aid flows to education of \$75 billion per year by 2006, up from \$52 billion in 2001. These increases were combined with a greater willingness by donor governments to see aid channelled into direct budgetary support over long periods of time. For example, DFID's bilateral funding for education is set to increase to over £1 billion over the period 2005/06 to 2007/08, with a further £370 million through multilateral agencies, bringing its total expected education funding over the next three years to £1.4 billion (www.dfid.gov.uk/news/files/pressreleases/fti-education.asp). The shift towards direct budgetary support over long periods of time is significant and potentially reduces the impact of the donor community on policy formulation.

3.3 Paths of Internationalising Influence

Packer (2007) focuses attention on the international architecture for EFA, especially as it has merged in the seven years since Dakar.

Since 2000, there have been many more activities and initiatives associated with trying to achieve EFA than in the decade following Jomtien. In part this is because the *Dakar Framework for Action* provides a much stronger platform for action than was the case in 1990 and perhaps more significantly the international environment in the first decade of the 21st century is much more conducive to promoting global targets, global initiatives and global campaigning (Packer, 2007: 15).

For Packer, the key structures, mechanisms and initiatives that comprise that architecture are the 'set piece' conferences of Jomtien in 1990 and Dakar in 2000; various UNESCO follow-up mechanisms; the UNESCO-led Frameworks and Plans;

the Global Monitoring Report; the Fast Track Initiative (FTI); campaigns and others initiatives. Unlike Mundy (2006) who speaks of an international education-for-development 'regime' Packer describes these structures, mechanisms and initiatives as a 'loose coalition'

that are not part of any central international arrangement with well defined relationships between and across particular international partners; indeed the situation remains not dissimilar to that set out in Jomtien that different organizations should pursue their own priorities and utilise their own strengths, although the FTI is a notable exception to this loose rule (Packer, 2007: 15).

Samoff (2003) provides a much more hard hitting analysis of how the international development community (multi-lateral organisations, bi-lateral organisations, international non-governmental organisations, regional organisations) influences national policy formulation and implementation. Reminding us that international influence, in its form of both 'borrowing' and 'conquest', is nothing new, Samoff emphasises that the understanding of contemporary international influence in education policy formulation and implementation requires attention

to the faith and enthusiasm of the evangelists of global goals and standards, to the roles of foreign aid and empirical research and to the ways in which strategies intended to promote empowerment can become vehicles for undermining education reform and entrenching poverty (Samoff, 2003: 52).

Relationships between international organisations and national governments are institutionalised in a context in which there is a fundamental tension between international control and national implementation.

Having analysed the problems and prescribed the solutions the international agencies commonly assume they must direct events. At the same time education reform is the responsibility of national authorities... Widely proclaimed to be critical for the success of education reforms, 'national ownership' often becomes the rhetorical fig leaf that avoids discussion of the barely obscured international influences that nearly everyone, foreign and local, prefers not to address. For the international agencies the challenge in this setting is to find strategies for exercising influence while encouraging national commitment to and implementation of the recommended reform strategy (Samoff, 2003: 61).

Samoff (2003) identifies three paths of globalising influence:

- globalisation by conference (e.g. World Conferences on Education for All at Jomtien, Dakar)
- globalisation by the setting of global standards (e.g. via cross national achievement surveys)
- globalisation through the management of knowledge (e.g. global development information gateways)

Writing specifically about international transfers of education assessment practices, Sebata (2000) adds several other means by which the 'international' and the 'national' intersect. These include books and journals targeted to international and national audiences, foreign training in assessment theory and techniques, the world wide web (accessed differentially by people in different countries), international professional associations (e.g. the International Association for Educational Assessment, the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement), programmes for assessment reform supported financially by international organisations (e.g. the World Bank), international consultancies, and exchange programmes for scholars and students.

Dale (1999) offers a conceptual framework for modelling how influences beyond the national come to influence national policies on education.

'Globalisation' is not, as sometimes appears to be implied the answer to any questions about the nature and orientation of national policies, but it does require one to consider anew how those policies are formed, shaped and directed.... the key problem then becomes understanding the nature of globalisation in ways that enable one to trace more precisely how, and with what consequences, it affects national policies. If 'global' factors affect national policies, what is the nature and extent of their influence? (Dale, 1999: 1).

Globalisation, Dale suggests, sets new and diverse forms of relationships between nation states and the world economy. The mechanisms by which globalisation affects national policy define the nature of the effect and those effects will vary across countries in relation to their position in the world and regional economies. He suggests that the mechanisms through which globalisation operates are qualitatively different from policy borrowing and policy lending, the 'traditional mechanisms of external policy influence' (Dale, 1999: 2).

Dale (1999: 52-53) identifies eight types of mechanism – policy borrowing, 'normal' policy learning, 'paradigmatic' policy learning, policy harmonisation, policy dissemination, policy standardisation, installing interdependence and policy imposition. These eight mechanisms are characterised by nine dimensions:

- nature of relationship between recipient and donor (varying from voluntary to compulsory)
- explicitness of process (varying from explicit to implicit)
- scope (varying from multiple/particular policy goals; processes, policies)
- locus of viability (varying from national to regional organisation to international meetings to international organisation)
- process (varying from borrowing to persuasion to leverage)
- parties involved (varying from bilateral, international, multilateral)
- source of initiation (varying from recipient to national policy community to international community to supranational body)
- dimension of power (varying from conscious decision to agenda setting to rules of the game)
- nature of effect on education (varying from direct on sector or organisation to indirect via the regime)

Dale’s typology purports to embrace examples of globalisation effects worldwide. In this author’s reading of the article, the two mechanisms that most closely match how the ‘external’ affects national policies on EFA are the processes of ‘dissemination’ and ‘imposition’. Figure 13 summarises the characteristics of these two effect mechanisms.

Figure 13 A Typology of Mechanisms of External Effects on National Policies

<i>Characteristics of effect mechanisms</i>	<i>Mechanisms of external effects</i>	
	<i>Dissemination</i>	<i>Imposition</i>
<i>Nature of relationship</i>	Formally voluntary	Compulsory
<i>Explicitness of process</i>	Explicit	Explicit
<i>Scope</i>	Multiple policies	Particular policy goals
<i>Locus of viability</i>	External/national	International organization
<i>Process</i>	Persuasion/agenda setting	Leverage
<i>Parties involved</i>	International	Multinational
<i>Source of initiation</i>	Supranational body	Supranational body
<i>Dimension of Power</i>	Agenda setting	All three dimensions
<i>Nature of effect on education</i>	Direct-sector	Indirect regime

Source: adapted from Dale (1999: 53)

With regard to *dissemination*, Dale explains that policy ‘transfer’ may occur through ‘agenda-setting’ strategies at the supra-national level. For example much of the OECD’s work is concerned with indicating to member states possible future policy directions at the level of regime, sector and organisation. Dissemination also refers to wider educational isomorphism such as the ‘spread’ of curricular categories which may occur partly through the work of international organisations. For example, UNESCO’s promotion of ‘national science strategy’ led to the production of such a policy even in the Congo, ‘which at the time had only nine scientists in R&D jobs’ (Dale, 1999: 13). *Imposition* receives much less detailed treatment in Dale (1999) since he considers it the most familiar mechanism of globalisation. It refers to mechanisms that compel recipient countries to adopt particular policies and is exemplified in *structural adjustment* and in the leverage of trans-national corporations (TNCs), though it is less clear from Dale’s account how these impact on education policy.

Notwithstanding the global remit of the general model and the characteristics of mechanisms identified above, their application to developing country contexts in general and to EFA policy in particular may be limited. The inspiration for the

development of the model appears to have been the increasing international dimensions of policy formulation in OECD countries. Dale does not proffer examples of modes of external influence on developing countries, so it is difficult to evaluate the value of the typology in these contexts. Nonetheless the face value of the dimensions commends them to our attention in future analysis of EFA policy.

3.4 World Blueprints for Education

Chabbott (2003) goes further than Samoff (2003) or Dale (1999) in setting out a model of mechanisms through which ‘world cultural blueprints of development impact on the local and the national’. Working within a ‘world society and culture’ paradigm in which ideas and cultural blueprints at a world level pull/push along nations and local level actions she sets out four mechanisms by which development blueprints at a world level are carried to the national and local levels. These are: discourse, organisations, professionals, and conferences (Chabbott, 2003: 16).

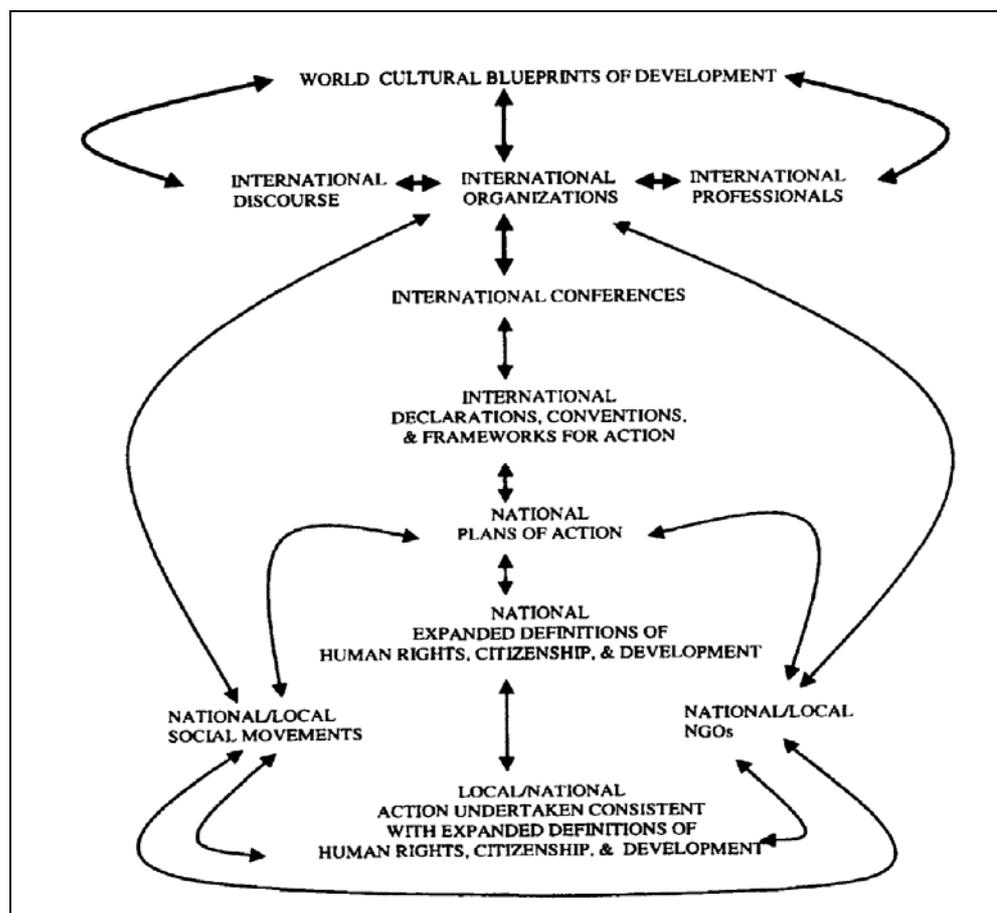
In this model international organisations organise international conferences which generate international declarations, conventions and frameworks for action. These in turn influence, or are intended to influence, national plans of action, national definitions and goals and local and national action (Figure 14).

National and local social movements and NGOs also play important roles in both influencing national plans of action, action on the ground and international organisations. Acknowledging the ‘top down’ nature of the conceptual scheme, Chabbott underlines the recursive motion of influence: ‘professionals reformulate discourse, conferences grow into permanent organisations’ (Chabbott, 2003: 10). She argues that the bottom-up linkages from the local to the national and international remain weaker than the top-down ones. The mechanisms work as follows:

At the world societal level Western notions of progress and justice provide the material for *discourse* about development, and later for more specific discourse about education and development. This rationalising discourse promotes both networks of development *professionals* and international development *organisations*. These professionals and organisations, in turn, sharpen and standardise the discourse by sponsoring activities such as international *conferences*.... (which) regularly produce nonbinding *declarations* and *frameworks for action*. These declarations and frameworks typically invoke the highest ideals of progress and justice, thereby making endorsement by national delegation practically mandatory (Chabbott, 2003: 10).

Chabbott’s analysis focuses on the *discourses of development*. But discourse about universalising access to quality basic education and actions by various stakeholders to make this happen are not the same thing. Endorsement of declarations and frameworks by national delegations may well be ‘mandatory’ but this in no way guarantees or even influences national or local programmes for action or action on the ground.

Figure 14 Mechanisms for Constructing and Disseminating World Cultural Blueprints of Development



Source: Chabbott (2003: 9; Figure 1.1)

3.5 Discourses of International Change Agents

The theme of international discourses of development has been picked up in several recent writings. International change agents working in international agencies develop ideas and ways of thinking about education and development. They develop discourses that permeate their interactions with change agents working at the national and local levels. Sometimes these resonate with national and local discourses; sometimes not. Pervasive discourses on development circulate within and among the various international organisations working with developing countries. Fukuda-Parr (2003) offers a detailed examination of how the ‘human development paradigm’ emerged within the UNDP and evolved over the 1990-2002 period. She demonstrates how changing ideas influenced shifting policy advocacies – from the provision of public services to political empowerment and a stronger emphasis on agency, especially collective agency. Unterhalter (2005, 2007) offers a discourse analysis of ideas about gender, education, development and equality since the 1970s, and traces how these have influenced approaches to action by international organisations and NGOs. The ideas embedded in the Women in Development (WID) approach, with its links to theories of modernisation and human capital, is distinguished from those embedded in the Gender and Development (GAD) approach with its links to Marxism and Structuralism. These in turn can be differentiated from the ideas combined in a

Post-Structuralist framework (linked with post colonial theory) and Human Development approaches (linked with capability theory).

Chabbott (2003) presents an extensive analysis of the discourses of international development and associated 'education and development' discourses over the periods 1950-1970 and 1970-1995. She characterises the period 1950-1970 as the discourse of *modernisation*, in which comprehensive economic planning, technology transfer, community development, economic growth and appropriate technology were promoted. The parallel education and development discourse focussed on manpower planning, fundamental education, human capital theory, human resource planning and functional literacy. The period between the 1970s and mid 1990s is described as that of *poverty reduction*. The international development discourse focussed on poverty alleviation, redistribution with growth, basic human needs, neo-liberalism and structural adjustment, poverty reduction, decentralisation and participatory development, sustainable human development and environmental protection. The parallel education and development discourse focussed on equalising educational opportunity, basic education, human resources development, educational effectiveness and efficiency, local administration of schooling, endogenous education, education for all and quality learning for all (Chabbott, 2003: 38-39; Table 3.1).

3.5.1 Interactions Between International and National Discourses

Samoff, Dale and Chabbott focus on the effects of agencies and ideas located and generated beyond the nation state on national and local ideas and practices. None explores the reciprocal set of influences whereby national and local practices influence the thinking and actions of agents and agencies working at the extra-national level. None explores the mechanisms whereby ideas that have been generated at a local or national level in one country are borrowed or imposed on another via the mediation of international agencies. None explores the mechanisms whereby national governments manipulate international agendas and international agencies for their own ends. Power in interaction between the international, the national and the local is seen as almost entirely one-sided. Indeed, the literature on examples of the influence of the local and national on the international and on other local and national practices is very thin. Whether thin because interaction occurs so rarely or because researchers' minds are dominated by the idea of international domination is unclear. Three rather different examples on interaction, from diverse literatures, are presented here.

Taylor and Henry's (2000) study of Australian approaches to vocational education and training in relation to the international Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development provides an excellent analysis of how national and international organisation discourses interact, and converge over time. Tracing changes in the discourse of vocational and education from the 1970s to the 1990s the authors explain how, when Australia joined the OECD in 1971 and shortly after, the OECD was not a significant source of policy ideas in Australia. However, over time the Australian government became progressively more engaged with the work of the OECD, policy discourses began to converge and the OECD strengthened its normative role in national policymaking.

The discourse goes beyond both the OECD and the Australian policy community. Taylor and Henry argue that the rhetoric of human capital investment, skills

formation, and lifelong learning has become so pervasive that it constitutes a global discourse, shaping the parameters of policymaking in most countries and among organisations as ideologically disparate as UNESCO, the OECD, and the World Bank. These ideas circulate via what can be viewed as emergent global policy communities constituted by an overlapping membership of senior public servants, policymakers, and advisers (Taylor and Henry, 2000: 112).

A second example is offered by King (2007) who traces education policy history in Kenya over the period 1963-2006. King emphasises the policy tensions between the national agenda and the priorities of Kenya's main development partners. Enduring national concerns with the link between education and employment in both the formal and informal economies are contrasted with the priorities of external aid agencies which have focussed on education quality and poverty reduction. National concerns with all sub-sectors of education are contrasted with an emphasis on a particular sub-sector, especially primary education by the agencies in recent years. While the policy discourses of the national and international diverged for much of the period under review, King identifies the emergence of common ground between 2002 and 2006, both in terms of education priorities and in the recognition that education requires an enabling environment if many of its promises are to be realised. King refers to trade-offs between national and international agenda in Kenya and also to other countries such as Rwanda, Tanzania and Ghana which, like Kenya, he argues, are highly dependent on external financing for education.

These trade-offs arise from the substantial involvement of external agencies and make it difficult to disentangle from policy texts the extent to which text represents Kenyan policy or policy for Kenya. It is difficult to draw a line between those documents which reflect more national concerns, and those which are more of a national version of what is an international requirement. (King, 2007: 359)

It is not clear what King means by an international 'requirement'. If he means a requirement that is legally binding such as those contained within a UN convention, there is no such convention on the policy areas analysed above. More likely he means requirements in the softer sense of 'urgings' or pressures linked with promises of funding.

The third example is drawn from a comparative study by Drake (2001) on the role played by the World Bank in knowledge and technology transfers to China since 1980 and to India since 1949. While Drake focuses on neither education nor EFA his discussion is apt for its description of the interaction between a single powerful international institution and powerful national institutions in two contrastingly powerful countries.

Despite some similarities between China and India – including large size, proud inheritance of ancient civilisations, sophisticated elites, huge and growing populations and mass poverty – the nature and outcome of the interactions between the Bank and the national authorities of each country have differed greatly. These differences arise mainly from (i) the nature of the regimes, (ii) uneven expectations, and (iii) timing. Drake asserts:

The unpopular truth is that the Bank management preferred to deal with the authoritarian and centralised government of China than with the quarrelsome, fractious, short-term, decentralised and democratic government of India (Drake, 2001: 227).

And if this sounds contrary to the democratic political philosophy of the Bank's major shareholder governments, Drake asserts a second truth:

World Bank management does not model itself on Western governments but on Western business corporations... authoritarian, hierarchical, undemocratic, secretive and ruthless... (Drake, 2001: 227).

The timing of initial interventions was also a crucial difference between the two countries. When the Bank negotiated its early loans with India shortly after Indian independence in 1947 it was

still very dogmatic about the applicability of Western solutions to Asian problems and India... was insistent on all the appearances of economic and political independence from Western solutions (Drake, 2001: 227).

When the Bank negotiated its initial loans with China, it was more open-minded about adapting solution to local circumstance and China was eager to open up to the 'outside world'. Drake concludes

The World Bank is unique in its combination of financial power, professional expertise, and multilateral character. Moreover the two countries are unique among developing countries in the extent of their economic and military power and cultural self-assurance. They no longer have any fear of being dominated by the World Bank as an agent of unwanted economic imperialism. Now, they both see that the Bank can be useful as an adjunct to their own internal agencies which are pressing for modernisation (Drake, 2001: 227-228).

In contrast to those who focus only on the one way influence from external agency to internal, Drake underlines the possibility of diverse interactions. Expectations and familiar modes of working on both sides interact. These interactions vary across country and influence to country from both sides and influence the ways in which discourses are understood and practices transferred.

3.5.2 Expanding and Contracting Discourses

Global discourses on education are particularly apparent in relation to the Education for All movement. The World Conference on Education for All, held in Jomtien in 1990 and convened by four powerful international agencies – UNESCO, UNICEF, the World Bank and UNDP - generated a discourse about education and development which flowed among international and national agencies more pervasively than hitherto. In the 1960s education had been constructed and presented by some development agencies as a means to national economic growth, increased efficiency and productivity of the labour force and to acceptance of technological innovation. Education offered promise and potential for future development. The Jomtien discourse, by contrast, conveyed a new sense of urgency. Education was now

presented as offering solutions to global challenges. Education was presented as a means to reducing economic stagnation and decline, reducing widening economic disparities among and within nations, reducing the dislocation and suffering of millions through war, civil strife and crime, reducing widespread environmental degradation and reducing continuing rapid population growth. The Jomtien discourse described education in terms of empowering individuals and as a human right.

There is a growing consensus that human development must be at the core of any development process; in times of economic adjustment and austerity, services to the poor have to be protected; that education – the empowerment of individuals through the provision of learning – is truly a human right and responsibility (WCEFA, 1990: 1).

Of equal significance was the repositioning of education as both a means and an end of development. Hitherto, much of the international discourse had positioned education either as a human right (e.g. UNESCO) or as a means to economic growth (e.g. World Bank). Given its intimate link with ‘human development’ and the parallel rise of human development as an overriding definition of development (UNDP, 1990), education became both a means and an end.

Because the new concept emphasises the growth of people as well as income, the quality of life, the participation of people in their own development and human freedom, neither economic growth nor the redistribution of income can be construed as ends in themselves. Both serve human development as much as human development serves them. And education is seen to serve all three. (Little, 1992: 6)

Discourses shift over time, and visions and meanings can become restricted as ideas roll into action. Torres (1999) suggests that the texts from Jomtien advanced an expanded vision of education. However, as the post-Jomtien decade proceeded and programmes were implemented, the vision became progressively more restricted as international development agencies applied their own understandings of ‘basic education’ to it. Figure 15 sets out Torres’ (1999) characterisation of the restricted and expanded visions of basic education.

To a large extent this restriction of vision is not surprising. While the Jomtien texts were very upbeat and contained many goals and aspirations, policy actors at many levels could read whatever they liked into them. Torres’s characterisation of the expanded vision is but one of many. The vision as read by Torres is so idealistic (multiple knowledges, multiple Ministries and multiple responsibilities) and far from the dominant realities of educational policy and practice, that it is perhaps not surprising that the form of delivery of education changed little in the 8 or 9 years after Jomtien. Take just one of these new forms – the call to include traditional knowledge in the school curriculum. For some policy actors traditional knowledge connotes witchcraft and sorcery. While this was not what was meant by those who drafted the Jomtien vision it is not surprising that some of those with responsibility for implementing EFA ignored some elements of the Jomtien texts.

Figure 15 Restricted and Expanded Vision of Basic Education

RESTRICTED VISION (Conventional)	EXPANDED VISION (Education for All)
Directed at children	Directed at children, youth and adults
School-based	Based inside and outside school
Equates with primary education or a pre-established level of education	Is not measured by the number of years of study or certificates attained, but by what has effectively been learned
Responds to the teaching of specific subjects	Responds to the satisfaction of basic learning needs
Recognizes only one type of knowledge as valid; that acquired in the school system	Recognizes the validity of all types of knowledge, including traditional knowledge
Is uniform for all	Is diversified (basic learning needs are different in different groups and cultures, as are the means and modalities to meet those needs)
Is static ('change' takes the form of periodic school and curriculum reforms)	Is dynamic and changes with the passage of time (educational reform is permanent)
Supply (institution, school system and administration) predominates in the definition of content and methods	Demand (students, family, social demand) predominates in the definition of content and methods
Focussed on teaching	Focussed on learning
Responsibility of Education Ministry (education as a sector and a sectoral responsibility)	Involves all Ministries and government bodies in charge of educational actions (requires multi-sectoral policies)
Responsibility of the state	Responsibility of the state and the whole society, thus demanding consensus-building and co-ordination of actions

Source: Torres (1999), adapted by Little and Miller (2000)

3.6 The World Conferences on Education for All

3.6.1 Jomtien

Jomtien was a watershed in the development of a shared international discourse on education for all. It heralded the beginnings of a global compact/coalition of ideas about and finance for education that would far outweigh anything that had gone before. As noted in Chapter 2, international conferences have an impact on the globalisation of the discourse about education, even if it is difficult to trace impact on education and funding practices. Jomtien stands as an example of an arena in which stakeholders of many types from all over the world converged to talk about education. In the context of CREATE with its focus on access to and transitions in education, Jomtien, and successor conferences in Amman in 1995 and in Dakar in 2000, are important events.

The origins and outcomes of Jomtien reflected convergences, conflicts and compromise. Frustrated by UNESCO's relative inaction in the education field and buoyed by the considerable and recent success of UNICEF's global immunisation

programme, UNICEF's head, James Grant convened a meeting in February 1988 of various stakeholders and subsequently invited the executive heads of the other three major multilateral agencies with interests in education (UNESCO, UNDP and the World Bank) to organise a World Conference on Education for All, prior to which the four joined forces to convene a series of nine regional consultations. The Jomtien conference was attended by delegates from 155 member states, 33 inter-governmental organisations, 125 delegates from non-governmental organisations and institutions and others. While the four main multilaterals were the main convenors or 'sponsors' of ideas and money, eighteen other governments and organisations became involved as co- or associate sponsors. A Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs emerged from the conference to promote a coalition for follow-up action. Significantly, the principal responsibility for follow-up fell to national governments through 'needs assessments' and the identification of resource requirements. Complementary actions required more effective coordination by multilateral, bilateral and non-governmental organisations at country level, regional and sub-regional consultations to share mutual concerns and knowledge of how external agencies can best assist countries, increased financial support for basic education by the World Bank, UNICEF, UNESCO and UNDP and annual meetings between them to better co-ordinate activities in the educational field. Alongside each of these recommended actions was the establishment of an international consultative forum to 'serve' follow-up action by countries and agencies. The text of the final report of the Jomtien conference and the detail of the Framework for Action did not emerge easily. The text was a

compromise of several agendas. The bilaterals played an important role in these meetings and indicated that they wished to have a voice in guiding the follow-up, alongside the voice of the main sponsors of Jomtien. There was also a perception that the World Bank had a clear vision of how the follow-up action should proceed: each country should develop a plan; the Bank could play a role in the co-ordination of the plan development. It could lend resources to meet resource gaps. The Nordic bilaterals, the EU and UNESCO, among others, resisted this strategy, viewing it as too 'top-down'. The specific role of UNESCO in the follow-up process was problematic. On the one hand, UNESCO held the UN mandate in the field of education. On the other hand, UNESCO's reputation as an effective organisation, was, at that time, weak. Moreover the US spokesman... objected bluntly to the suggestion that UNESCO should play a leading role in the follow-up action (Little and Miller, 2000: 7).

In her analysis of the EFA conference held in Jomtien, Chabbott (2003: 3) returns to the theme of world culture. The conference was a product of a

world culture that gave rise to the nation-states themselves and to the international organisations that organise events like (Jomtien). This world culture is not a democratic amalgam of many cultures, rather it is a distillation of Western Enlightenment ideas about progress and justice and the unique role that science plays in promoting them. These ideas have given legitimacy to a host of new human rights, such as the right to development and the right to education. At the same time these ideas have also given rise to a whole new set of government responsibilities. Among these responsibilities the

development imperative looms large. This imperative demands both governments and international organisations promote *progress* in social and economic conditions in less industrialised countries and *justice* in the equitable distribution of the rewards of this progress.

In short, the World Conference on Education for All is an outcome of the 'radical reorganisation of the world that took place in the 50 years between 1940 and 1990' (Chabbott, 2003: 3).

3.6.2 From Jomtien to Dakar

After Jomtien there were many follow-up actions, even if some fell short of what had been hoped for. Some of the contradictions between control and implementation identified by Samoff (2003) and reported earlier in Chapter 2 were apparent in the process by which Jomtien exercised its influence after the conference was over. Little and Miller (2000) explore the specific role of the International Consultative Forum on EFA over the ten year period between Jomtien and Dakar. The Forum had emerged out of Jomtien with three main aims: the monitoring of progress by countries and organisations in implementing the Framework for Action; maintaining basic education on the world development agenda; and promoting dialogue and co-operation among EFA partners. Fundamentally the *international* Forum was charged with *servicing national* follow-up action and supporting it effectively (WCEFA, 1990, App 3). At a Forum meeting convened in Paris in December 1991 an African politician, reporting on behalf of a working group, urged

The Forum should keep basic education high on the world's agenda... it can serve as a global catalyst and stimulus for action by governments, organisations and other partners involved in EFA *but...* action itself must be undertaken by these other entities i.e. governments and organisations (EFA Forum Meeting record, Dec 1991, quoted in Little and Miller, 2000: 9; author's emphasis).

This author's judgement of the role of the Forum during the Jomtien-Dakar period was that the notion of 'service' contained a basic contradiction. The Forum had emerged from Jomtien which itself was a creature of four powerful inter-governmental organisations. The 'main sponsors' of Jomtien became the 'convenors' of the Forum which was intended to 'serve national follow-up action and serve it effectively'.

From their pro-active roles as initiators and mobilisers, the Convenors now set in place mechanisms intended to be re-active and supportive of an international process in which national agencies were expected to play a pro-active role. But national agencies had neither played, nor were about to play, a strong role in the international process. The transition from master to servant, in a situation where the new master (national follow-up action) was, in many contexts, very weak, was likely to lead to ambiguities of roles, authorities and responsibilities (Little and Miller, 2000: 11).

This is not to imply that where national follow-up action was strong (and in many countries there was considerable EFA activity between Jomtien and Dakar), this arose

only because of national participation in an international process. Rather, it is to suggest that national follow-up action occurs variously within an international process and often quite independently of it. Many analyses of the so-called 'global' and 'local' acknowledge the autonomy of local and national processes but within a global process that is dominant (e.g. Chabbott, 2003). But there are also examples of EFA policy formulation and practice that may *correspond with* or *bear similarities to* global advocacies and other EFA processes but which are quite independent of the urgings of the mechanisms such as the International Consultative Forum in the Jomtien-Dakar period, the Global Monitoring Report unit based in UNESCO or UNESCO national plan follow-ups. While national groups may well 'participate' in these mechanisms, the meaningfulness of the ritual of participation for national policy formulation actors may be rather weak.

Contemporary policies for Education for All in Sri Lanka present such a case. Sri Lanka has long promoted policies on the access and quality dimensions of education for all – and indeed has often been used as a 'poster boy' by international agencies as an example of how EFA can be prioritised and promoted even when economic growth is rather low. Major education reforms were promoted from the mid 1990s. The spur for reform came not from Jomtien in 1990 but from the youth insurrections and ethnic conflicts of the 1980s and the report of a National Youth Commission on the causes of unrest. A National Education Commission established in 1992 led a national policy formulation process and the development of long term and short term national action plans for the reform of primary education and other sectors of education. While Sri Lankan education planners borrowed selectively from the lists of monitoring indicators promoted by UNESCO in the run-up to Dakar, and while some foreign funded projects were infused by the international discourse of EFA, the motivation for policy and action was essentially home-grown and built from a strong EFA foundation stretching back for nearly a century (Little, 2003). Many countries provide copious examples of programmes designed to promote EFA long before Jomtien.⁴

3.7 Summary

This chapter has introduced the international dimension of education policy-making in developing countries through a discussion of the mechanisms of international influence and through the idea of international discourses about education. While much of this influence is presented as a one-way traffic of ideas and power, it was suggested that in many contexts the reciprocal influences of the local and the national on the international (or the internal on the external) also deserve serious consideration. This introduces the notion of interactions between the different agencies of policy-making and the possibility of diverse forms of influence. The role of external finance is central to an understanding of the international policy dimension.

⁴ For examples of primary education projects promoted long before Jomtien, albeit with some foreign funding see Little et al (1994).

4. Mass Education Policies and Progress in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

4.1. Introduction

Does the history of mass education in so-called developed countries have anything to offer to our understanding of progress towards universal access to education and in particular to the role of policy formulation in that progress?

Some suggest that the search for lessons from the past, especially the nineteenth century past, is irrelevant to present day concerns about universal access to education. The world has changed, the nature of international political and economic relations and discourse has changed and the imperatives for universal access to education are different. Others suggest that the search for lessons from the past is worthwhile, highlighting resonances between the late twentieth century ‘international’ dimension of policy-making and colonial influences so widespread during the nineteenth century. Still others suggest that the relevance of an historical approach lies in the way that histories are understood implicitly by policy actors. What understandings of the history of universal access to primary education do contemporary policy actors hold? More specifically, do most believe that the enactment of compulsory education legislation is a necessary condition for increases in access? In highlighting the idea of EFA as a human right, the authors of the most recent EFA Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2007) appear to make this assumption. However they also recognise that ratification of international treaties does not necessarily translate into national legislation.

The 1948 Universal Declarations of Human Rights and subsequent treaties establish the right to education and have the force of law for governments that ratify them.... Ratification of international treaties implies that governments translate the provisions into national legislation and enforce this legislation. However, of a total of 173 countries recently reporting, 38 – one in five – have no provisions in their constitutions mandating free and compulsory primary schooling, and the proportion rises to one in three if North America and western Europe are excluded (UNESCO, 2007: 10).

The first part of this chapter describes progress towards mass education during the nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries in Europe and the US. Particular attention is given to the role of public policies for free and compulsory education in the story of progress. This will demonstrate that even where national legislation was introduced it did not necessarily result in high levels of enrolments. Conversely, high levels of enrolment in primary were not, in all cases, accompanied by national legislation. The case of England is presented separately.

The second part returns to the theme of conceptual frameworks set out in Chapter 2. Here two conceptual frameworks are presented that inject a historical dimension into our understanding of educational change and of the role of policy in that change. The first, by Archer (1979), offers a framework for understanding a process of educational change in which public policy plays a relatively minor role. This helps us to position the role of public policy alongside many other determinants of educational change

within a society. The second, by Smelser (1991), offers a framework for the historical analysis of educational change that focuses to a much greater extent on public policy. While both frameworks have been developed to study specific contexts in the North, the structure of the frameworks themselves have relevance for future CREATE studies of policies of universal access.

4.2 The Growth of Mass Education in Europe and the US

Boli, Ramirez and Meyer (1985) seek to explain the origins and expansion of mass education during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Europe and the United States. Before advancing their own explanation they review three explanations available in the literature – those of social differentiation, social control and interest groups.

Social differentiation

The first explanation is vertical and lateral social differentiation. Social differentiation, in which social units become differentiated from and have complex relations with each other, is a key feature of modern societies. Modern societies comprise many social groups which perform different roles. Mass education is explained as ‘resolving the strains of differentiation’ by the political right, and ‘as a means of legitimating vertical differentiation’ by the political left (Boli et al, 1985: 146). While differentiation provides a valid explanation of some aspects of modern education, for example the allocation of individuals to education and occupation, Boli et al (1985) regard it is an inadequate explanation of the rise of homogenous mass education.

Mass education in Europe, Japan, and the United States commonly preceded industrialisation and extensive urbanisation. Within Europe, the early industrialisers were not the first to embrace the ideology of mass education and begin to construct universal school systems: Prussia, Austria and Denmark were ahead of France and England, and Scotland has had higher education enrolment rates than England throughout the modern period... regional analyses fail to show a connection between urbanisation or industrialisation and the expansion of enrolments (Boli et al, 1985: 154).

Social control

A second explanation of the origins and expansion of mass education is that education legitimates the structure of society and serves as an essential tool for social control. Boli et al (1985) question this position, especially in regard to the United States. There appears to be no correlation between state school enrolments and state indicators of urbanisation and immigration, contexts in which the need for education as a mechanism of social control is great. Moreover, they ask:

if dominant groups, faced with social control problems, had the power to construct massive educational systems to legitimate themselves, why would they bother? Would not direct subordination of the unruly orders be a more probable and effective alternative? (Boli et al, 1985: 154)

Interest groups

A third explanation lies in the role of interest groups as central social actors. Dominant social groups or classes build education institutions to suit their own purposes. Power relations of interest groups are central to this explanation. Expansion is related to the strength of the dominant group and to the problems it must solve to control local situations.

In response to this explanation, Boli et al (1985) claim to offer, but do not in fact do so, empirical evidence on the interest group theory. Instead they raise rhetorical concerns of the following kind: while interest group theories can account for the variety of uses of schooling, they not explain the standardisation and universalism of the educational institutions.

World views

Having rejected these three explanations, Boli et al advance their own. Mass education, they suggest

is produced by the social construction of the main institutions of the ... worldview that developed in the modern period – the citizen-based nation and state, the new religious outlook, the economic system rooted in individual action... Mass education arose primarily as a means of transforming individuals into members of these new institutional frames that emerged in Europe after the Middle Ages. The nature of society was redefined: society became a rational, purposive project devoted to achieving the new secular ends of progress and human equality. The project was defined in the new institutional frames to include individual members of society as essential components – loci of sovereignty and loyalty, production and consumption, faith and obedience. Thus the individual must be made rational, purposive, and empowered to act with autonomy and competence in the new universalistic system (Boli et al, 1985:157).

Society was viewed as a collection of individuals and mass education was part of the effort to incorporate all individuals in and to help to construct the universalistic and rationalised society. Revised understandings about the individual as the fundamental social unit, about nations, states and citizens, about the responsibility of the state for social welfare and equality prompted a transition from elite to mass education. These revised understandings were not confined to a few societies. Rather, there was a gradual and global diffusion of ideas.

This did not imply however that all societies followed the same route to mass education. Recognising that modern polities adopt different forms, Boli et al (1985) identify two processes by which mass education became established. The first arose in societies where the central authority structure was weak or non existent and education was built around *creating societal members*. This is exemplified in the United States, where education developed from religious, political and economic movements driven by ideals of progress but was not driven by a central state. In Prussia and Denmark, by contrast, education was built around the *creation of members of the nation-state*. Here, the main purpose of a uniform education for all persons was the creation of citizens, devoted to a common set of purposes. These two models of mass education involve two distinct processes. In the first an expansion of schools as organisational entities

would take precedence over state rules and regulation. In the second an elaboration of state rules about, *inter alia*, compulsory education, curriculum and teacher training would be dominant.

Soysal and Strang (1989) respond to the empirical challenge set by Boli et al (1985) by offering a comparative analysis across Europe and the United States of the determinants of national legislation on compulsory education on the one hand and expansion of enrolments in primary education on the other. Figure 16 presents the date of introduction of compulsory education legislation in 17 countries and their respective primary enrolment ratios in 1870.

Prussia was the first to introduce legislation on compulsory education in 1763. It would be more than a century before the United Kingdom followed suit. Denmark, Greece and Spain were also early legislators followed by Sweden, Portugal and Norway. Like the UK, France, Ireland, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Belgium were late adopters, introducing legislation only towards the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth. Figure 16 makes clear that there is no correlation between the timing of legislation and level of enrolment in primary education. In 1870 enrolment ratios of over 65% were recorded in Prussia, Sweden, Switzerland and France and the US. These five span the range of date of legislation introduction – 1763, 1842, 1874 and 1882. The authors classify the United States as a country that enacts State, but not national, laws on education and consequently classify the US as having not yet passed national legislation on compulsory education. Conversely, among those countries that adopted legislation prior to 1845 are Greece, with an enrolment ratio of 20% in 1870, Spain (42% in 1870) and Portugal (13% in 1870). Compulsory education legislation appears to be neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for the achievement of early growth in primary enrolment. Whether it is necessary for universal achievement i.e. education for all, remains open.

The authors reject the functional explanations of those who argue that primary school expansion results from urbanisation, economic development and industrialisation. Instead, and following Boli et al (1985), they suggest that modern Western education has a distinctive character and is central to the efforts of modern states to build modern societies based on individual achievement. Within this perspective Soysal and Strang (1989) identify two sources of education building. The first is the state. The second are religious groups, especially Protestant religious groups, who adhere to and promote doctrines based on individual progress. The conflicts and alliances between the state and religion are thought to be crucial determinants of both legislation and expansion.

Figure 16 Compulsory Education Legislation Dates and Primary Enrolment Ratios, 1870

Country	Introduction of Compulsory Education	Primary Enrollment Ratios in 1870
Prussia	1763	67
Denmark	1814	58
Greece	1834	20
Spain	1838	42
Sweden	1842	71
Portugal	1844	13
Norway	1848	61
Austria	1864	40
Switzerland	1874	74
Italy	1877	29
United Kingdom	1880	49
France	1882	75
Ireland	1892	38
Netherlands	1900	59
Luxembourg	1912	—
Belgium	1914	62
United States	—	72

Source: Soysal and Strang (1989: 278; Table 1)

Soysal and Strang (1989) construct a model with two dependent variables ((i) the date of compulsory schooling laws and (ii) levels of primary enrolments in 1870), and four independent variables ((i) the strength of a state to provide revenue to generate mass education, (ii) urbanisation, (iii) the proportion of the population belonging to protestant faiths; and (iv) the formal link between the church and state). Countries with strong links between church and state, and with national churches, are Denmark, Norway, Prussia, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Countries with 'non national' churches include both the Catholic nations (where the church operates supranationally) and the US and the Netherlands, where the population is predominantly Protestant but where the state is secular.

Their findings indicate that:

- State revenues have little effect on either enrolments or laws.
- The alliance between the state and religion (i.e. the presence of a national church) is critical for both the passage of laws of compulsory education and levels of enrolment.
- The role of Protestantism is not closely associated with enrolments, when the presence of a national church is accounted for.

In a subsequent analysis of the period 1870-1929, they found a negative relationship between legislation and enrolments. The authors resolve this puzzle by distinguishing between policy in principle (legislation) and organisational capacity for delivery of

the policy, and also by identifying degrees of conflict between the state and the church on the one hand, and between societal groups on the other. These distinctions help to identify three routes to mass education.

The first is a *statist construction of education* in which there is a national church and low conflict among social groups within society, as in Denmark, Norway, Prussia and Sweden.

A national church provided both an ideological and an organisational basis for a national mass education system. Its presence simultaneously legitimated the authority of a secular center and emphasised a national identity for its members. The alliance with the national church made it ideologically easy for the state to promote a compulsory mass education system that would transform all individuals into members of the national polity... States were able to provide comprehensive schooling systems through a centralised religious structure that was under their control. The best example is Prussia, where education was managed by the national church for more than a century (Soysal and Strang, 1989: 286).

The second is a *societal construction of education*, as in France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the UK and the US. In these countries schooling grew rapidly in the *absence of* state control. In the case of the US the drivers were local and state governments and local religious groups; in the case of France the supranational Catholic Church; and in the case of the Netherlands separate systems run by Calvinists, Catholics and secular groups. As we shall see later, England provides a contrasting case of societal construction.

The third path is the *rhetorical construction of education*. Here national states were committed to the goal of mass education as a means to building homogenous national societies. But the laws were little more than political rhetoric. Their implementation was stymied by the landed nobility, the traditional church and communal groups.

The disconnection of the state from society and the absence of linkages to a national church that could bridge this gap meant that legislative action was not matched by the necessary organisational structure (Soysal and Strang, 1989: 287).

Inevitably, cross-national analyses obscure much of the detail of specific country contexts, as we shall see in the following section on England.

4.3 England

Crook (2005) describes how the earliest policy for compulsory education in Britain can be traced to an Act of the Scottish parliament in 1496 aimed at the most privileged, the sons of barons and freeholders. The act was never enforced.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century educational provision was voluntary and financed by parents, charitable organisations and religious institutions. Smelser (1991) explains how attempts to introduce government legislation for parochial schools (1807), schools for the poor (1820) and for a national system of schooling (1833)

failed. In 1833 the British Parliament allocated funds for educational expenditures for the first time and offered subsidies to religious schools. Concern to mitigate the effects of poverty was evident in a number of legislative reforms of the 1830s including the Poor Law Amendment Act (1834), conceived by a former aide of Jeremy Bentham's. Further, the Factory Act of 1833 introduced inspection for factories and limited the working hours of children, as well as introducing compulsory education for workers under thirteen. Benthamite 'utilitarian' principles underpinned these reforms and the basic, functional notion of education they embodied. Critics associated these principles with support for industrialisation, urbanisation and the expansion of the factory system in the pursuit of narrow economic interests, most famously in the case of Charles Dickens whose 'Hard Times' satirised the utilitarian movement and its application in the school and factory. By the standards of other countries in Europe, the British government was very slow and late in formulating policies on education and child labour. As Weiner explains:

A combination of forces impeded state action: the Anglican church which feared that state intervention would reduce its hold over education; dissenting churches concerned that state education might be controlled by the Anglicans; factory owners reluctant to lose the economic benefits of low-wage child labor; a political system under which the local authorities had considerable autonomy, especially with regard to education; and an ideology of voluntarism that made legislators and magistrates reluctant to force parents to send their children to school. Many critics of child labor mistakenly concluded that it was capitalism, rather than British politics, institutions, and ideology, that impeded reform. Had they looked across the channel to Germany, Austria, Sweden and France, they might have drawn different conclusions (Weiner, 1991: 135).

The 1870 'policy' – the Education Act for England and Wales – promoted the establishment of school boards and elementary schools in areas where there was no church school. As Murphy points out:

... it did not inaugurate in Britain the provision of state aid for public elementary schools: such aid had been furnished on a growing scale for almost forty years. Nor did it introduce a national system wholly maintained from public funds. It was not even intended to apply to the whole of the United Kingdom, since Scotland and Ireland were expressly excluded from its provisions... It did, however, decree that henceforward there must be made available throughout England and Wales 'a sufficient amount of accommodation in public elementary schools'... And it recognised that this would entail financial support from both national and local taxes. Though the state declined to accept full responsibility for providing a national system of elementary education, it did, at least, undertake to ensure that such a system would be established (Murphy, 1972: 9).

But education in England and Wales was still not compulsory. In Scotland, compulsory education from five years of age was introduced in 1872, but fees – 'school pence' – were abolished only in 1889. In England and Wales the Elementary Education Act for England and Wales abolished the employment of children under ten years of age in 1876 and by 1880 parents were compelled to send their children to

elementary school. But fees could still be charged. The ‘school pence’ in England and Wales were abolished only in 1891, after which time attendance improved (Crook, 2005: 399). Crook also reminds us that even today British legislation speaks of compulsory *education*, not compulsory *schooling*. In 2004 at least 21,000 children were being educated at home.

Some have pointed to the role of policymakers in *slowing* the creation of a state-unified system of education in England in the late nineteenth century. Archer (1979: 186) writes:

England between 1870 and 1902 presents a clear picture of political sponsors interacting to minimise the degree of administrative unification imposed on the independent networks at central or local levels... the 1870 Act represented a partition of control because Radicals and the League exerted sufficient Parliamentary pressure to introduce national elementary schooling, but not enough to undermine vested interests in the maintenance of existing voluntary institutions. The net result was that the Education Department of 1870 had the position ‘more of a central paymaster than that of a Ministry’.

This is not to say that literacy rates were low at the time the policies from 1870 to 1902 were introduced. Soysal and Strang (1989) indicate enrolment rates of 49% in the United Kingdom in 1870 (though it is not clear to which parts of Britain they refer). Weiner (1991: 137) indicates that in 1851 working class children attended school for, on average, four years. Even in the 1830s, half to two thirds of working-class adults could read. By 1870 he asserts that illiteracy was no longer a major problem in England. So while the achievement of significant levels of literacy did not depend on free and compulsory legislation, it did depend on the availability of schools.

The English story is important for the test of the propositions about the factors that influence and determine literacy on the one hand and policies for education for all – for example legislation for compulsory education – on the other. Smelser’s (1991) account of educational change among the working classes in England in the nineteenth century challenges the functionalist and Marxist ideas that schooling opportunities expand in response to the need for labour with the necessary level of education. Smelser suggests that during the nineteenth century the level of skill required by the labour force was minimal. Formal schooling was not strictly necessary for the low level of skills required by most jobs. Employers tended to recruit large numbers of children at young ages, thus interfering with their schooling rather than ‘calling for it’ (Smelser, 1991: 356). Through most of the nineteenth century the rigidity of the British class system rendered any possible link between formal education and social mobility rather weak.

Working-class families seemed to be aware of all of the above, and in many cases needed the wages of their children for economic survival. Consequently they limited the duration and amount of their children’s education and put them to work as soon as they could contribute to the family purse (Smelser, 1991: 356).

There appears to have been little positive, and frequently a negative, relationship between industrialisation and expansion of education through the nineteenth century. The functional link between formal education and the technical requirements of industry matched subsequent developments in the economy and the education of technicians and engineers rather better, though even here Smelser suggests the link may be less to do with skills actually developed in formal education and more a signal that persons are capable of disciplined work and responsibility. The link between urban, industrial economy and education is likely to be more indirect:

... the development of an urban industrial economy generates the kinds of social problems that civic and political leaders *perceive* education to be able to ameliorate or solve. Among these problems are crime, vice, social disorganisation, deterioration of old class relations and the rise of new ones, and new forms of social protest – all of which are threats to property, safety, and social order (Smelser, 1991: 357).

This is an important insight which focuses directly on policy makers and their perceptions of problems that need to be solved. It calls for more careful attention to the *mechanisms* by which formal education is determined by, or otherwise linked to, economic development (Smelser, 1991: 357).

Smelser explored the Boli et al (1985) thesis that it is the political imperative of nation-building and the need for nations to position and establish themselves competitively in international arena that propels expansion of mass education. In this explanation the state creates institutional structures to support the project of nation building. The institutions of mass education contribute to nation-building through the creation of citizenship values, attitudes and behaviours among successive generations of young people. Education links ‘the ideology of the state as the vehicle for societal development and ideology of the individual as the fundamental unit of social action’ (Smelser, 1991: 358). However, as Smelser points out, the England of the first half of the nineteenth century was a dominant political and economic force in the world already. She did not need to build education in order to build a strong nation. She was strong already. The voluntary provision of education by non-state providers had served the education of elites well. Moreover close links between the aristocracy, the state and the church meant that the state was not threatened by church-based education provision. Later in the century two conditions changed: voting rights were extended to sections of the working classes, and Prussia and the United States emerged as competitors in world markets. The factors of

national assertiveness, educational institution-building, and citizenship converged and imparted the late nineteenth-century impetus to educational development in England (Smelser, 1991: 359).

Smelser comments that although this argument has some plausibility it is flawed on several counts. First, because it is cast at a very general level, it obfuscates the mechanisms of social movements, group conflicts and political processes that can explain the formulation of policies for education and their implementation. Second, the voluntary system of education that provided for the education of elites was very different from the philanthropic ‘voluntarism’ that fostered charity and religious society based provision for the poor. Moreover there were deep divisions within this

voluntary system between the Anglicans and the Dissenters for over a century. Conflict between church control of education and state aid to schools

was probably the single most salient feature of working-class educational history (Smelser, 1991: 360).

Third, although international competition increased in the late nineteenth century and accelerated economic development, several other domestic religious, class and regional changes were at work simultaneously. Fourth, in the first half of the nineteenth century educational policies for the working classes were directed *against* rather than *for* active citizenship. Education was seen as a necessary *civilising* force for maintaining social order rather than for active citizenship.

Smelser goes on to explore the value of two other explanations of social change – secularisation and primordialism on the one hand and structural differentiation on the other. But in the final analysis, he appeals to a stereotype of British political leadership, that of ‘muddling through’. British society he suggests manifests a particular pattern of primordialism, one based on social class, religion and region.

One connotation of primordialism is that its objects should not be touched or altered; they are in the category of the sacred. Political leaders who initiated or engineered change, therefore, had to walk a careful path through a maze of primordial groups who regarded their own presence as inviolable and their interests as not to be violated. In examining the plans for reforms, the debates, and the legislation on primary education in the nineteenth century, one discovers a remarkable regularity. Almost every proposal, whether ultimately successful or not, was accompanied by a series of disclaimers. These were that past good work in the area would not be dishonoured; ongoing efforts would not be disturbed; what was being added would be no more than a helpful supplement to cover certain gaps; and the claims, rights, and sensibilities of interested parties would not be offended. I read these disclaimers as taking into account complex patterns of primordial claims and loyalties; the aim was to squeeze limited increments of social change by and through them without disturbing them. The results of the effected changes were often much more than proponents claimed in their modesty. And in the long run, the policy of ‘incremental change in the context of the protection of primordial claims’ revolutionised the education systems. The road to that end was marked, however, by a great deal of muddling through the obstacle course of primordialism and the sentiments of territoriality it nurtured (Smelser, 1991: 370).

Current frameworks for policy analysis call for the analysis of the values, aspirations and behaviours of contemporary policymakers. Smelser’s piercing analysis, above, provides an insight on the education policymakers of the nineteenth century second to none.

4.4 Frameworks and Concepts

While Archer (1979) and Smelser (1991) contribute deep insights into the understanding of increased access to mass education, they also offer the researcher

extremely useful frameworks for studying educational and social change, including policy change, historically.

4.4.1 Structures and Interaction

In *Social Origins of Educational Systems* (1979), Archer analyses three phases in the emergence and expansion of decentralised (England and Denmark) and centralised education systems (France and Russia). Her model of origins and change assumes a degree of autonomy between education and other subsystems in society. The model includes both structural and interactional elements. The interactional elements include both corporate actors such as religious groups, and primary actors such as teachers and parents.

Archer identifies three phases of system development. The first is *take-off*. In this phase, in both England and France, conflict between religious groups was of paramount importance. Primary actors such as parents behaved atomistically, and showed a general indifference to education. The second is *growth*. Conflict gives way to corporate negotiation and schools move gradually from private to public ownership within a national system. Primary actors begin to engage in co-action rather than atomistic action. Education indifference begins to be replaced by a consensus that education had occupational and political value. The third is *inflation* in which education, by now a system, takes on a life of its own. The driver for change is increasingly endogenous and driven by members of the education profession. While these descriptors of expansion are very important it is also important to acknowledge the possibility of system stasis and regression.

In an earlier CREATE monograph, Lall (2007) has suggested that the above work, with its focus on the emergence and development of systems of education is of limited relevance to the policy analysis of EFA. While educational policy is not the focus of Archer's work, her account of the interaction of political sponsors which served to minimise administrative unification over the period 1870-1902 is a clear reference to the agency of policymakers, even if this agency impeded rather than facilitated change. Archer's work is important for the way she locates the role of policymakers, and other actors, within emergent state systems.

Archer's (1979) model of educational change has relevance for the analysis of policy and policy change in other ways too. The 'periodising' or 'phasing' of change and stability is vital for an understanding of how education enrolments expand and how systems of schooling form. Archer characterised phases as take-off, growth and inflation. The characterisation of the 'growth phase' and the role of primary actors were used by Little (1999) in her description of phases in educational change in the plantations of Sri Lanka between 1977 and 1994. The general picture projected by

parents, teachers and superintendents... is one of cooperation and unity of purpose within and between these groups, supported by political leadership from the national level and educational leadership from the education bureaucracy. No longer are most teachers isolated in their single-teacher schools, no longer are large numbers of parents withdrawing their children from schools after just one or two years, and no longer are superintendents resisting the education of plantation children... primary actors engage in co-

action rather than atomistic action, schools move from private to public ownership within a national system and there is consensus that education has value and positive occupational and political advantages (Little, 1999: 184).

This was a period in which Sri Lankan national policy played an important part. The takeover of schools by the State had been an important element of election campaigns by the political left in 1970 and subsequently by the political right in 1977. During the 1980s government bureaucrats softened their resistance to offers of external financial aid for the development of Tamil-medium plantation schools and championed development programmes for the plantation sector. Teachers became employees of the state rather than of plantations, followed training programmes and earned teacher qualifications that over time attained equivalence with those gained by all other government teachers.

Archer's conceptual framework and her subsequent work on educational politics have considerable significance for future studies of the formulation of EFA. Her framework stresses the importance of understanding the role of structures and institutions as well as actors in education and education policy.

Both corporate and primary actors engage in what Archer terms *broad educational politics*, the conscious and semi-organised attempts to influence

the inputs, processes and outputs of education, whether by legislation, pressure group or union action, experimentation, private investment, local transaction, internal innovation or propaganda (Archer, 1981: 29).

Legislation, a type of policy, represents one set of broad politics. These broad politics explain both educational operations at any given time and the dynamics of educational change over time, at the systemic level. They form the major points of articulation between education and society. These broad politics are distinguishable from *high educational politics*: the interpersonal relations at government and local government levels.

The two are obviously closely related for 'high' politics specify the human agents who actually do many (though not all) of the jobs to which 'broad' politics lead. In one sense 'high' politics can be seen as an executive agency (though not the only one) of 'broad politics'. (In this sense the former must clearly not be restricted to officialdom or government). However, 'high' politics are not confined to this passive role. Their partial autonomy allows for modification, initiative or negation in policy matters: all kinds of things can go right or wrong or differently in the clash of personalities and spontaneous affinities which are part of these working relationships (Archer, 1981: 30).

Both broad and high educational politics are distinguishable from the politics of aggregation – the sums of individual and household decisions to enrol, continue or drop out from school. Archer used the expression the 'dumb pressure of numbers' to refer to this summation of individual, unorganised decisions and actions.

The aggregate properties developing from the unorganised micro-level form the macroscopic demography of the education system from which 'interest

groups' are born and with which they and 'politicians' must contend (Archer, 1981: 30).

The social interactions/negotiations of broad politics cross the boundary between education and society. Outside influences do not impact on or flow into the system by 'an equivalent of osmosis... they have to be transacted' (Archer, 1981: 31).

In state systems of education three types of transactions are important. The first is *internal initiation* or the introduction of change from inside the system by education personnel, sometimes in conjunction with pupils or students. The role of education personnel ranges from personal initiatives in specific institutions to large scale professional action. While the source of change is endogenous, the transactions or negotiations involve official authorities and external interest groups. Teachers command the resource of *expertise* and it is this which is exchanged for financial resources and legal rights.

The second is *external transaction* usually initiated from outside education by a range of groups seeking new or additional services from the education profession. External groups usually command finance and seek to exchange this for services from education professionals of various kinds.

The third is *political manipulation*. This is 'the principal resort of those who have no other means of gaining satisfaction for their educational demands' (Archer, 1981: 32). When education receives most of its resources from public sources, popular groups use the political channel to influence political authorities and policy. In turn the political authorities (both central and local) who command the resource of legal authority (laws, regulations, policies) and can impose negative sanctions (withholding benefits and recognition) as well as penalise irregular practices, engage in external transactions (see above).

These three forms of negotiation:

Add up to a complicated process of change. To analyse it involves examining group interaction at the levels of the school, the community and the nation and the inter-relations between them (Archer, 1981: 33).

This also adds up to an ambitious model for the analysis of educational change. It underlines the role of human agency and interaction, not as residuals of social structure but as autonomous influences on change. It also places the politics of power relations between actors at multiple levels at the heart of educational change, including policy change.

4.5 Truce Points and Moments of Change

Smelser's work also offers several important conceptual and methodological features. His model of change specifies start and end points in historical sequences. These are termed 'truce points and moments of change'. The term 'moments of change' is intended to indicate the transient character of such points, while the term 'truce' indicates that these points usually emerge out of a political process. The movement

from one truce point to the next involves five main analytic steps outlined and elaborated further in Figure 17.

1. A description of the main economic, political, religious and social class parameters of primary education in the country in question.
2. The identification of ongoing trends affecting the education structure, many of which involve conflicts of values or beliefs.
3. The tracing of the development or activation of ideologies linked with the 'problem' identified in 2.
4. Describing the political process generated by group mobilisation and activity and identifying the new 'truce point' established by some kind of political outcome. This may include 'non events' or stalemates 'but even this kind of outcome provides a new definition of the situation for the historical groups involved'.
5. The emergent truce point becomes the new starting point – a new 'equilibrium in tension' on which a 'new set of structural forces are superimposed and play out, culminating eventually in another structural resolution'.

(Smelser, 1991: 347-348)

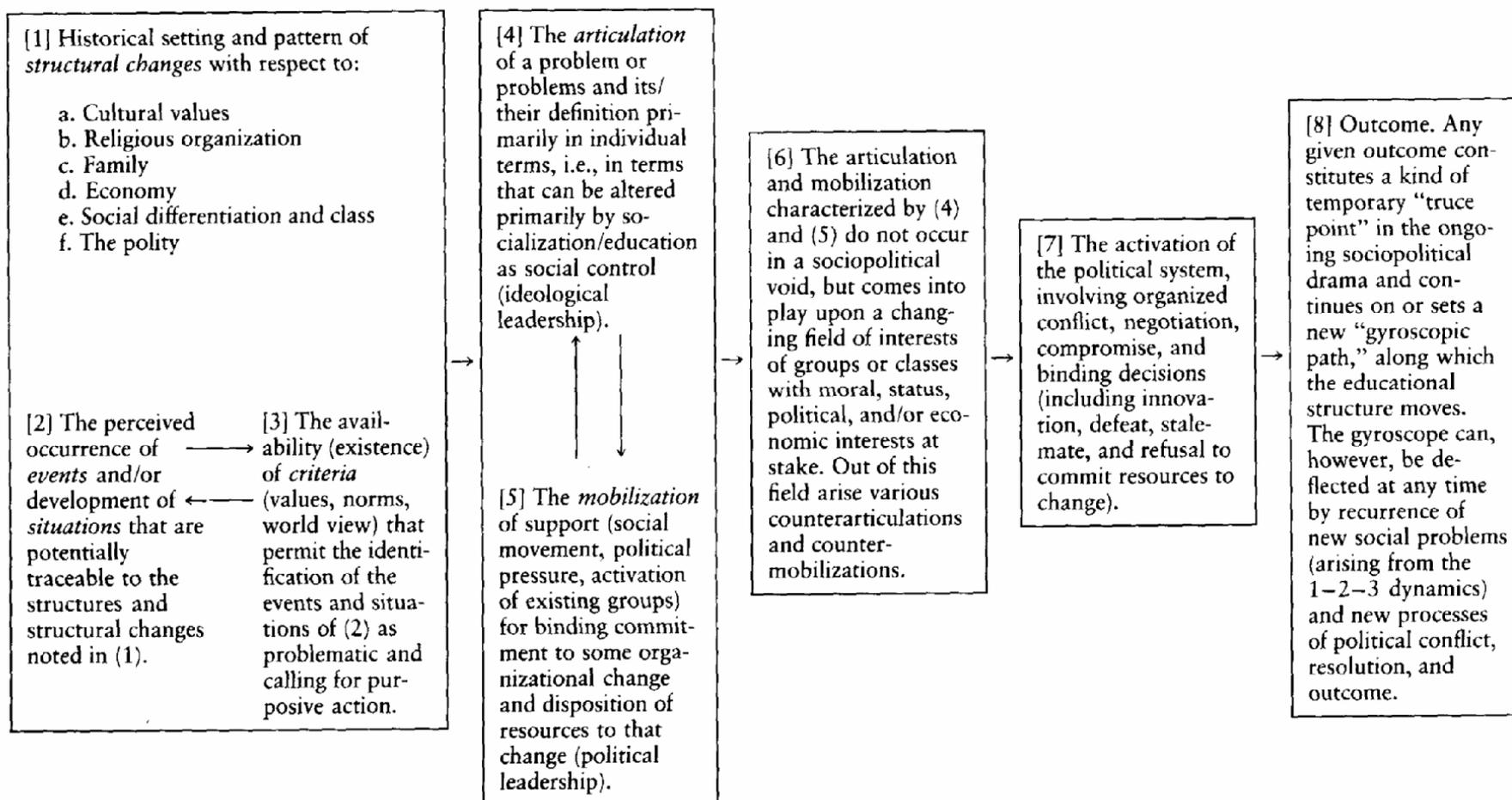
Many of the truce points refer to the results of political outcomes e.g. legislation and codes introduced, reports delivered to government, grants of public funds awarded, introduction of inspection system, government minutes, as well as to campaigns and failures of government to push through policies in the face of religious conflicts. Smelser's framework is derived specifically from nineteenth century England. It would need to be adapted to reflect the salient parameters of primary education in particular contexts. For example, the contextual parameters of ethnicity, rurality and gender will, in some contexts, be as, and possibly more, important than the political, religious and social class parameters of primary education relevant in nineteenth century England. The role of powerful individuals at the local and the national level will, in some settings, be very important in the analysis of ideologies, group formation and mobilisation. Individuals can both promote and bulldoze educational progress.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has presented a number of historical studies of progress towards 'mass education', what we might term today 'education for all'. It has outlined various explanations of the origins and expansion of education, ranging from social differentiation, social control, interest group pressure and economic requirements to the diffusion of global blueprints, nation-building, international competition. The analysis of primary enrolment ratios in nineteenth and early twentieth century Europe and the US suggested that growth of primary education bore no direct relationship to the introduction of legislation on compulsory education and that a close alliance between the state and religion through a national church is critical for both levels of enrolment and the passage of compulsory education laws. The routes by which countries expand mass education vary from a statist construction in which a national church plays a central role, to a societal construction in which religious and secular groups play very strong roles, to a rhetorical construction in which states commit through legislation to mass education goals but where the nobility, the church and communal groups resist their implementation.

Conceptually and methodologically, the work of Archer and Smelser is valuable. Archer provides a language for describing and analysing the politics of education change while Smelser provides guidance on how we might explore the emergence of policies for EFA through the concept of 'tipping points and moments of change' and of how these develop and re-emerge as new policies in the future.

Figure 17 A Model of Educational Change



Source: Smelser (1991: 34)

5. Contemporary Policies for EFA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews a number of contemporary studies of the determinants of EFA and of specific policies, on both the supply of education places and the demand for education. The first section reviews a range of EFA policies and recommendations promoted since the 1980s, through cross national studies of primary enrolment and policies and success stories in the 1970s and 1980s, a collation of EFA policies and strategies from the last five Global Monitoring Reports and the UN Millennium Project Task Force on Education and Gender Equality. By and large this section focuses on descriptions of policies and progress achieved, rather than on the processes by which these policies have been formulated or the progress achieved. The second section reviews a small number of studies that highlight the role of politics in education policymaking in Africa and Latin America. The final section examines studies of the ever-increasing role of the international community in the formulation of policies for EFA.

5.2 EFA Policies

5.2.1 Cross National Studies of Enrolment Growth in the 1980s

In preparation for the Jomtien conference, Christopher Colclough and Keith Lewin explored the determinants of low enrolments in primary education across 80 countries for which data were available and estimated the costs of implementing strategies that could turn widespread failure into widespread success (Colclough with Lewin, 1993). Countries with low gross enrolment ratios have low per capita incomes. This finding is maintained even after controlling for the higher rates of population growth often found in poorer countries. Variations in government expenditure on primary schooling (as a proportion of GNP) were not clearly associated with levels of enrolment. Nor were levels of debt-servicing and defence expenditures. However, a case by case analysis indicated that in some poor countries high levels of these two items of expenditure presented a 'formidable obstacle to increased social spending' (Colclough with Lewin, 1993: 78). Variations in girls' under-enrolment accounted for a very large amount of variation in gross enrolment rates, even within per capita income groupings. This explained why countries with high proportions of Muslims in their population have low gross enrolment rates.

We find, for example, that, in low- and middle-income countries, the proportion of Muslims in the population is significantly associated with low GERs, after allowing for differences in per capita incomes, and that the main manifestation of this is the lower proportion of female primary enrolments amongst such communities (Colclough with Lewin, 1993: 79).

The authors went on to review a number of policy reforms in primary education in China, Zimbabwe, Sri Lanka, Ghana, Senegal and Colombia. From these they derived a number of policy options for increasing access to schooling, modelled the relative costs of these, and analysed why pro-EFA policies were needed. Policies were of three types:

- (i) cost-saving (e.g. double shifting, increasing class size, reducing primary teachers' unit costs)
- (ii) cost-shifting (decrease unit recurrent costs by increasing private contributions, decrease the capital costs of classroom construction by increasing community participation, freeze higher education subsidies at current levels)
- (iii) quality-enhancing (increase expenditures on learning resources, increase teachers' salaries, reduce repetition rates, increase promotion rates, reduce drop-out rates).

5.2.2 Ten 'Successful' EFA Country Cases: Experiences Through the 1970s-1990s

While Colclough and Lewin (1993) focussed on a large number of countries and on the determinants of low enrolment, Santosh Mehrotra (1998) focussed on a smaller number of high EFA achieving countries. In *Education for All: Policy Lessons from High Achieving Countries*, Mehrotra analyses the cases of the countries in the 'developing world' which appear to be successful in achieving major improvements in access to basic social services and in education and health outcomes at relatively early stages of their respective development process. The ten cases are Cuba, Costa Rica and Barbados in the Caribbean and Central America region; Botswana, Mauritius and Zimbabwe in Africa; Kerala state in India and Sri Lanka in South Asia; and Malaysia and the Republic of Korea in East and South East Asia. He asks, first, why and how were these countries able to achieve high life expectancy and education levels, and whether common education policies were pursued. And second, can lessons be learned by countries which have still to achieve EFA? Three types of policy are discussed – (i) macro social policy, (ii) supply of primary education, and (iii) demand for primary education.

Macro-social policy

All countries promoted policies of state-supported basic education. They did not rely on a trickle-down of the benefits of growth, nor on private sector providers.

Regardless of whether it is Korea or Cuba – two countries at the opposite ends of the ideological spectrum – the state's role in the provision of basic services has been paramount (Mehrotra, 1998: 466).

Health sector policies and interventions in each of the countries led to breakthroughs in the reduction of infant mortality rate and increase in life expectancy at about the same time as or following achievements in education. Education and health interventions appear to have enjoyed a particular synergy. Korea and Sri Lanka are offered as 'paradigmatic' cases. In Korea, literacy was already 90% by 1970. Prior to 1976, health care was provided mainly by the private sector, and by pharmacists in particular. Investment in public health increased around 1976 and the infant mortality rate had dropped from 41% in 1975 to 17% in 1980. In Sri Lanka literacy was already 60% at the time of independence in 1948. Public investment in health increased immediately after independence and life expectancy increased rapidly thereafter. In all ten cases policies on nutrition were also ensured. The health transition in turn

contributed to the demographic transition on births and deaths and a reduction in the numbers of children in need to school places as a proportion of the population.

Supply side policies

In all ten cases the supply of places in primary has been the responsibility of the state. Supply at secondary level varies, with Korea notable for the role of the private sector at this level. In 1975 the percentage of students enrolled in private sector primary provision was Korea 1%, Sri Lanka 6%, Botswana 5%, Barbados 9%, Cuba 0% and Costa Rica 4%. Only Mauritius, at 25% (1979), was significantly higher, but even here private education is substantially funded by the state. By contrast many countries with low levels of enrolment at primary are those where the private sector has also played a significant part in provision. Moreover, per pupil public expenditures are relatively equitable between primary, secondary and higher education in the high enrolment achievers and per pupil expenditure on higher education as a multiple of primary is lower than for other countries in the region.

Demand-side policies

The discussion of demand focuses less on policies as such and more on the factors that influence family-related factors as determinants of demand. The costs of sending a child to school are a significant determinant of demand. In all of the ten cases discussed, with the exception of Korea, policies of fee-free primary education were followed. Countries with low enrolment ratios are more likely to charge fees. Policies of mother tongue education at the primary level were also followed in the successful countries. Francophone and Lusophone countries in Africa have the lowest enrolment ratios and adopt the language of the former metropolitan country as the medium of instruction from primary grade 1. School-feeding programmes are reported to have been followed in the high achieving cases. Interestingly, none of the high achieving countries report having introduced special programmes to encourage female participation. Instead, policies that ensure close physical proximity of schools, combined with fee-free education and a high proportion of female teachers, appear to have formed the basis for girls' participation. The introduction of legislation for compulsory education does not appear to have been a necessary condition for enrolment in any of the high achieving countries. In India, states with the highest enrolment rates at primary (Kerala, Himachal Pradesh and Manipur) have no compulsory education legislation. Conversely, states where there is legislation (e.g. Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan), have low enrolment ratios. Mehrotra suggests that

It is at the margin that compulsory education legislation might be helpful. A legal framework that specifies the obligation of the state and other parties, backed by a commitment to implement the legislation would be helpful, but only when enrolment rates are already quite high (Mehrotra, 1998: 481).

While none of the policy lessons emerging from the above is new, Mehrotra suggests that the countries which are furthest from EFA have not adopted them. On the supply side these policies include: equitable public expenditures by level, low unit costs and adequate expenditures on materials for teachers and students. On the demand side these policies include fee-free primary education, mother tongue education, especially in the first few years of primary, and increasing the proportion of female teachers.

While this study is extremely useful and points to common policies adopted by this set of ten high achieving cases, it is silent on the origins of and adoption of the policies. What were the constellations of interests and pressures within each of these ten countries that led to the formulation and the sustained implementation of the policies outlined above? Were any of the successful policies adopted through imitation or emulation of the other nine countries in the set? Were any of the successful policies adopted because of international and global movements and pressures? These questions would be useful to pose in future CREATE studies of policies on access to education.

5.2.3 Policies Post Dakar

Many organisations operating from a local, national or global base are involved in the promotion of policies for EFA. In the decade between Jomtien and Dakar the global responsibilities for the monitoring of progress towards EFA lay with the International Consultative Forum for EFA (Little and Miller, 2000). In the wake of Dakar the several functions of the former Consultative Forum were divided among different networks operating from different bases. The monitoring function was extended to include accountability and institutionalised through a series of EFA Global Monitoring Reports (GMRs) sited at, but in principle, independent of UNESCO. UNESCO's Director-General, Koïchiro Matsuura explains:

At the Dakar Forum, a new resolution made plain that all parties should be accountable for their record in meeting the commitments they had made. National Governments agreed to dedicate themselves to securing the goals, while international agencies pledged that no country thus committed would be prevented from achieving them by a lack of resources. One of the instruments for securing greater accountability for the implementation of the pledges was the establishment of the EFA Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2002: forward).

Each year since 2002 the GMRs have quantified progress towards the EFA goals and have outlined a rich resource for ideas about policies which have worked in different places in different times.

Based on an analysis of the texts of the GMRs published between 2002 and 2007 undertaken by Caine Rolleston, Figures 18 and 19 summarise the range of supply and demand side policies which have been found helpful in some contexts.

Supply-side policies include a range of strategies for securing funding, capacity building, targeting funding, raising internal efficiency, increasing teacher numbers and quality, infrastructures, alternative modalities and special provisions (Figure 18). Demand-side policies include strategies to reduce direct, indirect and opportunity costs, increase complementary incentives (such as health and safety), increase accessibility, quality and relevance, increase equity and opportunities for progression (Figure 19). These lists form an extremely rich source of policy ideas for sharing across contexts.

Figure 18 Supply-Side Strategies for Promoting and Realising EFA

<i>Securing Support/Funding for EFA</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building commitment among political leaders to move EFA up the agenda • Building support for EFA mobilisation at all levels of the political process and in communities • Developing partnerships with donors, civil society organisations and NGOs • Defining government/ ministerial responsibilities • Producing evidence-based policy analysis and demonstrating sound educational planning • Emphasising adequate predictable and long term aid commitments with donors • FTI membership • Partnerships with private finance • <u>Silent partnerships between/among donors may increase aid efficiency (aid harmonisation)</u>
<i>Capacity Building and enabling environments</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve inter-agency co-ordination in educational sector • Improve participation of civil society in education sector including teachers' organisations and unions in the development of policy alternatives – sustained institutionalised dialogue – improved capacity and resources for participation • Improving knowledge-base through data collection/monitoring • Improving knowledge-base and dissemination/exchange through international co-operation including South-South co-operation, especially with regard to educational quality • Developing instruments for measuring quality • Co-ordination of technical assistance • Promotion of human rights • Promotion of good governance • Reduce wage and employment discrimination which affect 'returns' to education
<i>Targeting Funding/ Provision</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prioritisation of basic education in educational funding allocation • Focus on social equity goals in financing • Focus attention on the poorest/most disadvantaged / greatest need • Address unregistered births/children • Address gender disparities • <u>Monitoring of key indicators of access, quality</u>
<i>Human Resources</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategies to increase teacher recruitment • Address 'brain drain' in educational personnel • Strategies to improve/accelerate teacher qualification and training including reducing pre-service training with more on the job practice and professional development • Strategies to reduce teacher absenteeism and improve retention • Incentives for teachers in rural/hardship areas • Improve teacher working conditions and career progression routes • Improve teacher in-service training • Increase number of female teachers where needed • Address issues of HIV/AIDS in education staffing • Pedagogical renewal/development
<i>Non-Human Resources</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Classroom refurbishment • School building programmes • Location of schools close to the communities they serve • Developing 'literacy-rich' environments • Developing potential of new ICTs which may be instrumental in extending opportunities
<i>Appropriate Provision in Special Situations</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict zones e.g. emotional support; participatory reconstruction strategies; promotion of education for social cohesion, elimination of discrimination or ethnic bias • Street children • Working children e.g. 'back to school camps' • Adapted curricula/materials • Design initiatives for social protection in line with characteristics of particular vulnerability
<i>Alternative modalities especially for rural areas</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multigrade teaching • Community schools (e.g. Mali) • Non-formal education e.g. BRAC in Bangladesh • Adapting language of instruction and curricula • Addressing issues of flexibility, seasonality, localised health conditions, differences in the level of parental support etc.
<i>Raising Internal Efficiency</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Efficiency savings to free up funds for expansion • Re-allocation within education sector in favour of basic education • Strategies to reduce grade repetition – consider automatic promotion • Strategies to increase completion/survival • Focus on outcomes as key indicators • Improving management, administration and governance • Decentralisation of educational management and strengthening of decentralised structures • Make information on educational commitments public to encourage accountability to parents/ other stakeholders, discourage misuse of funds and improve focus on outcomes • Anti-corruption initiatives

Source: prepared by Caine Rolleston using EFA Global Monitoring Reports, 2002-07

Figure 19 Demand-Side Strategies for Promoting and Realising EFA

<i>Reducing Direct costs</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abolish school fees • Provide grants/scholarships for marginalised groups • Provide transition bursaries for secondary education
<i>Reducing Indirect Costs</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Textbook funds for poor households • Free or low cost transportation to schools • Reducing or subsidising costs of uniforms and equipment
<i>Reducing Opportunity Costs</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household income support to reduce need for child labour • Cash grants for community-based efforts to reduce child labour • Special incentives for orphans/ especially vulnerable children • Retirement pensions for the elderly (who may rely on working children)
<i>Complementary Incentives or Support including health and safety</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School feeding/meals programmes (targeted at most in need) • School-based health programmes e.g. malaria, malnutrition, helminth infections (evidence of low cost effective interventions) • Eliminate or limit corporal punishment – establish codes of conduct • Eliminate verbal/sexual abuse • Strategies to reduce student domestic workloads • Strategies to increase parental and community participation and support for education • Social mobilisation and sensitisation – use of media/civil society
<i>Accessibility, Quality and Relevance</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teach in mother tongue • ‘Second chance’ routes / ‘bridging’ programmes for youth • Non-formal alternatives • Flexibility in provision e.g. distance routes • Appropriate provision for conflict situations • Attention to rural settings • Improving teaching quality through teacher training and qualification • Focus on improving livelihoods, providing an incentive to persevere
<i>Equity/ Inclusion</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special educational opportunities for the disabled • Appropriate opportunities for those affected by HIV/Aids
<i>Equity / Inclusion (gender)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide separate boarding facilities for girls • Provide separate toilets and sanitation facilities for girls • Elimination of stereotypes in educational materials and in teaching • Sensitisation of staff to needs of girls • Accommodation of pregnant girls/young mothers • Elimination of gender violence/harassment • Creation of a ‘girl-friendly’ environment including strengthening respect for safety and privacy • Address issues of gender balance in teaching staff if necessary
<i>Progression opportunities</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase effective availability of secondary education • Expand early childhood care and education – preventative effect with regard to malnourishment etc.

Source: prepared by Caine Rolleston using EFA Global Monitoring Reports, 2002-07

Politicians and policymakers worldwide are sensitive to what is reported in international studies, especially about lack of progress and policies which have been tried and failed. It is not surprising then that the Global Monitoring Reports designed to hold national governments and international bodies to account, adopt an approach to assessment and a tone of reporting more akin to ‘formative’ than ‘summative’

assessment – identifying strengths and urging progress through pointing to ways forward.

Given the nature of the intended task and audience it is not surprising that there is little discussion of the politics surrounding the development or not of national and growing international policies for EFA in the EFA Global Monitoring Reports. The tone of the reports is focus is technical, analytical and advocacy.

5.2.4 Policies and Strategies for Donors

By 2005 the discourse on the achievement of universal primary education had shifted significantly. Between Jomtien and Dakar, the concept of Universal Primary Education had been treated as a universal national goal, even if the international community had promoted its achievement *in all countries by all countries*. By 2005 it had become a *global goal* with the responsibility for its achievement shared by the international community and national governments. Writing on behalf of the UN Millennium Project Task Force on Education and Gender Equality and progress towards Millennium Goal 2, Birdsall, Levine and Ibrahim (2005) outline what both developing countries and ‘donors’ can and should do. Drawing selected examples from the developing world of countries that achieved universal primary education some time ago and which are now middle-income countries, and of low-income countries that have more recently increased primary completion rates, they infer that:

Low-income countries can achieve universal primary completion, and it is possible to move faster towards that goal (Birdsall et al, 2005: 339).

The Task Force concluded that those countries that were unlikely to achieve universal primary education by the target date of 2015 needed to adopt ten strategies, many of which are noted also in the GMR reports (see Figures 18 and 19 above).

- Get out-of school children into school: through interventions to reach out-of-school children, increasing educational opportunities in formal and non-formal education for girls and women and increasing access to post-primary education.
- Encourage children to attend school: through eliminating school fees, instituting conditional cash transfers, school feeding programmes, school health programmes (to reduce absenteeism)
- Support mothers: through literacy programmes for uneducated mothers
- Enhance access to post-primary education: through needs-based scholarships
- Improve institutions: creating or strengthening the national commitment to education, improving accountability through local control, improving the quality and availability of the information base, conducting serious evaluations of factors affecting learning outcomes, and strengthening the role of civil society organisations
- Create or strengthen the national commitment to education: through the creation of legal, institutional and budgetary frameworks for primary education, including legislation for compulsory education.
- Improve accountability through local control: through devolution of authority and fiduciary responsibilities to parents and communities

- Improve the quality and availability of the information base: through information for parents, school administrators and national planners
- Evaluate the factors affecting learning outcomes: through systems to assess the acquisition of skills, based on international standards and the dissemination of these results at the national and local level
- Strengthen the role of civil society organisations: through their recognition as legitimate participants in debates about the direction of the education system.

(Birdsall et al, 2005)

And in recognition of the idea that the goals of EFA are now a global responsibility and not merely the responsibility of national governments, the global community needs to work within a global compact in which the roles and responsibilities of developing countries and donors are clear and mutually agreed upon, the Task Force concluded that four sets of action were required on the part of donors. These were to:

- Display bold political leadership and make firm financial commitments to make the Education for All/Fast track Initiative work.
- Reform the donor business: through committing new funds in a new way: though a strong, coordinated global effort that rewards and reinforces countries' measurable progress.
- Report on donor commitments and actions through a transparent accountability framework.
- Invest in genuine evaluation of education sector interventions.

(Birdsall et al, 2005)

While the authors appeal to a handful of research studies from a wide range of countries to support some of the above, the research base is wanting. While a strategy that has 'worked' in one country provides food for thought it does not follow that it should necessarily be followed in another. Out of the long list presented, are any considered to be more important than others? Should they be implemented as a package or singly? Have the countries from which successful strategies have emerged adopted single or multiple strategies? Which of the strategies are likely to be most important in particular contexts? What combinations, if any, are important? Some of the recommendations appear to highlight necessary, if not sufficient, strategies. For example, the authors assert that compulsory education is a necessary condition for acceleration of progress. However, as we saw in Chapter 3 in the discussion about the history of progress towards Universal Primary Education in what are now described as the more developed countries, there is no cross-country correlation between the introduction of compulsory education legislation and the achievement of universal primary education. One might argue that progress toward the achievement of UPE during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries occurred during a period of world history which is not comparable with the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries. What would such a comparison show? This deserves further enquiry, but in the case of Sri Lanka, a country cited as a success story by Birdsall et al (2005), compulsory education legislation for children in the age range 5-14 years was enacted only in 1992, many years after near universal primary enrolment was achieved. And Mehrotra's analysis above demonstrated no necessary relationship between compulsory education legislation and EFA progress (Mehrotra, 1995).

5.3 The Politics of Contemporary Education Policy

5.3.1 Africa

Despite the policy urgings of the GMR and the UN Millennium Project Task Force on Education and Gender Equality, the politics of policy formulation cannot be ignored.

Evans, Sack and Shaw (1995) present a series of case studies of education policy formation in a wide range of African countries and underline the role of political imperatives and contexts in ‘triggering’ reviews of education policy. Crisis and/or change motivated by political and economic factors can trigger change. National reviews of education arose after a new, often revolutionary and /or newly elected democratic government came to power (Benin, Mali, Uganda). They also arose at the end of a period of conflict or war (Mozambique, Uganda), when public dissatisfaction with the condition of education could no longer be ignored (Benin, Ghana and Guinea), or when macroeconomic adjustment, often linked with reliance on external development financing, obliged government to reorient its financing and budgetary strategies and practices (Benin, Mauritius, Ghana and Guinea).

Education reforms can reinforce the legitimacy of new governments. For example a broad-based forum in Benin shortly after the advent of the democratic regime and a wide ranging reform in Ghana shortly after acceptance of an IMF-led structural adjustment programme served respective governments’ needs for legitimation and survival. Expansion of primary education may both serve and be served by democratisation at the national level as potential and newly elected leaders attempt to gain or consolidate support by promising and providing a universal social benefit which at the same time may encourage understanding of and participation in the political process. This point is well illustrated in the recent histories of education and democracy in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Malawi (Sastavage, 2005) and explored also by Oketch and Rolleston (2007).

Evans et al (1995: 10-11) identify a range of political and institutional contexts which trigger policy reviews. These include:

- the degree of decentralisation of decision-making and control over resources
- the extent to which political leaders are accountable; the existence of accountability mechanisms, elections or other checks such as a parliamentary question process
- the existence of a free press and non-government radio in the country
- the ideology of the ruling party – is it explicit about encouraging participation in governance?
- the presence of a country-wide participatory structure – is it within a political party or across parties?
- a history of public dialogue about the education policy process – are there accepted procedures which are familiar because of past use?
- government receptivity to input from civil society, and openness of public officials to other perspectives
- the existence of capable non-governmental agencies with a history of undertaking policy analysis and publicizing their findings

The means by which policy reviews are undertaken also vary. Anglophone African countries generally employ National Commissions, a temporary group of independent persons who solicit inputs from a range of interested parties and experts and then formulate policy recommendations. Francophone African countries generally adopt a different process. The Ministry of Education consults individual national and international experts. It consults civil society through a formal national debate. It views the findings as advisory only and may or may not produce a policy text.

5.3.2 Latin America

In Chapter 2 we presented Grindle's most recent conceptual scheme for understanding the politics of education policy formation. Grindle (2004) considers 39 reform initiatives in the content and structure of basic education in Latin America (but with a particular focus on Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua and the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil) between 1977 and 1996.

The reform contexts of the early and later periods are characterised as education access in the 1950s-1970s and educational quality in the 1990s. This distinction is particularly apposite for CREATE. Both access and quality are integral to the CREATE notion of meaningful access. Based on the Latin American cases, Grindle suggests that the political agenda surrounding access and quality involve different sets of interests and sources of resistance.

Most of the reforms of the 1950s -1970s in Latin America involved the expansion of education in rural areas and of facilities for poor children in urban squatter settlements. These reforms encountered relatively little resistance.

Although they cost money and required some administrative capacity access reforms provided citizens with increased benefits and politicians with tangible resources to distribute to their constituencies. They created more jobs for teachers, administrators, service personnel, construction workers, and textbook and school equipment manufacturers, they increased the size and power of teachers' unions and central bureaucracies. In fact unions were often among the principal advocates for broader access to public education. Given these characteristics it is not too much to argue that these reforms were 'easy' from a political economy perspective (Grindle, 2004: 6).

The quality-enhancing reforms of the 1990s provided a stark contrast. They

involved the potential for lost jobs, and lost control over budgets, people and decisions. They exposed students, teachers and supervisors to new pressures and expectations. Teacher's unions charged that they destroyed long existing rights and career tracks. Bureaucrats charged that they gave authority to those who 'know nothing about education'. Governors and mayors frequently did not want the new responsibilities they were to be given. Parents usually did not participate in designing the reforms, often did not understand them, and generally deferred to professionals in making judgements about educational quality. Although public opinion singled out education as a critically important problem and reform advocates were frequently eloquent in promoting new

initiatives the politics of putting them in place and implementing them were contentious and difficult, a far cry from the situation faced by promoters of access-type reforms (Grindle, 2004: 6).

Figure 20 contrasts the politics of reforms designed to improve access and quality. Typical actions required to promote access reforms include the building of infrastructure, the hiring of teachers and the purchase of equipment. Those required to promote quality include improvements in management, improvements in accountability and changes in teacher behaviours. Typical political implications of access reforms include the creation of jobs and increased budgets; and of quality reforms loss of jobs and new responsibilities. EFA access reforms are generally welcomed by unions, politicians and communities while EFA quality reforms attract resistance from unions, administrators and politicians.

Figure 20 The Politics of Access and Quality Reforms: A Comparison

	<i>Access</i>	<i>Quality-enhancing reforms</i>
Typical actions to carry out such reforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build infrastructure • Expand bureaucracies • Increase budgets • Hire administrators • Hire service providers • Buy equipment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve management • Increase efficiency • Alter rules/behaviours of personnel • Improve accountability • Improve performance • Strengthen local control
Typical political implications of such reforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of benefits • Jobs • Construction and provisioning contracts • Increased budgets • Increased power for ministries and managers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Imposition of costs • Loss of jobs • Loss of decision-making power for some • New demands, expectations, responsibilities for others
Typical political response to such reforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unions of providers welcome reforms and collaborate with them • Politicians welcome tangible benefits to distribute to constituencies • Communities are pleased to receive benefits • Voters support changes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unions of providers resist reforms • Administrators seek to ignore or sabotage change • Many politicians wish to avoid promoting reforms • Many voters are unaware of changes (at least in the short term)

Source: Grindle (2004: 6)

5.4 The Role of International Organisations in EFA Policy Formulation

In Chapter 2 the international dimension of education policy making in many developing countries was underlined. The Global Monitoring Report – and similar reports from multilateral agencies on a range of development issues – represent a new type of policy mechanism and emerge out of a new type of global environment within which nation-states formulate education policy. In recognition of the role played by external ‘partners’ in the determination of policy and in the funding of its implementation, some evaluation studies are now focussing on the nature of that external support and the interaction between it and national institutions and processes. This is a relatively recent shift in content of evaluation studies funded by the

international donor community. Previously evaluation studies would have focussed on the actions of national and local implementing agencies. Now the actions of the external, the international, the bi-lateral organisation are increasingly coming into focus.

A recent assessment of factors influencing the implementation of policies for EFA has focussed specifically on the role of external support for EFA and basic education in Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Uganda and Zambia (Joint Evaluation, 2003). This study outlines how policy goals agreed at the level of a World Conference either failed to become policy, or were thwarted or otherwise compromised progress towards EFA. The evaluation explored a wide range of interactions between inside partners and external partners with particular focus on the volume and shape of external financial support, the form of partnerships and the factors that promote or impede partnership. Most of the evidence for the study pre-dated 2000.

The broad conclusion reached was that external financial support had

contributed to expanding access to basic education. Funding agencies and partner countries have developed new patterns of cooperation and collaboration. External support is now increasingly routed directly to the education ministry or to the national budget. At the same time project support continues to have a useful role. The focus on formal primary education has often reduced attention and funding to adult literacy and other out-of-school education programmes. Increased standardisation and coordination of approach among funding agencies has been accompanied by inattention to national and local needs and circumstances. The voices of teachers and others in the broader education community remain difficult to hear (Joint Evaluation, 2003: ii).

While this stands as a broad conclusion, the study is also important for its identification of variations between countries in the ways in which external and internal partners interact. Two aspects of partnership illustrate this variation – policy dialogue and aid conditionalities.

External partners have become involved in *policy dialogue* to a greater degree than in the past, though what each donor understands and practices under the name of policy dialogue can vary greatly. And these forms of policy dialogue have been linked to new forms of financial support. The main change during the late 1990s was, as noted above, the shift from support for projects to direct financial support for programmes or sector-wide approaches (SWAs). While projects offered opportunities for innovation and sometimes excellent work they were criticised for being ‘islands of excellence’ disconnected from mainstream policies and implementation structures. Within a SWAs framework external technical assistance continues to be offered and is often linked with the process of *policy dialogue*. The pattern of technical assistance has been offered in each of the country cases through

an eclectic mix of United Nations Agencies (especially UNICEF and UNESCO), the World Bank and a range of bilateral agencies, all either providing assistance directly or financing it through the use of consultants. In the case of Bolivia and Zambia, external agencies have often relied on national

or regional expertise in the provision of TA (although in a very direct form of conditionality, some bilateral agencies still insist in the use of national experts from their home countries) (Joint Evaluation, 2003: 22).

External agencies have been involved continuously in technical expertise for project and programmes, in methods for planning, management, implementation, monitoring and in evaluating larger programmes in basic education. However the lead agency varies from country to country and even within the same country its role waxes and wanes.

Despite a growing international consensus that aid conditionality has little medium and long-term utility, conditionality continued to be built into the partnership arrangements in these four cases – but in different ways. In Bolivia, some external agencies demanded that the civil service be modernised and professionalized as a condition of support for some of the main policy elements of the Education Reform Programme. In Burkina Faso, aid conditions were attached to a number of aspects of the policy framework for basic education by some but not all external agencies. In Uganda, many agencies have pooled their support for the Education Sector Investment Plan and while specific conditionalities have not been imposed by particular agencies, ‘undertakings’ have been agreed by government relating to financial commitments, financial management, the attainment of targets for quality, gender parity, teacher recruitment and monitoring and evaluation. Though described as ‘undertakings’, they are used to trigger fund release and in this sense continue to represent a form of conditionality. In Zambia, performance requirements on teacher numbers in rural schools, capacity building and budgetary commitments to education accompany the investment programme support for basic education (Joint Evaluation, 2003: 25-26).

5.5 Summary

This chapter indicates of the wide range of educational policies that have been recommended and implemented in relation to EFA Goal 2 by national governments from the 1960s. Hundreds of policies and strategies have had some effect at some time in some place. These policies have been presented by analysts in different ways. Some have grouped policies as cost-saving, cost-shifting and quality-enhancing. More typically policies are grouped broadly as supply-side and demand-side. On the supply-side these can be sub-divided as policies/strategies for securing building political and financial support, building capacity and creating enabling environments, targeting funds, increasing/improving human resources, increasing/improving non-human resources, special provisions for special groups, alternative forms of delivery, raising internal efficiency. On the demand-side these can be subdivided as policies/strategies for reducing the direct costs of schooling, reducing indirect costs, reducing opportunity costs, providing complementary incentives, increasing accessibility, increasing attractiveness or provision for girls, the disabled and those affected by HIV/Aids and providing opportunities for progression.

Hitherto many of these policies/strategies/actions have been advocated and implemented by national and local governments. Others have been advocated by supra-national development partners (e.g. the UN) for national adoption and implementation across a range of countries. A growing list of recommendations are

now emerging *from* development partners *for* development partners, in recognition of the idea that the goals of EFA are a global responsibility and not simply a responsibility of countries. While these recommendations might not currently be termed policies, they are presented as 'required' actions. These include a demonstration of political will and firm financial commitments from the governments to which external development partners are accountable.

Advocacy apart, analysis of the contexts in which education policy has, historically, been generated by national governments indicates the role of political crisis or change within a country as a strong spur for education policy formation. Domestically, policy reform in basic education has often been promised in the lead up to political independence, is promised during elections in democratic systems and moved forward soon after a change of government. Policy reform arises towards the end of a period of internal conflict which public dissatisfaction can no longer be ignored. And, as we saw in Chapter 1, policies/programmes targeted on specific social and ethnic groups can emerge even as broader political conflict intensifies. Policy reform is used by both new and struggling governments to legitimate their existence and survival. Externally, policy reform in education is sometimes made a condition for external loans to education and the economy more generally (e.g. structural adjustment).

Analysis of the process of national policy formulation and the range and number of policy actors involved varies widely in countries and is influenced by, *inter alia*, the ideology of the ruling party, the history of public dialogue about education, the presence and activity of non-governmental agencies and policy/debate traditions (e.g. as between National Commissions and National Debates).

Analysis of the politics of implementation of EFA Goal 2 need to distinguish the politics of access from the politics of quality. Both access and quality are central to the EFA agenda in general and Goal 2 in particular. The studies of Latin American reform policies suggested that the actions required to carry out access and quality policies, the implications of such policies, and the typical political responses to them are different. The building of infrastructure and expansion of bureaucracies so often associated with access policies create benefits, jobs and resources with generally positive responses from local politicians, unions, communities and voters. Policies designed to improve quality through improved management, accountability, performance and new teaching methods often imply costs rather than benefits, the loss of jobs, the loss of decision-making power for some, and new demands, expectations and responsibilities for others. This can lead to union and politicians' resistance, administrators' sabotage and voter unawareness of change. It should be noted however that these policies were studied over two periods of time. Access reforms preceded quality reforms. However in many contemporary EFA-related reform contexts access and quality reforms proceed in tandem. Where this happens, the political interests that surround actions may be contradictory and the political responses unpredictable, or it may be that the access reforms survive while the quality reforms struggle to be implemented.

Finally, limited evidence from studies of interactions between 'external' and 'internal' EFA partners is suggestive of both general and partner-specific trends. External financial support for EFA has had some impact on the expansion of access to basic education. New forms of cooperation have emerged but the strong focus on EFA Goal

2 has led to inattention to adult literacy and non formal education programmes. Increased standardization of the practices and coordination mechanisms between external funding agencies has been accompanied by decreased attention given to national and local contexts and the ‘voices’ of teachers and other key members of the education community. And because of the shift away from project funding and towards sector-wide funding, external partners are now engaged in ‘policy dialogue’ to a much greater degree than in the past. However, the composition of external partners working with any particular country varies and the identity of the ‘lead agency’ results in different sets of expectations and practices. ‘Conditionalities’ or ‘undertakings’ were common in the relationships established between external and internal partners. In all cases, these were imposed by one or more of the external partners. But the nature of the conditionality varied – reform of the civil service in Bolivia, financial commitments, financial management in Uganda and teacher performance requirements in Zambia.

6. Overall Conclusions

The international discourse on EFA offers no dearth of good and sound policies and policy ideas for national governments, especially in relation to EFA Goal 2. The world's bank of ideas about what policies and strategies might work or have worked in one place or another is rich. In the past these ideas have been generated by policy actors at the national level, or have been recommended for national take-up by policy actors working within the international community.

At the beginning of this monograph the following questions were posed: What is political will? What role do political interests play in the formulation of public policies for EFA and their implementation? What factors, other than political interests and public policies, promote progress towards EFA?

What is political will? Little is understood about why and how political will emerges at some times and in some contexts, but not others. Why is it, for example, that national policymakers in many countries over the past 50 years have promoted – and implemented – policies of education for all, while others have not? Why is it that, despite a burgeoning international ‘development regime’ and increasingly powerful international development community of policy promoters and funders, some countries take advantage of the partnerships on offer and formulate and implement effective policies while others do not? Very little indeed is understood about the political will of the international community in relation to EFA.

The Sri Lankan case presented in Chapter 1 showed how national policy elites (politicians and bureaucrats) played a key, if not over-riding, role in the decision to mount and implement programmes to increase access to education among children of a particular community. Financial ‘aid’ from bi-lateral agencies contributed very directly to the translation of programme goals into action over a relatively long period of time. In that instance it was probably a necessary, but not sufficient, spur for change. This case highlighted the political conditions that encourage policy elites to see it to be in their interests to actively support or tolerate increases in educational opportunity among communities marginalised in the past.

National political will appears to be a combination of the motivations of a wide range of policy actors, including, but not confined to, politicians. Political will is not simply politician's will. Politicians have interests in gaining and maintaining power and will act towards those ends. If politicians depend for the gaining and maintaining of power on the support of groups who are demanding improvements in basic education, they are more likely to promote EFA Goal 2 than if they depend on the support of groups more interested in improvements in higher education. But it also seems clear that political will has little meaning if resources do not accompany political rhetoric, and if attempts are not made to convert rhetoric into policy goals and into funded plans, programme and actions. This translation depends to a large extent on the committed actions and perseverance of other policy actors – especially senior government officials and, in the case of countries which fund education with external sources, development partner officials. Attempts to move from rhetoric to plans to implementation require support and actions from an extremely wide range of constituencies. While the configuration of these constituencies will vary from country

to country, they are likely to include teacher unions, civil society groups, local political groups, officials working at varying levels of the government administration, teachers, students, parents and communities.

Political will on the part of the international development partners has a different character, largely because of the lack of accountability of many of the policy actors who work within it. Like national political will, the political rhetoric of UN organizations, bi-lateral agencies, international non governmental organisations and others is meaningless if not accompanied by financial resources, action plans and time plans. Unlike national political will it is unclear to whom those expected to demonstrate international political will are accountable. Those who operate from bases outside their own national political system are not directly accountable to the constituencies in whose interests they claim to act.

What role do political interests play in the formulation of public policies for EFA and their implementation? As we have seen, the spur for policy reform often resides in contexts emerging out of political crisis, upheaval and change of government. Education reform reinforces the legitimacy of new governments and provides hope for families as they strive to overcome societal conflict. And the nature of specific policies appears to determine the constellation of political forces that drive or restrain them and their implementation. It has been suggested that the politics of access and the politics of quality influence implementation in very different ways. Actions required to implement access and quality policies, the implications of such policies, and the typical political responses to them appear to have a different character when implemented serially. When implemented in tandem the results are less clear.

While the EFA literature is replete with accounts, stories and examples of well-implemented policies in one context at one time or another, much less is understood about what has worked across groups of countries that share common characteristics. For example, what are the single or combined policies that have worked in post-conflict societies over the past 50 years? How similar are they to those who have worked in politically stable societies? What are the policies that have worked in socially heterogeneous societies and communities compared with those that have worked in socially homogenous ones? And what are the policies that have worked in countries striving to reach the last 10% of children versus those striving to reach the last 50%?

While the world's bank of knowledge about policies that have worked somewhere at some time is rich, and the knowledge about the processes of and obstacles to policy implementation equally so, both sets of knowledge remain restricted by their lack of generalisability. It is curious that these knowledge gaps trouble little those policy actors and advocates who convert knowledge generated in a specific context into an exportable commodity, linked with conditionalities for external assistance.

What factors, other than political interests and public policies, promote progress towards EFA? We saw in Chapter 1 and 4 how public policies form only one part of the story of progress. While public policies can be seen to affect both the supply of and demand for school places, demand is influenced by many factors that may have little or nothing to do with public education policy – for example, population increases, migration, statelessness and citizenship issues, labour supply, teacher supply, ethnic

and religious conflict. Education policy analysts should avoid the temptation to attribute all aspects of educational change to change in public policy.

Future case studies of contemporary public policy have a wealth of theoretical and conceptual frameworks from which to draw. Over the past few decades there has been a marked shift in the policy literature from the determinants of implementation to the determinants of policy formulation. There has also been a trend away from the disaggregation of ‘policy’ into its distinct stages, to the aggregation of ‘policy’ to embrace everything from formulation to practice. The contemporary approaches of Grindle, Haddad, Lewin and Ball are valuable.

CREATE intends to conduct comparative case studies of EFA policy formulation. An early task in each case will be the identification of key policy actors in specific contexts, key institutions, key texts and key discourses. While national policy actors, institutions and discourses will provide the starting point of understanding how and why national policies for EFA emerge, the influences from the international and the local will also be explored. The burgeoning literature analyzing international policy texts and discourses is not matched in number by analyses of the *interactions between* the local, the national and the international. Scarce too, are studies of interaction between international, national and local policy actors and institutions.

Decisions also need to be made about the focus of research as between the different arenas of policy – from agenda setting to design to adoption to implementation to sustainability – and on the range of other influences on progress. Each arena of policy and other influences on progress could constitute a detailed study in itself. A choice will also need to be made about which arenas can fruitfully be studied via primary and which via secondary evidence in specific contexts.

Finally, the global discourse on EFA offers no dearth of good and sound policies. Future CREATE case studies are planned to unravel how and why specific contexts and specific actors generate policies that work to include children located in the CREATE Zones of Exclusion. At the same time this knowledge about policy and progress in the past needs to enter the process of dialogue about policy for the future. How might elements of the process through which CREATE studies policy and progress are generated be used, creatively, to influence and promote progress in the future?

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Consortium for Research on
Educational Access, Transitions & Equity
Funded by DFID

Report summary:

Development agencies regularly appeal to political will as a key requirement for progress on EFA. But what is political will? What are the political interests that promote education for all in some contexts and hinder it in others? What role do political interests play in the formulation of public policies and in their implementation? These are questions that CREATE intends to address in a series of case studies in the future. This monograph reviews a wide range of literature on policy formulation and implementation in order to inform the conceptual framework and methods that will guide these case studies. It addresses the literatures in educational policy, educational innovation and educational implementation in developed and developing countries over the past half century. It explores literatures from political science on public policy and development. It mines the contemporary literature on EFA policy and progress for glimpses of the political dimension. It delves into the history of the development of compulsory education in the West, both for the substantive lessons that may be learned, as well as for the conceptual frameworks and methods that have been employed.

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