



United Nations  
Educational, Scientific and  
Cultural Organization



International Institute  
for Educational Planning

# Directions in educational planning

## International experiences and perspectives

Edited by  
**Mark Bray and  
N.V. Varghese**



UNESCO Publishing

IIEP Policy Forum

Directions in educational planning  
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The organization of the symposium was possible thanks to the support of various people. In particular we would like to thank:

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Mark Bray, N.V. Varghese

I am delighted that so many friends and colleagues participated in the symposium organized at the occasion of my retirement after many years of work on educational planning at IIEP. The symposium took place at a time when educational planning had been given a new impetus and was taking new directions. The various chapters illustrate the lively debates that took place during the meeting on the various important issues that surround education policy and planning. I am grateful to Mark Bray, then Director of IIEP, for having organized the symposium, and to N.V. Varghese and all IIEP colleagues for their efforts in preparing the event and publishing this book.

Françoise Caillods

# List of abbreviations

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| ADEA   | Association for the Development of Education in Africa |
| AIDS   | Acquired immune deficiency syndrome                    |
| ART    | Antiretroviral treatment                               |
| ATP    | Advanced Training Programme                            |
| BITS   | Birla Institute of Technology and Science              |
| BONASO | Botswana Network of AIDS Service Organizations         |
| BRAC   | Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee                 |
| BSE    | Bovine spongiform encephalopathy                       |
| CEREQ  | Centre d'étude et de recherche sur les qualifications  |
| CDC    | Centers for Disease Control and Prevention             |
| CMEA   | Council for Mutual Economic Assistance                 |
| CMES   | Centre for Mass Education in Science (Bangladesh)      |
| DEO    | District Education Office                              |
| EFA    | Education for All                                      |
| EMIS   | Education Management Information System                |
| EPDF   | Education Program Development Fund                     |
| FTI    | Fast Track Initiative                                  |
| GATS   | General Agreement on Trade in Services                 |
| GIS    | Geographical information systems                       |
| GMR    | Global Monitoring Report                               |
| GNP    | Gross national product                                 |
| HELM   | Higher education–labour market                         |
| HIER   | Hungarian Institute for Educational Research           |
| HIV    | Human immunodeficiency virus                           |
| IDA    | International Development Association                  |
| IIEP   | International Institute for Educational Planning       |
| IGP    | Income-generating programme                            |
| ILO    | International Labour Organization                      |
| IWGE   | International Working Group on Education               |
| LDG    | Local donor group                                      |
| LEG    | Local education group                                  |
| MDG    | Millennium Development Goal                            |
| MTEF   | Medium-term expenditure framework                      |
| NACA   | National AIDS Coordinating Agency                      |

*List of abbreviations*

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| NATO   | North Atlantic Treaty Organization   |
| NFE    | Non-formal education   |
| NGO    | Non-governmental organization  |
| OECD   | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development                         |
| OISE   | Ontario Institute for Studies in Education                                     |
| OREALC | UNESCO Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean (Santiago de Chile) |
| PACE   | Policy and Capacity in Education   |
| PEPFAR | President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief                                     |
| PIRLS  | Progress in International Reading Literacy Study                               |
| PISA   | Programme for International Student Assessment                                 |
| PPGIS  | Public participation geographical information systems                          |
| PRSP   | Poverty-reduction strategy paper   |
| RDMS   | Relational database management systems   |
| SACMEQ | Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality      |
| SARS   | Severe acute respiratory syndrome  |
| SEIA   | Secondary Education in Africa  |
| SWAp   | Sector-wide approach   |
| TB     | Tuberculosis   |
| TVET   | Technical and vocational education and training                                |
| UK     | United Kingdom   |
| UNAIDS | United Nations Joint Programme on HIV/AIDS                                     |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization               |
| UNICEF | United Nations Children's Fund   |
| UPE    | Universal primary education  |
| USA    | United States of America   |
| USAID  | United States Agency for International Development                             |
| USSR   | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  |
| VTI    | Vocational training institute  |
| WEF    | World Education Forum  |
| WHO    | World Health Organization  |

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# Preface

The context and content of educational planning have evolved over the decades. IIEP has been part of this evolution by contributing to developing methodologies of planning to suit the changing context and developing national capacities to prepare and implement educational plans.

The first booklet in the fundamentals of educational planning series on *What is educational planning?* by Philip Coombs, the founding Director of IIEP, remains one of the most widely read books about educational planning. He noted that educational planning is far too complex a subject to be encased in any definition valid for all time. This statement, perhaps, remains as true today as it was in the 1960s.

The Institute, from its inception, has organized periodic seminars to assess the magnitude of changes in the contexts of planning, and to update its approaches to help UNESCO Member States prepare national plans. One of the important seminars in this series was held in 1988 to mark the Institute's twenty-fifth anniversary. While the planning context in the 1960s was shaped by a sense of optimism, the discourse in the 1980s centred around economic crisis, austerity measures, and growing criticism of centrally planned systems.

The years that followed the seminar bore witness to dramatic changes in geopolitics. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of a commonwealth of independent states redefined the role of the state and planning in development. Meanwhile, the Education for All (EFA) movement in developing countries increasingly narrowed the focus of national educational plans, and many national governments became more dependent on external funding for implementing EFA plans. The emphasis on sector-wide approaches and the continued commitment on the part of the international community to support EFA efforts, following the Dakar Framework for Action, helped to develop holistic educational plans, which were integrated into the national priorities and plans of developing countries.

To take stock of these changes, IIEP organized another symposium on directions in educational planning in 2008. This symposium was held in honour of the work of Françoise Caillods, Deputy Director of IIEP, on the eve of her retirement. The event attracted a large number

of academics, decision-makers, and educational planners from different regions of the world. Themes discussed during the symposium included links and contrasts between macro- and micro-planning; links between education, poverty reduction, and development; and issues related to the domestic and international financing of education. This book presents selected papers presented at the symposium and some invited papers.

I am grateful to the authors who contributed papers to this volume, to Françoise Caillods for agreeing to our request to organize a symposium in her honour; to Mark Bray, the then Director of IIEP, for taking the lead in the event; and to N.V. Varghese for his role in organizing the event and in bringing out this volume.

Khalil Mahshi  
Director, IIEP

# Introduction

*Mark Bray, N.V. Varghese*

Education is related more closely than any other sector to the values of societies. In all countries, societal values shape the type of education imparted; and in turn, education and the educated influence the shaping of societal values. With the emergence of the welfare state, public intervention became a common feature in education. In democratic societies, social values are influenced, and the nature and extent of public intervention are largely decided, by elected representatives. Many public policy decisions in education are influenced by concepts of equity and human rights on the one hand, and by the concept of education as an important ingredient for economic development on the other. In a sense, approaches to human rights and human resources draw the boundaries of educational planning.

The human resources approach stemming from human capital theory has dominated the history of educational planning, and continues to influence educational decisions in the contemporary era. Economists were especially prominent in the early years of the field, though many other specialist domains of expertise have also been required and remain essential.

## **The puzzle of the ‘residual factor’**

During the 1950s, economic theories emphasized the role of physical capital in economic growth. In the late 1950s, however, empirical studies showed that growth in national income was greater than the contributions made by capital and labour. Economists such as Denison (1962) and Griliches (1963) attributed the residual factor in economic growth to advances in knowledge related to improvements in labour quality. Mincer (1958) and Schultz (1961) resolved the puzzle of the residual factor by attributing it to education, and these findings led to the development of the theory of human capital (Schultz, 1961; Becker, 1964).

According to the human capital theory, expenditure on education is an investment, and returns to investment in education are commonly higher than those from physical capital. The empirical finding that education is a statistically significant variable in explaining economic growth and the distribution of income gave education a crucial policy

role. The finding underlined the need for state intervention, and encouraged the public sector to invest in education. Studies of rates of return (e.g. Psacharopoulos, 1994, 1995) stated that public and private returns to education were sufficient to attract government and household investment in education. In other words, human capital theory helped to direct public intervention strategies in favour of education based on an economic rationale. The fact that educated people generally had higher incomes inspired private individuals to invest in education to meet their expectations of finding better jobs and gaining upward mobility.

## **Educational planning: The beginning**

Educational planning is an intervention by the public authorities to direct and align educational development with the requirements of other sectors to ensure economic and social progress. It is based on an optimistic and normative notion that education is good for both individuals and society at large. Educational planning helps governments and other actors to set priorities, direct interventions, and extend funding support to achieve economic and social objectives.

Coombs (1970) highlighted a range of ancient precursors to what may be called the modern field of educational planning. This modern field dates its origins from the 1960s, and the creation in 1963 of UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) was a significant moment in that era.

The 1960s were also a period of colonial transition and national liberation, especially in Africa. Expansion of education systems was an expression of aspiration and choice in many nations, especially those that had recently gained political independence. Many countries established ministries of planning or the equivalent to estimate their economy's skilled manpower requirements and to plan the human, physical, and financial resources needed for development. They also established planning units within the ministries of education.

All of the above contributed to a surge in public expenditure on education and an expansion of education systems. This expansion in turn required increased allocations to the sector within government budgets. The question of how much should be allocated to education became important given competing priorities in other sectors. Decision-makers in ministries of education sought a basis on which to demand additional resources. The links between education and economic growth helped to

develop a rationale for enhanced public expenditure on education as an investment for the future. These arguments were also used to solicit and justify multilateral and bilateral aid to education (UNESCO, 1970).

The question then arose of how much a nation should invest in education. Regional conferences sponsored by UNESCO set various targets. In 1962, Latin American leaders convened in Santiago, Chile, and set a target for governments in the region to invest 4 per cent of their national income in education. A subsequent meeting in Karachi, Pakistan, set the target for Asian countries at 5 per cent of the gross national product (GNP); and for Africa a conference in Addis Ababa set a target of 6 per cent of GNP. However, these targets were not met in all countries. In 1996, the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, chaired by Jacques Delors, reasserted the point. Particularly in countries that had not yet achieved universal primary education, the Commission asserted, ‘as a rule of thumb, not less than 6 per cent of the GNP should be devoted to education’ (Delors, 1996: 165).

## Planning questions

The economists who focused on education were preoccupied with two major questions concerning:

- *allocation*: how best to distribute public resources among competing demands; and
- *efficiency*: how resources could be used most efficiently.

These questions were linked to the wider issue of how best to distribute public resources among competing sectoral demands. For economists, resources are allocated optimally when returns from investments in one sector are equal to returns from similar investments in other sectors. Calculations of this sort gave an idea of the amount of resources to be allocated to education, though with limited data and in the pre-computer age the basis of the calculations was very rudimentary.

Another issue that became important was the distribution of resources among levels of education. During the 1980s and 1990s, the World Bank asserted that, in general, the less developed countries should invest a larger share of their resources in lower levels rather than higher levels of education. Yet as countries progressed in educating their children, the share of resources allocated to secondary and higher education had to increase. Moreover, this prioritization for primary education did not

always match the political forces in the countries concerned; and even the World Bank subsequently reversed much of its doctrine. In any case, higher education can be shown to contribute to primary education by providing leadership and human resources, most obviously in the training of teachers (Varghese, 2008).

The issue of internal efficiency is related more to resource use than to allocation. Improving internal efficiency implies that the system produces the largest possible number of graduates of a defined quality for a given level of resources allocated to the sub-sectors of education. Much work has focused on repetition and drop-out rates, although internal efficiency should also consider other factors including, most importantly, the skills and attitudes acquired by the pupils.

Economists have spent more time on the question of allocative efficiency than on internal efficiency. This is partly because it links more closely with the notions of optimality and prioritization, which commonly arise in discussions of economics and planning.

## **Planning frameworks**

The UNESCO-sponsored regional conferences of the 1960s indicated that educational planning should cover all levels and aspects of education, have long-term perspectives, and be integrated with economic planning (UNESCO, 1970). This framework was followed for a fairly long time in most regions of the world. In order for educational plans to take concrete shape, there was a need to establish planning structures, develop human resources to carry out planning tasks, and create educational planning institutions to sustain the capacity developed. Among the first steps was to develop educational planning structures within ministries of planning and/or ministries of education.

Soon after the creation of planning structures, it was realized that most countries lacked the required qualified personnel, and that the methods of planning were far from perfect. This led to the organization of training programmes under the auspices of UNESCO in all regions. These efforts were sporadic and the need was felt for sustained efforts to reinforce national capacities.

To concretize and institutionalize capacity development, UNESCO established regional centres. These included the Regional Centre for Educational Planning and Administration for the Arab States in Beirut, the

Asian Institute for Educational Planning in New Delhi, the Educational Planning Centre of the Latin American Institute of Economic and Social Planning in Santiago (which became the Regional Institute for Educational Planning for Latin America in 1968), and the Educational Planning Centre of the Institute of Economic and Social Development in Dakar. The most important of all was the establishment of IIEP in Paris, following approval at the 1962 UNESCO General Conference.

When plans were prepared at the national level, particular attention was given to projections of enrolments, teachers, and financial requirements. At the compulsory levels of education the plans were based on expected numbers of children of school-going age, and at the post-compulsory levels the projections were based on expected participation rates calculated according to the graduation rates at successive levels of education. In many countries, planning for post-basic or post-secondary education, especially technical and professional categories, was based on estimated manpower requirements.

Although educational planning in general, and the manpower requirements approach in particular, was very common in the Soviet Union, the Mediterranean Regional Project popularized this approach to prepare national educational plans in countries that were not centrally planned. This approach was more relied upon in planning for technical and professional education, which were more closely aligned to the productive sectors of the economy than general education. The educational planning process and its relevance came under attack when youth unemployment continued to increase in the 1970s and countries came under financial constraints in the 1980s. This, along with the evolution of the Education for All (EFA) slogan, in some ways moved the focus of planning from comprehensive to sub-sectoral levels. Planning became more focused on the EFA goals and on providing funding to the less developed countries.

### **From comprehensive planning to EFA planning**

Analysts of rates of return declared that marginal returns were higher at the primary level than at other levels of education (Psacharopoulos, 1994). This formed the basis for arguing for increased investment in primary education. At times these results were used not only to expand allocations to primary education, but also to divert resources from higher to primary education. During the structural adjustment regime, the results of the studies based on the rates of return were used by agencies to divert

investments from higher to primary education (World Bank, 1986). This policy had important planning implications, and the need for planning for primary education on a priority basis was brought to the centre of policy discussions.

The 1990 World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand, underlined the need for national governments and the international community to invest more in basic education. Consequently, the intra-sectoral priorities of the donor community shifted in favour of primary education. Donor support and aid to education increased, and aid to primary education increased at a higher level than the rate of overall increase in aid to education (UNESCO, 2009). At the 2000 World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, the international community renewed its commitment to promote basic education in the developing world. During the post-Dakar phase, renewed efforts focused on aid to education in general and on primary education in particular.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) gave further international political commitment to EFA, and especially to universal primary education. The international community reassessed its role, leading to a change in the international aid architecture. A series of meetings helped both to increase aid to education and to improve aid effectiveness. Through the Fast Track Initiative (FTI) and the Education Program Development Fund (EPDF), catalytic funding provided opportunities for low-income countries to prepare education sector plans and to get external funding support.

Aid to education increased, as did support to low-income countries, accounting for nearly 75 per cent of aid to basic education in 2006 – the highest share ever received by the low-income countries. The national governments also increased their share of budgets for basic education, in part under the conditionalities of FTI support, which required nearly 50 per cent of the education budget to be protected for primary education.

With these developments, the focus of educational planning increasingly shifted to basic education. Planning for EFA became a priority concern. Indeed, educational planning in many countries was equated with planning for EFA. Holistic planning at the national level almost disappeared, and sub-sectoral plans (EFA plans, strategic plans for higher education etc.) became the norm in planning primarily because educational planning was linked with external funding.

The donor community also went through further transitions. One element was recognition of problems arising when multiple agencies operated in parallel in the same country. This led to a realization of the need to align donor support to national policies and programmes, and to harmonize efforts by all donor communities, leading to the adoption of a sector-wide approach (SWAp) to education planning.

## **From EFA to a sector-wide approach in planning**

The SWAp recognizes the need for comprehensive planning, taking into account developments at all levels of education. It is also an effort to consolidate support for education from all sources of funding and levels of government. A SWAp implies that:

- public funds support a single-sector policy and plan framework;
- all funding agencies adopt a common funding approach;
- the national government plays the leadership role; and
- all actors rely on government procedures to disburse and account for public expenditure.

The emphasis on government leadership, comprehensive plans, and official procedures strengthened national roles in education plans. National education plans ceased to be solely EFA plans and instead covered all levels of education. However, FTI funding was generally limited to primary education, and funding for other levels of education had to be mobilized domestically or from external sources. Funding in the form of general budget support (GBS) gave national governments more freedom, within the general agreements reached with donor agencies, to allocate resources as per the priority indicated in the plans. However funding support, even when under GBS, was commonly provided with conditions to ensure that the resources were not diverted to other sectors. Furthermore, it was often the practice that several funding modalities, from project mode to GBS modes, operated in the same country. Medium-term expenditure frameworks (MTEFs) endeavoured to link education sector planning with resource allocation from a longer term perspective by providing multi-year guarantees of resources.

While the importance of primary education continues, the focus on higher education is increasing. Studies in member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) show that rates of return to higher education are not only substantial, but also that they may be higher than at primary level. In addition,

the widespread recognition that higher education is a major driver of economic competitiveness in a knowledge-driven economy has added emphasis to the need to invest more in higher education. Higher education contributes to the formation of human capital, building knowledge bases, dissemination and use of knowledge, and maintenance of knowledge (Santiago *et al.*, 2009). This element has not yet entered the planning process in many countries.

## **The IIEP Symposium and this volume**

The remarks above show that the context of educational planning has evolved over the decades. A close examination of education plans would indicate that contents have also evolved. The planning process has become more participative, and plan preparation and implementation have become more dependent on external factors. IIEP has been part of this evolution, and has helped to develop methods to suit the changing contexts and orientations. The Institute's main contribution has been to develop capacities to address changes in the field. It has organized periodic seminars to assess the magnitude of changes in the contexts and contents of educational planning. One such seminar was held in 1988 to mark the Institute's twenty-fifth anniversary. The volume of proceedings was edited by Françoise Caillods (1989).

After two further decades, IIEP organized another symposium on directions in educational planning. This event, in 2008, was held in honour of the work of Françoise Caillods on the eve of her retirement from IIEP. With nearly four decades of service, Françoise Caillods had played a major role not only in IIEP itself but also in the field as a whole. The 2008 symposium provided an opportunity to reflect upon continuities and changes in educational planning, and to look ahead to anticipated future patterns and their implications.

The call for contributions evoked a very positive response from academics, decision-makers, institutional heads, and educational planners in different regions of the world. The Institute received dozens of papers, which were presented in plenary and parallel sessions. To supplement the brief report on the symposium (Bray and Varghese, 2010), the present volume presents selected papers from the symposium in revised form, complemented by additional chapters deemed desirable to fill important gaps.

The volume is divided into four parts, and commences with macro perspectives. The opening chapter, by Mark Bray, identifies four milestones in the work of IIEP and thus maps elements of institutional history within the broader context. The second chapter, by Joseph P. Farrell, argues for a focus on learning rather than on teaching in educational planning discourses. Farrell notes that terms such as ‘education’, ‘schooling’, and ‘teaching’ are more commonly used than ‘learning’, and that this emphasis in vocabulary reflects an emphasis in focus that needs adjustment. The next chapter, by N.V. Varghese, shows how the role of the state in education and planning changed over time. For many years the state held a near monopoly in funding and managing education. Then the market was given emphasis alongside the state; however, more recently balances have again shifted to underline the ongoing roles of the state.

These themes have their counterparts in the following two chapters. Abby Riddell reports on the influence on planning of the EFA Fast Track Initiative (FTI). The FTI was created following the 2000 World Education Forum in Dakar as a mechanism for channelling resources from donor countries to help achieve EFA in less developed countries. The FTI Secretariat has stressed the importance of planning in processes for allocating and using funds, and has had a significant impact on the processes of educational planning in less developed countries. In a rather different context, Tamás Kozma records changing dynamics in Hungary during its period of political transition in the 1990s. He notes the importance of IIEP as a channel of ideas in the new era, and highlights a set of circumstances very different from those on which the FTI focuses.

The second part of the book addresses a collection of themes and orientations. It opens with a chapter by Gudmund Hernes on education and epidemics with a particular focus on HIV and AIDS. IIEP has spearheaded work on this theme, with Françoise Caillods taking the lead from Gudmund Hernes after the retirement of the latter in 2005. Françoise Caillods has also given much attention to non-formal education, which is the theme addressed by R. Govinda. His chapter relates especially to the role of non-formal education in serving the rural poor in Asia. The chapters by Bikas Sanyal and Claudia Jacinto then explore links between education and employment. Sanyal focuses attention on the contributions of IIEP in the field, while Jacinto addresses programmes for disadvantaged youth in Latin America.

The third part of the book is devoted to tools and approaches. Steven Hite's contribution provides an important discussion on school mapping and the ways in which it has been facilitated by geographical information systems. Margarita Poggi provides an overview of planning problems in Latin America, noting that the region has historically been relatively advanced, but faces sustained challenges of inequality. Keith Lewin analyses issues related to financing of education, placing particular emphasis on secondary schooling, while the chapter by Serge Péano focuses more on the issues related to financial management and unit costs.

The final part contains two concluding chapters. Françoise Caillods herself reflects on her career at IIEP, again noting institutional evolution and leadership within the context of wider changes around the world. And finally the editors remark on some lessons from the past while planning for the future. This book on directions for educational planning was deliberately designed to permit both historical review and thoughts about the future, and while predictions must always be uncertain it is arguably especially appropriate for an institution concerned with planning to have a forward-looking horizon.

The uncertainty which necessarily accompanies the planner's profession was underlined just a few months after the 2008 symposium when the world was hit by the greatest economic crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Fortunately, world leaders heeded the calls for collaboration in the crisis, and their actions averted the worst possibilities that had been envisaged in the absence of decisive action. However, the crisis caused some significant shifts in the geopolitical and geoeconomic arenas. The events of 2008 and 2009 underlined the volatility of the contexts within which planners must work. The events also highlighted the importance of international collaboration. Because the work of IIEP, like UNESCO as a whole, is mainly concerned with developing countries, that is the dominant focus of this book. However, in an increasingly interdependent world the less prosperous countries and the more prosperous countries are tied closely together and must take account of each others' priorities and actions.

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**Part I**  
**Macro perspectives**

# 1. Four milestones in the work of IIEP

*Mark Bray*

In line with the objectives of the whole book, this chapter focuses on both the past and the future. It is concerned with the broad field of educational planning, and particularly the work of the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP). The history of IIEP has included many contributions by Françoise Caillods. This chapter makes explicit reference to some of them.

Along the path of history are many milestones. The four identified for this chapter – in three cases admittedly by chance rather than by design – are each 19 years apart. The first is a booklet published by IIEP in 1970, within months of the arrival of Françoise Caillods at the Institute. It was written by the Institute's first Director, Philip H. Coombs, and although by that time he had (in 1968) handed over the reins to the second Director, Raymond Poignant, the booklet was recognized both in the Institute and beyond to have foundational significance. The booklet was Number 1 in the Institute's flagship series, *Fundamentals of Educational Planning*, and was entitled *What is educational planning?* (Coombs, 1970). This chapter begins by summarizing the directions in educational planning that Coombs identified in the booklet.

The second milestone on which the chapter comments is a volume published by IIEP 19 years later. It was edited by Françoise Caillods, and was entitled *The prospects for educational planning* (Caillods, 1989a). This work commenced with a synthesis of the workshop organized by IIEP in 1988 on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary. The book also contained edited versions of nine papers presented during the workshop, and it was accompanied by six volumes containing 21 additional papers from the event.

The third milestone was the 2008 symposium organized by IIEP on the eve of the retirement of Françoise Caillods, which occurred after another 19 years. Just as the world as a whole and the field of educational planning greatly changed between 1970 and 1989, so they continued to change between 1989 and 2008. The chapter highlights some of those changes and their significance.

Finally, the chapter looks ahead to predict what might be anticipated after another 19 years. This, of course, can only be based on conjecture. But IIEP exists to look into the future and to make at least some assessment of alternative scenarios.

## **The 1970 booklet by Philip H. Coombs**

Coombs' booklet opened with a charming preface by the series editor, C.E. Beeby, who had been Chairperson of the UNESCO Executive Board at the time that IIEP was created and who was a great supporter of the Institute. Beeby commenced by noting that the booklet was only being published in 1970, explaining that:

The ostensible reason for the delay is that, as Director of the newly established IIEP, [Coombs] was far too busy to write it; and no one acquainted with his ceaseless activity over this period could reasonably doubt it. But I do, because I happen to know that the time he devoted to the booklet was sufficient to let him write it three times over if he had been willing to accept a static concept of his subject. The trouble was that the views on educational planning, his own and those of others, were changing so rapidly that by the time he came to the last paragraph of any draft, in the snatched hours he had to spare, he found the first paragraphs, and the approach he had adopted to the pamphlet as a whole, unsatisfying (Coombs, 1970: 7).

This remark sounds a warning to contemporary endeavours as much as to past ones. However, IIEP colleagues have always persisted – and with considerable success and impact – in grappling with the multidimensional and at times volatile nature of their craft.

In line with this preface to Coombs' booklet, the text itself commenced with a tone which might seem surprisingly uncertain from the distinguished author of the widely acclaimed book *The world educational crisis* published just two years previously (Coombs, 1968). In the 1970 booklet, Coombs began by warning the reader not to anticipate definitive and authoritative answers, but rather 'the tentative and partial answers of one individual, which he reserves the right to amend later' (1970: 12). Coombs added:

The views expressed naturally reflect [the author's] particular background and vantage-point; and no claim to infallibility is made. This is not said by way of apology or through false modesty but simply because this is the way things are. Educational planning as we know it today is still too young and growing too rapidly, and is far too

complex and diversified a subject, to be encased in any hard and fast definition, good for all time (Coombs, 1970: 12).

Nevertheless, Coombs felt that great progress had been made in both the theory and practice of educational planning, and that both scholars and practitioners had moved steadily to greater agreement on many important points. With that basis, Coombs felt ready to proceed.

Coombs' approach to the perceived fluidity of his topic was to commence with history, 'because in the author's view the best way to understand educational planning is to observe how it has evolved over time and taken many forms in many different places to accommodate particular needs' (1970: 12). This observation could be applied no less pertinently to the 1989 volume and to the 2008 symposium. Coombs began his historical review in ancient Greece, with the observation that 2,500 years previously the Spartans had planned their education to fit their well-defined military, social, and economic objectives. Comparable remarks, Coombs suggested, were applicable to China during the Han dynasty and Peru during the period of the Incas. Moving forward to sixteenth-century Scotland, Coombs highlighted the proposal by John Knox for a national system of schools and colleges to secure 'a felicitous combination of spiritual salvation and material well being' (1970: 17). Also deemed significant was the impact of the new liberalism in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and then, in the 1920s, the first five-year plan of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Other forms of planning were part of routine institutional administration in order to 'provide for the continuity and viability of educational establishments, and to effect such gradual expansion and improvement as the circumstances seemed to warrant'.

In Coombs' view, the typical kind of educational planning in most places prior to the Second World War, and for many prior generations, was:

- *short-range* in outlook, generally extending only to the next budget year or a little longer;
- *fragmentary* in its coverage of the education system;
- *non-integrated* in the sense that educational institutions were planned autonomously without explicit ties to the evolving needs of the wider society and economy; and
- *static*, essentially assuming that models would retain their main features indefinitely.

During the decades that followed the Second World War, major change was inevitable. This was because the war, in Coombs' words (1970: 19) 'opened a new era of incredible change that was destined to touch every facet of life on man's planet, and to crack the foundations of his old institutions'.

To analyse the experiences of the decades that followed, Coombs commented separately on industrialized and less developed countries. The industrialized countries, Coombs felt, had passed through three phases between 1945 and 1970, and currently found themselves in a 'perplexing fourth stage' (1970: 20). The four phases were ones of: (i) reconstruction after the war, (ii) manpower shortage, (iii) rampant expansion, and (iv) innovation. The last stage, Coombs suggested, resulted from the tensions between conservative education systems and far-reaching changes in societies, economies, and knowledge itself:

This clinging to old forms created increasing maladjustments .... Like a boiling pot over a high flame with its lid clamped tight, they were both sooner or later to explode. And this they did. For most of the industrialized world 1967 was the year of the Great Education Explosion – marked by violent student protests, sympathetically supported by many teachers, parents and other critics of traditional education (Coombs, 1970: 24).

Governments endeavoured to respond with innovations, but it was unclear to Coombs whether there would in fact be transformations to bring education into reasonable adjustment with its environment, or whether continuing inertia would bring bigger and more damaging explosions. Nevertheless, asserted Coombs:

This much at least is clear; in order to achieve other needed innovations there will have to be some major innovations in educational planning itself. Planning that merely serves a strategy of linear expansion will no longer do; planning must now serve a strategy of educational change and adaptation. This will require new types of planning concepts and tools which are only now taking shape (Coombs, 1970: 24).

Turning to the less developed countries, Coombs identified an even stronger dissonance. The needs of these countries during the 1950s and 1960s were greater and more urgent, 'and their educational systems – despite heroic efforts to enlarge them – even less relevant and less adequate to their needs' (1970: 24). It seemed clear that the governments would have to plan very carefully to make best use of their acutely scarce

resources. The case for a ‘manpower approach’ was particularly strong because of the shortages of specialized personnel, but the countries were not equipped for the task and the industrialized nations could not greatly help. By the late 1960s, the problems had multiplied. Coombs highlighted (1970: 26–31) wasteful imbalances within education systems, demand far in excess of capacity, costs rising faster than revenues, non-financial bottlenecks, lack of jobs for the educated, and the wrong kinds of education.

In this analysis, Coombs did not wish to fault many valiant efforts. If history could be replayed with the advantages of hindsight, he suggested, undoubtedly many things could have been better. But although better planning would surely have helped:

no amount of planning could have drastically altered the basic constraints, compulsions and aspirations that primarily dictated the course of events. The astonishing thing is not that so much went badly but that so much more went well (Coombs, 1970: 31).

Nevertheless, Coombs argued that much better tools had become available, and that further tools were needed. Under the heading of recent progress in theory and methodology, Coombs highlighted the sharpening of planning questions and the relative merits of the social demand approach, the manpower approach, and the rate-of-return approach. He then stressed the need to put theory into practice through improved training and research, and through strengthened focus on implementation. Coombs did not explicitly describe this as the mandate for IIEP, but the reader could take that as an unspoken assumption.

### **Nineteen years later: The 1989 book edited by Françoise Caillods**

Among the striking aspects of the 1989 book was the extent to which it used the word ‘crisis’. Jacques Hallak, who had by that time become IIEP’s sixth Director, observed in the preface that IIEP had been created during a period of unprecedented economic growth and educational development. Numerous countries, many of which had just won their independence, decided to expand their school systems quickly with the goal of fostering economic development and equality of opportunity. Most countries established planning units to estimate their economies’ skilled manpower requirements and to plan for the human, physical, and financial resources

needed for education. The picture that Hallak saw in the contemporary period was sharply different:

Some 25 years later, the economic crisis has thoroughly altered the international and national scene. The debt of developing nations has risen sharply. Each country now finds itself with more limited resources than previously, and the educational sector more difficult to manage (Hallak, 1989: v).

The synthesis report repeatedly echoed the message of crisis (e.g. Caillods, 1989b: 2, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16), and two of the nine chapters had the word crisis in their titles (Eicher, 1989; Tibi, 1989). Within IIEP and internationally, Coombs had been closely associated with the word through his 1968 book *The world educational crisis* and the 1985 sequel (Coombs, 1968, 1985). Yet in the 1970 booklet Coombs used the word only four times in the entire text, very much in contrast to its frequent usage by multiple contributors in the 1989 volume. Moreover, Coombs (1968: 4) was more concerned with an educational crisis than with an economic one.

The 1989 book, by contrast, commenced with what Caillods (1989b: 8) described as ‘the economic crisis that has now been raging for almost fifteen years’. Industrialized countries, the book suggested, had responded by adopting strategies based on their capacity for innovation, increasing their productivity, and developing new products and production processes. These countries were gradually moving from manpower-based systems to ones based on knowledge. As a result, the less developed countries were losing their comparative advantages of low labour costs and abundant natural resources. The economic crisis, the book added (1989b: 9), was accompanied by social and political crises. Competition, it asserted, had sharpened between countries and among social groups, and solidarity and cooperation had been relegated to the level of discourse. From this context flowed major problems for the education sector:

First of all, the public resources available for the expansion of education seem to have reached a ceiling. As a logical consequence of the financial crisis, but resulting also from uncontrolled growth in enrolments and from poor management of education systems generally, the teaching conditions and the teaching–learning process are deteriorating. Given the economic crisis, the educational system is producing qualifications which the labour market absorbs only partially. Finally, education administrations have transformed

themselves into cumbersome bureaucratic machines that are difficult to control and orientate (Caillods, 1989b: 12).

In turn, the report suggested (1989b: 28), the changing economic and social content, given both new constraints and new demands by societies and population groups, had contributed to the ‘loss of prestige’ of educational planning, which ‘no longer occupies the central position it held in the sixties’. The workshop participants felt that during the 1960s excessive trust had been placed in manpower planning, ‘with a virtually unrestricted belief in the possibility of reducing uncertainties through ever greater sophistication of models’ (1989b: 29). Planners were also reproached for over-reliance on theory, inadequate knowledge of actual conditions, insufficient experimentation before the launch of projects, and lack of involvement in the implementation of their plans. The workshop participants nevertheless felt that education played too important a role to be left simply to market forces and social demand. Educational planning, it was suggested:

far from giving up, must renew itself, in order to play its role of informing and guiding decision-makers, and act. Reflection about the future of planning, and about what form more strategic planning could take, has not come to an end (Caillods, 1989b: 35).

The workshop emphasized the need to improve the information base in order to secure more reliable and relevant data that could be processed more rapidly. Such data could also be shared more widely, thereby promoting transparency and participation in planning. Participants further stressed the need for comparative analysis of educational systems and their modes of adjustment to social change. Such analysis could include focus on regulation of education systems, and in particular the incentive measures that help to address the deterioration of systems. Additional needs, participants felt, were in sub-sectoral methods of educational planning, covering especially basic education and also scientific and technical education.

### **Another 19 years: Themes, issues and challenges in 2008**

Among the most striking differences in 2008 compared with 1989 was the geopolitical context. Accordingly, the following remarks commence with that dimension. Other changes arose from widespread shifts in the role of the state. Considerable progress had been stimulated by goals set during intergovernmental events in conjunction with United Nations

bodies. Less positive had been the emergence of new challenges including the spread of HIV and AIDS.

## **Geopolitics**

In the 1989 book (Caillods, 1989a), the first chapter following the synthesis report concerned the USSR (Skorov, 1989). Two years later, this country collapsed in a geopolitical earthquake which had a global impact. The replacement of the USSR by 15 sovereign countries led to a corresponding increase in the number of UNESCO Member States. The former Soviet states had urgent needs for support in the reorientation of their education systems, and IIEP was called upon to assist. The processes of reorientation moved at different speeds in different countries, and in all cases were both demanding and complex (see e.g. Kitaev, 1996; Davlatov and Mulloev, 2000; Ziyaev *et al.*, 2000; UNICEF, 2007). Stocktaking in 2008 could show major accomplishments by most countries of the former USSR, but would also show considerable diversity. Some of the newly independent states suffered from serious internal conflict, and in these and other countries at least some social groups considered themselves worse off under the market economy than under the Communist regime. At the same time, a number of former Soviet states emerged with strength, and adapted to new circumstances both vigorously and effectively.

Related remarks may apply to other groups of countries which moved from central planning to market economies. Some, such as the People's Republic of China, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, did this within a framework that at the official level stressed the continuity of socialist ideology. Others, such as Cambodia, Ethiopia, and Mongolia, formally abandoned socialism and the political structures associated with it. Planners in both groups of countries have had to work with the forces of the market economy, and in this respect their work has resembled that of their counterparts in countries which in the 1980s and before lay in the capitalist bloc.

Further geopolitical forces are associated with globalization. Many commentators (e.g. Held *et al.*, 1999) have stressed that some dimensions of globalization have long histories, but most observers would argue that the 1990s and initial years of the present century brought much greater strength and new elements of globalization. Particularly notable has been the impact of technological change through the internet and other forms of computer technology. On the educational front some countries,

and communities within countries, may be considered to be ‘winners’ from the forces of globalization, but others would be considered ‘losers’ (Tikly *et al.*, 2003; Robertson *et al.*, 2007). In an increasingly globalized world, planners in national ministries of education may feel that they have less control than they used to have over the education systems of their countries.

## **The role of the state**

In the 1989 book, Juan Carlos Tedesco contributed a chapter on the role of the state. At the time that he wrote the chapter, Tedesco was Director of UNESCO’s Regional Office for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (OREALC) in Santiago. He subsequently became Director of UNESCO’s International Bureau of Education (IBE) in Geneva, and then, in 1998, Head of IIEP’s newly opened office in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Françoise Caillods also played a major role from Paris in the creation and development of that office which went on to many achievements and gained an excellent reputation.

Much of Tedesco’s chapter (1989: 298ff) was again framed by the perceived economic crisis and its impact on the coverage and quality of education, on the allocation of resources, and on management capacity. Tedesco argued (1989: 304) that ‘in Third World countries it is urgently necessary to enhance the role of education in the development process and to increase the share of public resources allotted to it’. To some extent, as will be indicated below, this was achieved in the years that followed; but the path was neither universal nor smooth.

Tedesco also recognized (1989: 307) the growing advocacy of privatization and decentralization. These terms were not always used with clear or consistent meanings, and it is arguable that they were based more commonly on loose ideology than on careful demonstration of need and efficacy. Françoise Caillods was among the people who commissioned work on both these themes. She had by that time become Co-General Editor (with T. Neville Postlethwaite) of the *Fundamentals of Educational Planning*, and some of the work commissioned by Françoise Caillods was published in the series (McGinn and Welsh, 1999; Belfield and Levin, 2002). Related work focused on incentives and participation in educational planning (Caillods, 1997). Furthermore, Françoise Caillods led work by colleagues (see e.g. Lugaz and De Grauwe, 2006) in her capacity as a team leader within IIEP. These

conceptual works grappled with the changing role of the state in diverse contexts, and highlighted the perils of oversimplification. IIEP's Eighth Medium-Term Plan (2008–2013) recognized the widespread simplistic acceptance of conventional wisdom and the possibility that in some settings and for some functions centralization is more desirable than decentralization (IIEP, 2007: 35).

A further domain in which IIEP has spearheaded conceptual work is its focus on fragile states (see e.g. Sommers, 2004; IIEP, 2006; Bethke, 2009; Brannelly *et al.*, 2009). In states afflicted by civil war, it is clearly unrealistic to advocate models of planning which rely on strong government machinery and outreach (see e.g. Sommers, 2005). In such settings, administration of education may be decentralized or privatized by default rather than by design. By 2008 the generic features and needs of fragile states had come into much clearer focus than was the case at the time of the preparation of the 1989 book, and IIEP can take pride in having contributed leadership in this domain. At the same time, IIEP recognized that much remained to be done at both conceptual and practical levels, and maintained its commitment to this focus during the period of its Eighth Medium-Term Plan (IIEP, 2007: 30, 34).

In the context of the role of the state, it is also relevant to consider issues of corruption. This is another domain in which IIEP has spearheaded conceptual and practical work. A substantial body of literature was assembled during the period of IIEP's Seventh Medium-Term Plan. Among the notable publications from this programme was an edited book (Hallak and Poisson, 2006) and a synthesis volume (Hallak and Poisson, 2007) which had particularly notable dissemination and recognition.

For IIEP, all questions about the role of the state must also be linked to capacity development. Although this specific terminology has not always been used, capacity development has been at the core of IIEP's work since its creation. In 2008, major questions for IIEP focused on ways in which to achieve capacity development. These included consideration of the identities and needs of the people whose capacities are to be developed, and the modes through which this can be achieved effectively and efficiently. Françoise Caillods has long been concerned about such matters, calling attention to the issues through a range of forums (e.g. Caillods, 2003: 4; Caillods and De Grauwe, 2006).

## **The EFA movement**

Although the 1989 book published by IIEP was rather pessimistic, just one year later the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) in Jomtien, Thailand, brought renewed momentum. This event was attended by delegations from 155 countries and 158 intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations (WCEFA, 1990: 4). The World Declaration that emanated from the conference was accompanied by a Framework for Action which envisaged that countries would set their own targets during the 1990s with dimensions that included (WCEFA, 1990: 51):

- expansion of early childhood care;
- universal access to, and completion of, primary education by 2000;
- improvement in learning achievement;
- significant reduction of the adult illiteracy rate;
- expansion of basic education and training in other essential skills required by youth and adults; and
- increased acquisition by individuals and families of the knowledge, skills, and values required for better living and sound and sustainable development.

At the global level the 2000 target for universal primary education was not met, but progress was considerably greater than it would have been in the absence of the WCEFA initiative (Osttveit, 2000; Hewlett and Lloyd, 2005). The number of children in school rose from 599 million in 1990 to 681 million in 1998. The Education for All (EFA) movement also boosted planning, in part because multilateral and bilateral agencies demanded national education plans to provide a structure for external financing.

As part of the 2000 stocktaking, partners reassembled in Dakar, Senegal, for a World Education Forum (WEF). This event brought together representatives of 164 countries and a comparable array of agencies and non-governmental organizations. Delegates reaffirmed the vision of the Jomtien conference, and set new targets which included ‘ensuring that by 2015 all children ... have access to and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality’ (WEF, 2000: 43). This target was allied to the Millennium Development Goals adopted by the United Nations, one of which aimed ‘to ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling’ (United Nations, 2007: 7). Again, planning was given a renewed boost by this pair of declarations. One

part of the Dakar resolution was a pledge to ‘develop national education plans and enhance significantly investment in basic education’, and the international community affirmed ‘that no countries seriously committed to education for all will be thwarted in their achievement of this goal by a lack of resources’ (WEF, 2000: 43–44). The Fast Track Initiative (FTI) was launched in 2002 with its Secretariat in the World Bank, and again emphasized planning. As explained by the World Bank (2008a), through the FTI compact ‘developing countries commit to design and implement sound education plans while donor partners commit to align and harmonize additional support around these plans’.

As the lead agency for EFA within the United Nations system, UNESCO has a major role in both advocacy and monitoring. UNESCO’s EFA Global Monitoring Report has been published on an annual or biennial basis since 2002, and has highlighted specific themes in addition to country-level and other statistics. The 2008 edition was entitled *Education for All by 2015: Will we make it?* The answer provided by the report itself (UNESCO, 2007) seemed to be that some parts of the world would not, but that many other parts would. Moreover, the report added (2007: 6), the number of out-of-school children had dropped from 96 million in 1999 to 72 million in 2005. This had been achieved through tremendous efforts centred around the processes of planning. External aid had grown consistently between 2000 and 2004, particularly benefiting low-income countries, though had declined in 2005. Many countries had also made significant increases in national government expenditures on education, albeit in an overall picture that was mixed (UNESCO, 2007: 143–144).

One implication of the push towards universal primary education was that in due course pressures would increase for post-primary education. This had been foreseen during the Dakar conference, when an IIEP-sponsored round table led by Françoise Caillods asked the question ‘After primary education, what?’ (Caillods, 2000; WEF, 2000: 31; see also Caillods and Lewin, 2001). Six years later, the widening focus on post-primary education was emphasized in a meeting of the International Working Group on Education (IWGE), of which IIEP was the Secretariat and Françoise Caillods played the lead role (IWGE, 2007: 25, 27, 31, 50–51). In the Americas, Europe, and much of Asia, secondary education had long been on the agenda, but in Africa the emphases had been more on primary and higher education. In 2006, the World Bank launched an initiative entitled Secondary Education in Africa (SEIA)

(World Bank, 2008b); and post-primary education was the focus of the 2008 Biennale of the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) in Mozambique (ADEA, 2008). At the Biennale, Françoise Caillods was among those presenting the challenges and approaches to achieving nine years of education for all (Caillods, 2008).

## **The nature and quality of education**

As noted above, in 1970 Coombs (1970: 24) had strongly asserted a need for innovation: ‘Planning that merely serves a strategy of linear expansion will no longer do; planning must now serve a strategy of educational change and adaptation.’ This view was in line with his espousal of non-formal education as an alternative and/or complementary framework for provision (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974; Coombs, 1976). Work on this theme was also conducted by IIEP (e.g. Evans, 1981), but non-formal education did not feature strongly in the 1989 volume. Some focus was maintained by committed individuals, including Françoise Caillods. For example in 2006 she organized a workshop (Caillods, 2006) and commissioned a review of the theme (Hoppers, 2006). However, the overall thrust evident for example in the 2008 ADEA Biennale was strongly ‘more of the same’. School systems based on the Western model have shown their resilience (Benavot *et al.*, 2006), and Coombs would no doubt have viewed the situation with disappointment.

One irony is that this resilience has been in the face of serious qualitative decline. As observed, in the 1989 volume Caillods (1989b: 12) had lamented that as a consequence of the financial crisis, ‘but resulting also from uncontrolled growth in enrolments and from poor management of education systems generally, the teaching conditions and the teaching–learning process are deteriorating’. The subsequent decade brought some renewed focus on quality, including in the EFA Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2004). Nevertheless, the international pressures to achieve the quantitative EFA targets and Millennium Development Goals were considerable, and political imperatives at the national and local levels commonly favour quantitative expansion at least as much as qualitative improvement. The EFA targets are also silent on the orientation of the education to be provided. Burnett (2008: 4) has rightly observed that this is ‘probably too sensitive an area to be subject to international goals’, but has appropriately added that it is ‘hard to think that we can achieve peace and tolerance, on the one hand, or sustainable development, on the other, without dealing with content’.

At IIEP, significant work on both the quality and the content of education during the 1990s drew on case studies in India, Guinea, China, and Mexico (Govinda and Varghese, 1993; Martin and Châu, 1993; Cheng, 1996; Schmelkes *et al.*, 1996). The synthesis report (Carron and Châu, 1996) contained different sections for decision-makers, for planners and school administrators with more technical interests, and for researchers who might be more interested in methodology. During the next decade IIEP's largest project on the quality of education was the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ). The 2000–2002 SACMEQ survey assessed reading and mathematics achievement of 42,000 Grade 6 pupils in 2,300 schools in 14 countries. Achievement levels were shown to be a major issue in all these countries, though to a varying extent. In Kenya, Mauritius, and Seychelles, for example, mathematics achievement was significantly higher than in Malawi, Lesotho, and Zambia (UNESCO, 2005: 58). In the latter three countries, very few of the surveyed pupils had competent numeracy, even after six or more years of schooling, and almost none were capable of either concrete or abstract problem-solving. The 2007 SACMEQ III survey showed further decline of achievement levels in some countries (Makuwa, 2010), which called into question the value of the quantitative enrolments in school.

Partly because of poor quality, though also reflecting social competition and other factors, supplementary private tutoring had become an increasingly visible issue. In 1998, Françoise Caillods commissioned a study on this theme for the Fundamentals of Educational Planning (Bray, 1999). At that time, private tutoring was especially visible in Hong Kong, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Sri Lanka, and a few other Asian societies. A decade later, it had grown significantly in Eastern and Western Europe, and had also become increasingly evident in Africa (Bray and Suso, 2008; Bray, 2009). The scale and nature of private tutoring raise major questions about both social stratification and the locus of learning. Particularly problematic are situations in which mainstream teachers deliberately withhold part of the curriculum during normal hours in order to create demand for private lessons from the same pupils after hours.

One another major challenge is the spread of HIV and AIDS. The 1989 book (Caillods, 1989*a*) made no mention of HIV and AIDS, chiefly because it had not yet been widely recognized as a serious threat. In 2008 the picture was very different, especially in Africa. By the end of that

decade, the number of AIDS orphans under the age of 18 was expected to exceed 25 million (UNESCO, 2007: 18). HIV prevalence had dropped in parts of India as a result of prevention efforts, but it was expected to continue to rise in such countries as China, Indonesia, Russia, and Viet Nam. Africa accounted for 63 per cent of the global HIV-infected population.

Again, Françoise Caillods was herself a major figure in efforts to address the matter in the domain of educational planning. Much of this work followed the lead of, and was in collaboration with, IIEP's seventh Director, Gudmund Hernes (see e.g. Hernes, 2002). Among the first steps was the commissioning of a volume for the *Fundamentals of Educational Planning* (Kelly, 2000) and the organization of a visionary seminar (IIEP, 2000). Subsequently, Françoise Caillods worked closely with the HIV and AIDS Clearinghouse hosted by IIEP, collaborated on the preparation of teaching materials (e.g. Caillods and Bukow, 2006), and managed research concerning teachers and teacher-training institutions (e.g. Castro *et al.*, 2007; Ekue-d'Almeida and Akpaka, 2007; Caillods *et al.*, 2008; Katahoire and Kirumira, 2008). This work has been recognized to be of major significance.

### **And after a further 19 years?**

Prediction of what the world will look like in 2027 is a hazardous task. Yet planners are expected to have visions about different scenarios, and to identify both desirable targets and dangers which can be reduced or avoided through effective planning.

On the basis of existing trends, one prediction which can be made comfortably in general terms, even if not in specifics, is that technological advances will further expand opportunities for communication. The ways in which the internet, personal computers, and mobile telephones developed between 1989 and 2008 provide a clue to the potential for further advances which can increase the speed and reduce the costs of communications. A 'digital divide' between the rich and the poor seems inevitable, but just as some aspects of the divide have reduced in recent decades, so they can be expected to reduce further in the years to come. IIEP found that in 2008 most of the planners with whom it worked did have access to the internet and to personal computers which could be operated with reasonably reliable electricity supplies. That was of course because most of these planners were in capital cities and other urban

areas, and the rural parts of many countries, particularly in Africa and South Asia, remained deprived. Removal of these gaps over the coming years could not be taken for granted.

Reliance on technology, it must be added, brings new vulnerabilities. Children who no longer use books because everything can be looked up on the internet are vulnerable if their computers are hit by viruses, power-cuts, or technical problems, and in this sense learning may be vulnerable in a parallel way to crops that have inadequate biodiversity. Children focused on computer screens have a different sort of social contact with other children focused on computer screens both in the neighbourhood and around the world, and the dynamics of socialization based on eye contact and body language may be fundamentally altered. Moreover, the quality of information in the internet is less carefully screened than that in published books, and can be both misleading and of questionable social acceptability across different cultures. Educators commonly find that young people are good at copying and pasting to produce essays and portfolios that look attractive, but that some of the thought processes normally employed to prepare these documents have been bypassed. This requires planners to think about the nature of teaching and learning, and at ways to assess students' learning.

Furthermore, the technology only provides tools, and education systems still need people who operate within structures. The forces of globalization have brought changes to the roles of national education planners, and the shifts of decentralization and privatization have resulted in multiplication of the actors responsible for sub-components of education systems. At the same time, established structures have demonstrated strong resilience. The basic models of education systems, divided into levels of education from kindergarten through primary and secondary to universities, show no signs of changing. Nor, despite some of the visionary thinking of the 1960s, do the basic assumptions that pupils should be assembled by grade and proceed in sequence from one to the next. Precisely what and how the pupils learn in each grade will certainly evolve, but education systems have in general demonstrated considerable conservatism and stability within wider social and economic evolutions.

Concerning the scale of education, the contemporary world is further advanced towards the goal of universal primary education than at any time in history. Among the forces which have promoted this achievement

are the EFA targets and the Millennium Development Goals. In 2008 it was already clear that the objective of universal primary education would not be achieved in every country by 2015, and one task for IIEP was to remain focused on reaching the unreached. At the same time, IIEP needed, as in previous decades, to consider other levels of education including the expanding pressures on secondary and higher education. It also needed to focus on quality as well as quantity, and to consider the blurring of roles of governments, communities, families, and private enterprises.

One domain characterized by blurring is supplementary private tutoring which, as noted above, has grown significantly in all regions of the world (Bray, 2009). Much private tutoring is received on a commercial basis by pupils in public schools. Thus, in this domain the private sector is complementing or supplementing the public sector rather than substituting for it. Different models can be found in countries such as France, Cambodia, and Kenya, and part of the role of IIEP is to learn from comparisons. One prediction is that supplementary private tutoring will become more visible both in the industrialized countries of Western Europe and in the less developed countries of sub-Saharan Africa. One especially significant phenomenon is the existence of cross-border tutoring by internet through which tutors in India provide instruction in mathematics to children in the United States (Lohr, 2007). There could be strong reasons to assume that this type of phenomenon will expand rapidly in an increasingly interconnected and globalized world (Ventura and Jang, 2010). Such internet-operated tutoring is likely to be beyond the reach of educational planners in their traditional roles in national ministries of education, and will require innovative thinking about forms of monitoring, guidance, and regulation.

This example in turn highlights the ways in which examination of patterns in industrialized countries can usefully be connected with focus on less developed countries. This again has been among the approaches of Françoise Caillods, exemplified by her 2004 book on secondary education (Briseid and Caillods, 2004). IIEP has to make choices in the emphases of its work, and in line with UNESCO itself has given particular attention to the needs of the less developed countries among the 193 Member States, in part because the more developed countries have ways to look after their own needs. However, IIEP is mindful of the need for cross-fertilization of ideas, and it is pertinent that McIntosh's (2008) booklet in the *Fundamentals of Educational Planning* series

focuses on members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Looking ahead, IIEP will no doubt continue to have a particular focus on less developed countries, but should not neglect the needs of more prosperous countries and the conceptual lessons to be derived from comparative analysis.

A major part of UNESCO's role is advocacy for education, keeping the topic on the agendas of politicians, international organizations, private foundations, and others (Burnett, 2008). The success of the EFA movement did not seem to be anticipated at the time of preparation of IIEP's 1989 book, which focused more on what it perceived to be economic crisis. Such success, and constant revision of targets which shift from 2000 to 2015 and then a future date, must be tempered with awareness of the danger of fatigue with old priorities as new ones come on the agenda. UNESCO and other partners advocate Education for All as a human right and as an end in itself, but governments and families also want to have an instrumental role for education, linking it with economic advancement and improved standards of living. Among the challenges for planners is to help to achieve these linkages, so that expanded education has adequate quality and sufficient dovetailing with other components of social and economic development. Contemporary agenda items that have risen to the surface and which compete with education for attention include global warming, international terrorism, and the prices and adequate availability of basic commodities including food. While in past generations much tension focused on access to land and in present generations the role of oil has risen to the fore, for future generations the shifting availability of water may be a major determinant of standards of living and power structures.

Flows of people and both temporary and permanent migrations, which are themselves allied to such factors as land, oil, and water, are additional themes which are likely to have considerable influence on the nature of the education that is needed and provided. Of course, broader geopolitical evolutions will also determine whose voices will be heard and whose agendas will be pursued. The growing influence of China on the world stage is self-evident, and illustrates the shifting balances which could produce a very different picture in 2027 from that of 2008. School systems around the world are likely to pay more attention to the Chinese language and culture, and Chinese aid to less developed countries is likely to have an impact on the broader architecture of technical and financial assistance. At the same time, the major focus by the United

Nations bodies will remain on the less developed regions, especially in Africa.

## **Conclusions**

This chapter commenced with Coombs' 1970 booklet, including his view that educational planning at that time could not be encased in any hard and fast definition because it was 'still too young and growing too rapidly, and ... far too complex and diversified a subject'. Four decades later, the field of educational planning is older, and much has been learned. Among the matters that have been learned is that educational planning is still a complex and diversified subject – and therefore that it is always likely to remain so. The field of educational planning necessarily reflects as well as shapes the societies which it serves. The geopolitics of 2008 were significantly different from those of 1989, and even further from those of 1970. These geopolitics shaped not only the goals of planners but also the resources available to them, their relations with other government and non-government actors, and the numbers, skills, and identities of the individuals in the profession.

IIEP's partnerships have also evolved. The commemorative volume on the Institute's first 40 years (IIEP, 2003) incorporated a focus on IIEP's changing institutional linkages. It included a reference to the opening of IIEP's Buenos Aires office in 1998, and to partnerships with such bodies as ADEA, SACMEQ, and the IWGE. IIEP does not have plans to open additional offices to parallel that in Buenos Aires, instead preferring to collaborate with other bodies such as the Regional Centre for Educational Planning (RCEP) in the United Arab Emirates, which was inaugurated as a UNESCO Category 2 Centre in 2007. IIEP will also maintain partnerships with universities around the world for both training and research.

At a quantitative level, there were grounds to predict that significant progress towards Education for All would have been achieved by 2015, and that continued pushes in the locations where it has not been achieved would further extend coverage during the following decades. The quantitative targets will also need to be underpinned by meaningful quality and appropriate orientations, while expansion of primary education has already led to expansion of secondary education. As secondary education expands further, additional pressures will be placed on higher education and on forms of lifelong learning. Issues of equity are likely to persist

because of stratification within education systems and differential access to institutions with superior quality and prestige.

In reply to Coombs' question in the title of his 1970 booklet, *What is educational planning?*, most colleagues at IIEP would probably respond with a mix of the technical and the policy-oriented. Technical dimensions such as enrolment projections, school mapping, and budgetary flows have had strong conceptual stability albeit with revisions to allow for new technologies and refined instruments. Policy-oriented domains have changed more fundamentally with the collapse of communism, the demise of manpower planning, the acceleration of globalization, and the changing architecture of international aid. Planners in low-income countries need to be equipped with the jargon of the FTI and poverty-reduction strategy papers (PRSPs), while planners in OECD countries need to know the jargon of the Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA) and the Bologna Process.

Within these broad parameters, planners in different locations have different contexts and different needs. Thus planners responsible for higher education in Brazil have different needs from their counterparts responsible for primary education in Solomon Islands; and planners in charge of kindergartens in Japan have different needs from those serving the same sector in the Republic of Congo. IIEP cannot serve them all with equal ability, but does at least recognize the plurality within the field. The less desirable aspects of globalization will need continued attention alongside efforts to harness the new opportunities that will come with closer global integration. IIEP will strive to remain an institution of excellence at the forefront of the field, while recognizing that the field itself has loosely defined parameters. The Institute will achieve this objective through its mix of research, teaching, technical assistance, and networking that was so effectively personified in the work of Françoise Caillods as a colleague and team leader.

This chapter will conclude with the final paragraph of Coombs' booklet. While most of the paragraph seems to stand the test of time, one part requires modification. Coombs closed (1970: 60–61) with a prediction:

When someone asks, a decade or two from now, 'What is educational planning?' the answer he gets will be very different, and a good deal longer and more complex, than the transitory answer given in these pages. But one thing will be the same. The man answering the question

will begin, as the present author did, by observing that educational planning is too complex and diversified a thing, and is still changing too rapidly, to fit any simple definition or to be encased in any single general theory. And he will no doubt end by saying that, while educational planning can make valuable use of scientific methods and modes of thinking, it is none the less – like education itself – more of an art than a science.

The 1989 book and its six accompanying volumes edited by Françoise Caillods did provide an answer that was both longer and more complex, and in some ways also very different. And the lengthened historical perspective open to the contributors to the 2008 symposium permitted further elaboration and identification of variations in texture in different parts of the world, among different agencies, and at different levels of education. Yet as Coombs predicted, over the decades most contributors have agreed that on the one hand educational planning can make good use of scientific methods and modes of thinking, and on the other that planning, like education itself, is more of an art than a science.

However, if Coombs were able to revisit that paragraph today he would probably wish to revise his nouns and pronouns. It remained true in 2008 that educational planners were more likely to be men than women, and that this imbalance continued despite the efforts of IIEP and others. Nevertheless, the notion that it would only be a *man* who asks and answers the question about educational planning has been overtaken by new generations of women at the cutting edge of the profession. Françoise Caillods has for decades been among them. And despite her formal retirement from the staff of IIEP, there are good reasons for confidence that Françoise Caillods will remain active in the professional community for many years to come.

That remark permits one more prediction for 2027: that Françoise Caillods will have accumulated yet more wisdom and expertise, will have pushed the boundaries in the field, and will be appreciated by peers and younger generations as much as she is now. IIEP sincerely thanks Françoise Caillods for her enormous contributions over the decades that have passed. And the Institute much looks forward to her continuing collaboration.

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## 2. Blind alleys and signposts of hope

*Joseph P. Farrell*

This is an occasion to commemorate and celebrate the life and work of Françoise Caillods. She and I are of roughly the same vintage, and have now been around the field of educational planning for rather a long time. Françoise started her work with IIEP in 1969; I started my work in Canada at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) a year earlier, in 1968, in what was then the Department of Educational Planning. Much time has passed since those years, and we have learned much as the world has moved along. This chapter highlights some of the things I think we have learned, and some hopeful signposts for the future.

This contribution is ‘bookended’ by two publications I have written, one a while ago, the other more recently. The first is my 1997 article in *Comparative Education Review*, ‘A retrospective on educational planning in comparative education’ (Farrell, 1997). That article was a sort of summary of what I thought I had learned in more than 30 years (then) of work in both educational planning and comparative education, and particularly as editor of the section on educational policy and planning for the second edition of the *International encyclopedia of education* (Husén and Postlethwaite, 1994). During the long process of thought and analysis that led to that 1997 article, Françoise Caillods’ work was fundamental to my thinking, particularly her book *The prospects for educational planning* (Caillods, 1989). At that time she, I, and a few others were beginning to develop new ways of viewing the field and seeing how it might get out of some ruts in which it seemed to be stuck. These views were (at least it seemed to me at the time) rather ‘contradictorian’, and perhaps seen by some as a kind of ‘off the wall’ radical understanding. Certainly some reactions to drafts of that article indicated that I was treading on some powerful and sensitive toes. It was supportive and comforting to know that some others, including Françoise, shared my understanding in a general sense, although of course we each approached the issues from our own intellectual and experiential bases.

The second ‘bookend’ is a co-authored work published by IIEP and entitled *Planning for successful alternative schooling: A possible route to Education for All* (Farrell and Hartwell, 2008). When I suggested the idea for this work to Françoise, she responded with much support and

enthusiasm. And so we proceeded. Thus for both of these ‘bookends’, the work and opinions of Françoise have been of great importance.

Since both of these pieces are available in published form, I do not review everything within them. Rather I note important points – some of them through fairly long quotes as I have not yet found a better way to say some of these things – and develop the ideas further.

In doing this, one caution should be borne in mind. A key phrase in the prospectus for the symposium which led to this book was that the event would ‘stimulate speculation on the future directions’. This was carefully phrased, as in thinking about the future, speculation is about the best we can ever do. This is always a problem in our field. Planning is by its very nature an act of prediction: *if* we do this, *then* that will, or is likely to, occur. But we can hardly ever undertake the steps precisely as envisaged. This creates a sort of cognitive dissonance – professionally we need to predict, but deep down we know that we really cannot, at least with any high degree of certainty. Had we been engaging in this exercise during the 1980s, probably none of us would have predicted the collapse of the Soviet Union that was soon to occur, with all of its subsequent effects on how the world is ordered (or disordered), and the reverberating effects on how we understand the planning of both formal and non-formal education programmes throughout the world. Nor would we have predicted the imminent arrival of the internet and the World Wide Web, as we know them now, and the ways in which they have affected our ways of working, communicating, and accessing information. Again, there were some prophets, but few were taken very seriously. So now, just over two decades later, we find ourselves in a world that has vastly changed along these two dimensions and many others, and we are really just beginning to sort out what they mean for how we do and understand our work.

However, there is one prediction that I will advance here with some certainty, which becomes one of several major themes of this chapter: whatever the next several decades may provide in terms of surprises, most schools, from early primary level to advanced university, will look and work pretty much as they do now. This will be true unless we learn from our collective experience at inventing and implementing such major changes in schooling as have actually worked, frequently among desperately and highly marginalized groups of learners, to dramatically improve the learning levels of such young people. Many such experiences

are available, but most are little known and not well understood. They provide us with much we can learn from on how to improve the learning opportunities available to all people, young and older.

## **Problems with planning as we have known it**

A first major problem that I addressed in the 1997 article was definitional: what exactly is educational planning? I remarked that:

Part of the difficulty in demarcating the ‘boundaries’ of the field is that there is a notable lack of agreement among scholars and practitioners regarding its definition. There is considerable confusion over who should be called, or call themselves, ‘educational planners’, what such individuals do or should do when engaged in educational planning, and what bodies of literature apply to its study. What some authors refer to as ‘educational planning’ others identify as ‘policy analysis’, ‘policy making’, ‘management’, ‘administration’, ‘research’, ‘decision making’, or more broadly, ‘politics’ (Farrell, 1997: 280).

In this I was echoing the words of Philip H. Coombs (1970). I first encountered this problem when joining the Department of Educational Planning at OISE in 1968. It was created, as was all of OISE, in the 1960s spirit of optimism regarding education and the possibility of radically improving it. I served as departmental chair from 1973 until 1981, when the department was dissolved as part of a broad institutional reorganization and amalgamation. The faculty and senior research staff in that rather small academic department were an oddly assorted group. We had four systems engineers/computer experts, three demographers, three educational economists, and three educational sociologists (two of whom, including me, were comparative and international education specialists). New graduate students in the programme would soon, and inevitably, ask us ‘What *is* educational planning anyway?’ We had no coherent answer. Rather, we had as many different answers as there were faculty and senior research staff in the department. The answers ranged from highly technicist to highly political, and were based on a wide range of different ideological and theoretical positions.

This definitional problem was never resolved: we simply agreed to disagree and get on with our academic business. Less than a decade after that department disappeared, I encountered the definition problem again as the editor of the section on educational planning and policy for the *International encyclopedia of education*. A major problem faced

by the large group of section editors and the two senior editors was in deciding which themes and topics belonged to which section. Which, for example, belonged in 'my' section as opposed to sections on educational administration, economics of education, comparative education, and so on? Long meetings among us failed to achieve clear answers to the questions of field definitions and boundaries. The best we could do was a set of trade-offs and compromises, which allowed us all to get on with identifying and recruiting authors, commissioning specific articles, and then assembling them into a 12-volume set. Because of the fuzzy nature of the definitions and boundaries, we developed an elaborate system of cross-referencing to indicate to prospective readers the complexity and interrelatedness of the fields. At the end of all this, I noted in the 1997 article that my own personal view, broadly and simply, was that educational planning involved determining, however and by whomever, what is to be taught (and hopefully learned), and often what is not to be taught, to whom, how, when, where, by whom, to what purposes and at whose cost (Farrell, 1997: 282). My view has not much changed since then.

Another major theme of that retrospective article was the difficulty of trying to plan and implement large educational reform programmes, which had been a major preoccupation of the field for much of the previous decades. After a broad review of that experience, I concluded that:

One general lesson is that planning educational change is a far more difficult and risk-prone venture than had been imagined in the 1950s and 1960s. There are many more examples of failure, or of minimal success, than of relatively complete success. Much more is known about what does not work, or does not usually work, than about what does work. A central lesson learned is that Nicolò Machiavelli was correct when he wrote more than 4 centuries ago: 'And it ought to be remembered that there is nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain of its success, than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things.' The change planner has staunch enemies among 'all those who have done well under the old conditions' and who see clearly an immediate threat to their privileges, but only 'lukewarm defenders' among the intended beneficiaries of the change since the potential benefits are uncertain in a dimly perceived future, and people generally 'do not readily believe in new things until they have had a long experience of them' (Machiavelli, 1513: 9).

Moreover, when planned educational reform attempts have been successful, the process has usually taken a long time, frequently far longer than originally anticipated. In recent decades there are a few examples where an unusual combination of favorable conditions and politically skilled planners has permitted a great deal of educational change in a relatively brief period, but these have been rare and idiosyncratic (Farrell, 1997: 298–299).

Nothing I have seen in the period since those words were published has much changed my views.

It can seem all very dreary and pessimistic, and there is ample reason for that. But I actually see much hope and possibility, if we choose to grasp it. I noted in that 1997 article, immediately after the paragraph quoted above, that the experience of programmes such as Escuela Nueva in Colombia and the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) non-formal primary education programme offered a different model of planning change that seemed far more hopeful. At that time I (certainly) and other observers (I believe) had only a glimpse of what programmes such as these were accomplishing and how they might develop. At that time I could only note them as a glimmer of possibility. Since then, I have endeavoured to understand these radically alternative programmes for educational change, and the results are presented in the Farrell and Hartwell (2008) publication. But in order to understand the shift from ‘then’ (1997 and the years before) to ‘now’, we first have to try to understand how we got to ‘then’ and what sorts of fundamental understandings of planning educational change we can see as having occurred in these past few years. So how did we get to ‘then’?

### **Some proffered explanations**

Formal schooling (what I have come to call ‘the forms of formal schooling’, which are outlined in Farrell and Hartwell, 2008) is a social invention of relatively recent origin in the grand sweep of human history. For as long as they have existed, human social groups have found ways, in remarkable variety, to ensure that young people learn the necessary skills and attitudes and values to become participating and contributing members of their society. Had it not been the case, societies would long since have vanished. The forms we now associate generally with formal schooling were invented for application as instruments of statecraft on a wide scale, less than two centuries ago, starting in Prussia after the defeat of that kingdom by Napoleon on his way to disastrous defeat in Russia. The model was then

spread rapidly across Europe, to South and North America, and then to almost all of the rest of the world through colonial imposition or cultural borrowing. Schools are now nearly universal in our world, with small variations from place to place. And now that we have them, and have them so firmly and widely set in place, we seem quite unable to change them in any serious way, at least on a large scale. They reflect fundamentally the misunderstandings of the political and intellectual elites of an era now long gone about how humans (young or old) actually learn best, and what things are most worth learning. The world, and our understanding of human learning, has changed greatly, but the forms of formal schooling have changed very little.

This is not to say that there are not a lot of quite good schools. They can be found not only in rich nations, but also in very poor ones. The problem, as Fullan and many others have observed (e.g. Fullan and Watson, 1999), is that while we have become quite good at identifying and characterizing such schools, we have little idea of how to create such schools in large numbers, let alone how to change traditional schools on a large scale to closer approximations of such model schools. This observation does not *explain* the problem, but it does clearly *identify* it.

Several different explanations (or theories, if one cares to so dignify them) regarding this stubborn systemic resistance to change and innovation have been offered. For example, Tyack and Cuban (1995) suggest that a major part of the explanation for the failure of educational reform is that the common characteristics of formal schools have become a sort of ‘grammar’ of schooling, a set of expected patterns that we have historically constructed regarding what a ‘real’ school is and how people within it should behave. That grammar may differ from place to place (but surprisingly little considering the wide variations in other cultural and institutional patterns), but whatever version is found in any given location, once set firmly in place anything that deviates substantially from that ‘real’ school image will, by their historical analysis, be resisted by parents, teachers, students, and policy-makers.

Olson (2003), writing from a cognitive science perspective, has advanced a similar explanation, emphasizing the institutional power of schooling-as-it-is, despite powerful psychological evidence that this form of education is inimical to how children (and adults) actually learn best. I have added to these arguments by noting that the forms of formal schooling have often developed such strong links to other powerful institutional

sectors (often unnoticed) that changing the patterns of schooling affects a wide variety of other social institutions (Farrell, 2003).

Critical theorists suggest another explanation: that these forms arose and are maintained because they follow the perceptions and socioeconomic interests of those who have the most economic and political power in the society. They will not change until (or at least at the same time as) those structural relations of power change (Davies, 1996). This resembles the analysis by Machiavelli (1513) five centuries ago.

All these explanations are partial explanations that apply to some aspects of the puzzle. The problem, in my view, is that they *are* partial, and do not go deep enough to offer a fuller explanation. It is to this question of going deeper that I now turn.

## Going deeper: Means–ends confusions

### *A cautionary tale about means–ends confusions*

The well-known US economist, J.K. Galbraith, tells in his memoirs (1981) a very sad but instructive story. At the end of the Second World War he headed a team dispatched by the US Government, first to Germany and then to Japan, to assess the effect of the massive ‘strategic bombing’ campaigns against those two nations. The objective of strategic bombing, it was claimed, was to damage or destroy key elements of enemy nations’ war production capacity, and thus weaken their ability to wage the war. It was originally assumed that strategic targets would include factories that produced armaments, ammunition, petroleum, and other chemical refineries, and key elements of transportation infrastructure such as railway junctions and important bridges. The task of the evaluation team was to determine whether the bombing had had its intended effect: had war production in Germany and Japan actually been impaired to any significant degree?

After months of study, the team’s answer was simple: No. In Germany, throughout the strategic bombing campaign war production had actually steadily increased. In Japan the estimated effect was minimal and at best might have shortened the war by one or two months. Thus many cities were destroyed, millions of civilians were killed, seriously injured or displaced – and of course many thousands of airmen lost their lives delivering those bombs – all to no discernible effect. What went so terribly wrong?

The answer, it turned out, was simple. It was a classic case of means–ends confusion. The generals planning the bombing became so entranced with and committed to their ‘tools’ (bombs and bombers) that they lost sight of the ultimate strategic objective of weakening the enemies’ war production capacity. Over Germany, until very late in the war, most of the available bombers could fly with some degree of safety only at night. In the dark they could not locate precise targets, but they could locate large cities. Until very late in the war, few of the aircraft that could fly relatively safely by day could locate small precise targets with any reasonable degree of accuracy, but they could hit large cities. Thus large cities became defined as strategic targets even though they had little or nothing to do with war material production. As Galbraith noted (1981: 231), for Germany military doctrine ‘then proclaimed that what had been feasible was in fact strategic’, and the same thing happened in Japan where the bombers,

operating at maximum range, could best hit the cities, so it was the attacks on the urban centers, mainly with incendiaries, that became the approved design for victory. Sixty-six Japanese cities were so attacked and leveled in a range from 25 to 90 percent. ... Industrial targets, including the aircraft plants, were taken up only as operations across the Pacific brought them within range, or, as actually happened, the supply of incendiary bombs ran out.

### ***Implications for education and educational planning***

This tale may seem far removed from our concerns as educators and educational planners. We, after all, are not engaged in the malign business of death and destruction but in the benign business of improving the opportunities for children, young people, and adults to learn what they need to become productive and contributing members of their societies. However, the history of attempts to plan the improvement of education systems, in nations rich and poor, indicates that educators are as likely as those generals of long ago to fall into a means–ends confusion, to become so entranced by or enmeshed in the tools we have available and know how to use that we lose sight of, or simply forget about, the ultimate objective of *learning*. Or at best we simply assume that we (or someone) already ‘know’ that what we are doing, or proposing to introduce as an ‘innovation’, will have a positive impact on learning. It is extremely common among educators and the general public to conflate learning with education, schooling, and teaching. We do it all the time (and as with most

taken-for-granted concepts, unthinkingly). Many readers of this chapter are likely to work in institutions with *education* in their names (e.g. faculties of *education*, ministries, or departments of *education*, or the International Institute for *Educational Planning*). We could have used the term *learning*, but simply assumed that the tool at our disposal, which we know how to use, is equivalent to, or automatically produces, the final strategic objective – learning.

I would not want to suggest here that such institutional labels should be changed to, say, the International Institute for the Planning of Learning. Such long-established titles have traditions and loyalties, and have developed recognition value. Thus, changing the labels might be disconcerting to many people and difficult to achieve successfully. Nevertheless, it is important to change the mindsets of those who work within such agencies and institutions. When educators from around the world gathered in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990, and again in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000, they did so under the banner of Education for All. They could have said *learning* for all. Learning is often mentioned in such discussions and in background documents, but is almost always equated or conflated with education, schooling, and/or teaching. When the subject of discussion is actual quality of learning, it is almost always phrased as quality of education or quality of schooling. Again, focus is on the tools we have and know how to use, and the connection with the ultimate strategic objective is assumed. Remember those air generals in the Second World War.

One way often used to make the connection between the tools and the results is through the use of tests. Tests of course have long been used by individual teachers, for both formative and summative purposes, to the extent that they have become part of the ‘grammar’ of schooling to which Tyack and Cuban (1995) refer. More recently we have witnessed the development of national (or state/provincial) testing programmes, and increasingly massive international testing programmes, almost all driven by the powerful standards-and-accountability movement. But the use of such tests is beset by several troublesome sets of assumptions:

1. What is testable and tested is what is actually learned, and this is attributable to schooling. As I argued in ‘A retrospective on educational planning in comparative education’:

Much of educational planning represents an explicit or implicit attempt to regulate and control learning, by determining what is to be taught

(prescribing the curriculum and sometimes testing for it) and what is not to be taught (leaving things out or formally proscribing them), regulating who may or may not teach (and in many cases how they should teach), and authorizing who, individually or as groups, shall have access to various types and levels of schooling. While highly control-oriented regimes go to great lengths to plan and regulate what is taught in the schools, and frequently extend these efforts beyond the schools to the mass media and other forms of individual and group communication, the attempt to control learning, in whatever form, by planning education is ubiquitous. Witness, for example, the fierce political debates in many nations regarding the inclusion in or exclusion from the curriculum of various bodies and forms of knowledge, including, in the United States and Canada, such matters as black history, working-class history, women's history, the 'white male European' canon, evolutionism versus creationism, and so on. None of these arguments would make any sense at all if the participants did not assume that there is a high probability that what is taught in the schools will be learned by the students.

Contrary to that assumption, we have come to realize (in a dramatic way in several nations over the past few years) that while it is possible to plan education and even to control teaching, it is not possible to plan and control learning. Education, schooling, and individual classroom teaching are all observable and, therefore, at least theoretically and occasionally practically, subject to planning and control. Learning, however, is individual and 'invisible' (it happens in that mysterious space behind the eyeballs); it is thus not subject to coercion (although it is possible to force people to behave as though they have learned something – for example to provide the 'correct' response to a political knowledge question), or to control, or to prediction of its consequences. It is of course the case that learning, as a process, frequently occurs interactively within human groups. But what is being learned, and how it is integrated with what has been learned before and might be learned after, is an individual matter. One may observe the results of learning, as in correct responses to a test, or appropriate behavior, or the ability to perform a task, but one rarely if ever knows whether the result is the product of any particular act of teaching or educating. Indeed, a considerable amount of test performance reflects learning that takes place outside the context of education or schooling; that is what we mean when we speak of the effect of extra-school factors on educational achievement. Much of what is learned for the purpose of passing a test is just as promptly forgotten – indeed mastering this kind of short-term-only memory seems to be one of the essential skills of successful test taking. And

at a deeper level we can never know for sure what interpretations or significance learners attach to what has been learned, what meaning they make of it (Farrell, 1997: 300–301).

2. *The tests as administered are valid and reliable instruments for measuring what is actually learned.* Fierce arguments in the ‘testing theory’ and ‘measurement theory’ communities are often expressed in highly technical language and are inconclusive. But the implications are real and important (see Farrell, 2004a; Mundy and Farrell, 2008).
3. *The ‘subjects’ that are testable, and therefore tested, are the only, or at least most important, aspects of the curriculum worth attention.* This is a patently false assumption. What is most commonly tested, because we think we know how to do it, is the ability to read (writing is another matter entirely), and competency in arithmetic. These are clearly among the core goals of schools, particularly primary schools, almost everywhere. But is this all there is to the curriculum? Sometimes one has tests of subject-specific knowledge (science is particularly popular, because it is thought to be factual) almost always focusing on ‘facts’ rather than ‘understanding’ (how exactly does one test for understanding or meaning-making?). And some areas of learning that are almost universally noted in national and state/provincial curriculum documents, such as political knowledge (or civic virtue) or moral education (however phrased in any particular place), are rarely touched. How does one test for civic virtue or moral learning? Perhaps a few memorized precepts, but at a deep level? It is also well documented in both the formal literature of educational studies and in the lore of teachers that testing drives out attention to matters not tested: this is labelled as ‘teaching to the test’. Thus, what is testable and tested becomes, in effect, the real curriculum (see Bickmore, 2001).

So, given these problems, doubts, and questions, why do we continue to use large-scale tests to try to assess the relation between the manipulable inputs for which we can plan and the presumed strategic objective of learning? Well, they are the tools we have in hand and think we know how to use. Again, remember those air generals of the Second World War.

From these broad and very general considerations of the problems for planning and policy created by fundamental means–ends confusions, I turn to two examples of more specific difficulties along the same line.

Decentralization has become almost an educational policy shibboleth in recent years, heavily promoted by various international agencies and national/state education authorities. The word has many meanings in many different locations, but it has become a sort of educational planning/policy fad. A few years ago I reviewed all of the evidence I could find on decentralization (under whatever guise or label) for a World Bank/UNESCO seminar (Farrell, 2004*b*). Hardly any of the available documentation even mentioned learning. In the few cases where the term was used, it was generally in a vague and platitudinous fashion. In the very few cases where an attempt had been made to assess learning consequences (through test results – see above), the evidence was inconclusive: in some cases learning levels deteriorated as a result of decentralization; in others they remained the same (see also Leithwood and Menzies, 1998). In the entire discussion the focus was on inputs, with practically no consideration of the ultimate objective of our enterprise: *learning*.

Another very common theme in the discourse is globalization, with its presumed requirement for emphasis in education on science and technology to prepare students for work in the knowledge economy in order to keep themselves and their societies competitive. Such policy talk is heard everywhere, it seems, but has several problems. First, while it is true, statistically, that job growth in high technology positions has been well above average for several decades in many economies, this is principally because these job categories were initially small in absolute numbers (say as a proportion of all jobs in an economy). In such circumstances, even small annual growth in absolute numbers produced very high percentage increases in growth. In most rich countries for which I have over the years traced labour market forecasts, certainly for Canada and the United States, the largest numbers (in absolute terms) of new jobs forecast to be created over the next 10–20 years are in job categories such as clerks and secretaries, retail sales, truck drivers, and, particularly in Canada, mining and other forms of resource extraction. These are not high-tech science-laden occupations. The equipment they may use is increasingly high-tech, but it does not require a lot of technical knowledge to operate. And what then of the vast majority of young people in the poorer nations? What realistic possibilities exist that they will in large numbers find work that requires high levels of scientific and technological learning? I would suggest it is almost nil.

Certainly, there is a need to improve dramatically the quality and spread of scientific and technological learning among the still small proportion of the overall population who will be engaged in high-tech work – if we knew how to do that, which for the most part we do not. Some institutions manage to do a very good job at that, but how do we expand and clone these examples? And it would certainly be very useful for the population overall to have a far better understanding of science and technology, so as to judge better the policy propositions in these areas. But here too we have little knowledge of how to do this on a large scale. There are lots of ideas and proposals, demonstration and pilot projects, but little evidence of sustainable spread.

There is a further problem with the chain of analysis. If new job skills are required fairly soon, and some surely will be, then school as an institution is not the vehicle for accomplishing that. It takes anywhere up to 20 years for a school system to take an entering grade 1 student and produce a labour market entrant. It is a long process. A solution to the dilemma is often suggested as lifelong learning, which is a worthy thought, and here the discourse does shift to *learning*, and generally to non-school-based learning. But still most of the policy talk about globalization and high-tech economies focuses on schooling and education. These are the tools we have and know how to use, and the connections to what is finally learned are assumed.

In summary to this point, I am suggesting that we have had, and continue to have, quite serious difficulties in thinking about and planning for educational change, and that these difficulties stem from some deeply rooted assumptions. The forms of formal schooling as we have them are so deeply set in the collective mind that it is very difficult to even imagine fundamental change. And so we go on and on, trying to adapt the tools that are familiar, mostly to little or no effect on our ultimate strategic objective: *learning and its enablement*. I have elsewhere referred to this as ‘the Bad News’ (Farrell, 2007a: 200). I will now turn to ‘the Good News’: that in many parts of our world, mostly economically poor ones, such needed changes in very fundamental ways in that assumed ‘tool’ (school as we know it) have been accomplished, and the ideas are slowly spreading.

### ***Signposts of hope: A possible new direction***

At the conclusion of my 1997 article, I noted that:

planning change in this new epoch will require fundamental shifts in the way we think about change and the planning of it: at the very least from planning change to developing a capacity to innovate, and from planning as controlling learning to planning as enabling learning (Farrell, 1997: 313).

In the mid-1990s, that seemed like a distant dream rather than a possibly proximate reality. It was based on my understanding then of a limited number of cases of radically alternative forms of primary schooling that appeared to be working successfully among very marginalized children. The following decade made it seem a much closer objective, and one which I believe we must actively pursue. The work has been rather daunting. The number of such alternative programmes is large and steadily growing: by 2008 we had over 250 cases in our database. It was only a few years ago that we felt that we understood enough about these programmes to move to serious scholarly and professional writing about them, of which the IIEP publication by Farrell and Hartwell (2008) is one example.

These cases are not all the same. While all appear to follow a similar basic pedagogical and organization model, each is adapted to a particular reality, in terms of culturally embedded understandings of teaching, learning, and pedagogy. In many instances, even in their own nations, they are unknown or only vaguely known. Many are still quite small and young, essentially at a pilot stage, and are poorly documented. Others have grown to hundreds of schools and thousands of students, and in some cases to tens of thousands of schools and millions of students. In the latter cases these are not just isolated examples of alternative schools (which are fairly common in the world), but of alternative *systems* of schools. Some operate within the standard ministry of education administrative framework; others are operated entirely by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and still others are mixed models with various combinations of government, NGO, and civil society planning and management. In almost all cases these schools fall within what is generally described as community schooling, with strong organic linkages with the communities in which the learners live. These linkages take different forms in different places, depending upon the local history and patterns of social organization. Below is a list of some of the best

known and documented cases. A few are described in some detail, and a small but representative set of other cases is then provided.

- *Escuela Nueva (New School) in Colombia.* This is the oldest and perhaps best known internationally of these programmes. It started on a very small scale in the late 1970s, drawing upon the experience of earlier programmes sponsored by UNESCO and UNICEF, and was carefully nurtured with constant experimentation and learning from experience until it had spread to about 8,000 schools in the mid-1980s. It was thereafter declared by the government as the standard model for rural schooling in Colombia. It spread to most rural schools there, with varying degrees of 'faithful' implementation, and also reached some urban schools. Current estimates suggest that it involves about 35,000 schools. It has been adapted/adopted in at least 10 other Latin American nations, and core features of the model have been used to develop new educational programmes in many parts of Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, often with international agency support (Colbert and Arboleda, 1990; Schiefelbein, 1991; Arboleda, 1994; Siabato, 1997; McEwen, 1998; Pitt, 2004).
- *The BRAC Non-formal Primary Education Programme.* BRAC is another of the 'grandparents'. The programme started in the mid-1980s, grew to involve about 35,000 rural schools in Bangladesh, and is slowly moving to urban schools and ethnic minority regions, partly though a diffusion programme with other local NGOs. It is also being adapted/adopted, with support from a variety of international and donor agencies, particularly UNICEF, in Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, Uganda, Sierra Leone, and Afghanistan (Ahmed, 1993; Sarkar, 1994; Scott, 1996; Sweetser, 1999; Haiplik, 2004; Chabbott, 2006).
- *The Community Schools of UNICEF-Egypt.* This programme started in the early 1990s, drawing upon the experience of the two programmes noted above and adapted to the local situation in small hamlets in Upper Egypt. It has now grown to a core system of about 300 schools, which are considered as demonstration schools, with carefully planned diffusion, in conjunction with the national Ministry of Education, of its non-formal pedagogy to roughly 8,000 government-managed one-classroom schools. It has also spread to many 'standard' schools, both rural and urban. Its core pedagogical model is being adapted to many other countries of the region (Zaalouk, 1995, 2004; Hartwell, 1995; Farrell, 2004c).

- *School for Life in Ghana.* This programme was started in 1996 in the Northern Region of Ghana on a small scale, and by 2004 had grown to include 760 schools. It is managed jointly by the NGO School for Life, supported by a consortium of Danish NGOs and the Danish International Development Agency (with United States funding since 2005), the Dagbon Traditional Council, and the Ghana Educational Service. It is aimed at youth aged 8 to 15 years in rural villages with no or very limited access to regular primary schools, and in a nine-month programme provides literacy in the mother tongue, numeracy, and general knowledge equivalent to the first three grades of standard primary schools. Plans are under consideration for a spread of its pedagogical model to mainstream schools (Hartwell, 2006).
- *Other examples.* The following additional examples illustrate the geocultural spread of these alternative programmes (Farrell and Hartwell, 2008: 18):

**Nueva Escuela Unitaria, Guatemala**

Start: 1992 18 schools  
Growth: 1998 1,300 schools 140,000 students (Kraft, 1998)

**Multigrade Programme, Guinea**

Start: 1991 18 schools  
Growth: 1998 1,300 schools 40,000 students (Bah-Lalya, 1998)

**Multigrade and Community Schools Programme, Zambia**

Start: 1985 8 schools  
Growth: 2004 1,300 schools 230,000 students (DeStefano, 2006a)

**Concurrent Pedagogy Programme, Mali**

Start: 1988 10 schools  
Growth: 2003 1,500 schools 72,000 students (DeStefano, 2006b)

**MECE-Rural and P900 Programmes, Chile**

Start: 1990 1,000 schools  
Growth: 2000 3,900 schools 230,000 students (Garcia-Huidobro, 2000)

I have elsewhere referred to these cases, as a set, as ‘the quiet revolution in schooling’ (Farrell, 2007b: 369). In most cases that have been seriously evaluated, the results are very good in terms of enrolment, retention, completion, movement to the next level of education, and measured academic success. Typically, students in these schools score on achievement tests at least as well as, and often better than, students

in standard schools. On-time primary completion rates range above 90 per cent, and the vast majority who complete primary move on to the first post-primary level, generally with excellent results. Considering that the children in these schools are among the most marginalized in their own societies, and in the world overall, such results are quite spectacular. Moreover, these excellent learning results are generally achieved at a cost (whether per enrolled pupil, per primary level graduate, or by levels of achieved learning) that is considerably lower than in traditional schools.

So, how do these programmes manage to do this? The list below provides a list of common characteristics of these alternative school programmes. Not all programmes share all of them, but most, in one form or another, share most of them:

- Child-centred rather than teacher-centred pedagogy;
- Active rather than passive learning;
- Multigrade classrooms with continuous-progress learning;
- Combinations of fully trained teachers, partially trained teachers, parents, and other community members heavily involved in the learning of the students and the management of the schools;
- Peer-tutoring – older and/or faster-learning students assist and teach younger and/or slower-learning students;
- Carefully developed self-guided learning materials, which students, alone or in small groups, can work through themselves, at their own pace, with help from other students and adults as necessary;
- Teacher- and student-developed learning materials;
- Active student involvement in the government and management of the school;
- Use of radio, correspondence lesson materials, in some cases television, and, in a few cases, computers;
- Ongoing, regular, and intensive in-service training and peer-mentoring for teachers;
- Ongoing monitoring/evaluation/feedback systems allowing the system to learn from its own experience, with regular modifications of methodology;
- Free flow of adults and children between the school and community;
- Community involvement including attention to the nutrition and health of young children long before they reach school age;
- Locally adapted changes in the school day or school year, as needed; and
- A focus less on *teaching* and much more on *learning*.

Even a glance at this list indicates that it is far removed from the traditional forms of formal schooling that most of us have long experienced as students and as educators. But, what do the teachers and learners actually do in the classroom? The core elements of the pedagogical model are self-guided learning, continuous-progress learning, and peer-tutoring. These features are commonly enabled by multigrade structures with the necessary support including appropriate learning materials and teacher-development programmes.

Within this model, young people typically spend a large proportion of the school day working individually or in small groups, using materials that are specially designed for self-guided learning. When individual learners or small learning groups encounter problems, they typically first ask older or more advanced students for assistance. If that does not solve the problem, they ask the teacher or facilitator. The adults in the classroom spend much of their time moving about, checking the progress of various learning groups, solving problems, asking/answering questions, and recording the progress and obstacles of various individuals and learning groups for planning future work. This does not mean that the teachers do not teach. Rather, they teach differently. They spend much time working with individuals or small groups (although there is almost always some whole-class activity as well), responding to learning needs as they arise. They also concentrate effort on helping new children or groups of children to learn to read, using a variety of approaches that would be familiar to early-primary teachers in many parts of the world, until the new students have reached a level of decoding and comprehension of written text that permits them to work with self-guided material. The teachers can concentrate on such essential learning challenges *as they arise*, because most of the young people most of the time are engaged in their own self-guided learning. Such classrooms are usually busy places, with much movement and activity, and are often rather noisy. But that is not the disruptive noise of children 'acting up', but the productive noise of young people working together on their own learning.

None of the pedagogical ideas involved in these programmes is particularly new. They have been around in the literature of pedagogical and learning theory, curriculum and instruction, educational philosophy, and educational planning for a long time, in some cases more than a century. And there are many examples in nations rich and poor where various parts of the emergent model have been implemented. However, this has usually been in a single school or a small group of schools, with

little capacity to spread or to sustain themselves beyond a first generation of innovators, and mostly serving relatively prosperous families in the richer countries. What is very new, and important, is that many individuals, operating in quite different cultural contexts (mostly quite poor places) have managed to combine these rather old concepts with pedagogical ideas from their own local traditions, and meld them into a set or system which is able to grow and sustain itself. In so doing, moreover, they have produced remarkable levels of learning success, even among very poor children.

### ***Some implications for planning***

Many powerful lessons and implications may be drawn from these programmes. One that is arguably the most important is that this kind of fundamental change in a basic pedagogical model can be accomplished on a large and sustainable scale, even in places with very limited resources. What seemed to me in the mid-1990s as a somewhat distant dream has now been shown to be a very proximate reality. This means, simply yet profoundly, that many people in various parts of the world have found ways to break through the problems that have long plagued planning for major educational change, with great learning success. How this has been done exactly varies from place to place, and no easily applied template or recipe can be cited here. But the fact that it *can* be done, and *is being* done on a large scale, is the lesson from which we can learn if we choose to. If we choose not to, then the prediction I offered at the beginning of this chapter will almost certainly come to pass: the schools of the future will look and operate very much like the schools we have today, and have had for many years, no matter how mightily we strive to improve them.

A second lesson relates to relationships between formal and non-formal education. The distinction between these two domains has been with us for many years (see Coombs and Ahmed, 1974; Ahmed, 1975; Coombs, 1976; Evans, 1981), with much IIEP support. It was a very important distinction at the time denoting that education as an organized and intentional enterprise for young people and particularly adults could be, and was, provided by many means beyond the forms of formal schooling. The distinction forcefully demonstrated that many non-school organizations and programmes were as educative or 'learning promoting' as the standard formal schools. But the experience of these alternative schools created a conceptual conundrum. These successful learning-enabling programmes are bringing into the walls

of the schoolhouse many of the pedagogical methods long associated with non-formal education. Indeed, they are using many of the forms of andragogy long promoted by adult educators. Thus the distinctions between formal and non-formal, and between adult and child education, appear to be broken down by the people involved in these programmes. We do not yet seem to have a practical and theoretical language that adequately represents this new reality (see Rogers, 2004, for a critical analysis). If we as planners and policy-makers are really to learn fully from these experiences, we have to develop a language that adequately captures them and that is not trapped in a discourse based on our long experience with traditional forms of formal schooling. That challenge is large and rather daunting, but necessary if we are going to be truly able to learn from these alternatives. As a start we need to use the terms formal and non-formal education in a very nuanced manner.

A third lesson concerns relationships between macro-planning and micro-planning. Macro and micro are often conceived as oppositional dichotomies. The word 'and' suggests they can be combined and used together. This is certainly what is happening with these alternative programmes. They depend upon very detailed micro-planning, with close attention to local situations and understandings of local reality, and with much involvement of community members; but they also depend on careful and well-organized macro-planning involving often quite complex organizational structures and operational procedures and long-term horizons. The genius of the organizers of these programmes is partly that they have managed to find locally suitable ways to combine and coordinate these two levels of planning, both of which are essential for the success of a major change venture.

A final lesson returns to my distant dream in 1997. There I spoke of innovation diffusion and enabling learning. These alternative programmes as a set have been spread by an innovation-diffusion process – teacher to teacher, school to school, community to community, nation to nation – with such adaptations as seem appropriate to the local people. Increasingly, this innovation diffusion has been assisted by international organizations such as the World Bank, UNICEF, UNESCO, and bilateral donors. Moreover, as noted in the final item on the above list of characteristics of the emergent model, they focus on learning rather than teaching. We have long been convinced that learning cannot really happen unless teaching takes place. Clearly, a great deal of planning and organizational work is required to create conditions in which children

can actually learn well. We are coming to realize that the best role for the teacher is to support and encourage self-guided learning; to enable it rather than to try to control and direct it. How exactly educational planning can encourage that conceptual shift remains a question, but the answer can be rooted in large-scale experiences of such change. It appears that some pedagogical dreams of the 1960s and earlier are being realized in the lives of millions of children, even in some of the poorest parts of our world. The pedagogical strategies used in these alternative programmes match pretty well (at least far better than those used ordinarily in the forms of formal schooling) what we have now learned from learning psychology and cognitive psychology about how young people (and old) actually best learn (see Olson, 2003; Abadzi, 2006).

Here lies the fundamental challenge, and it really is a learning challenge. How do we collectively break out of the conceptual boxes and ‘black holes’ in which we have been working, based on our personal and societal long experience with things as they are? It is, I think, through confronting that learning challenge that a set of new and very hopeful possibilities for the field of educational planning may emerge. It will certainly be a rough journey. These alternative programmes, and their achievements, are still not widely known or understood. Systematizing what we now seem to know here, and spreading that knowledge widely, has been a major goal of the work in which I and others have been engaged for the last years. There will be resistance, since the power of the ‘grammar of schooling’ and the mental model of the forms of formal schooling remain formidable. Each of these programmes that I or my colleagues have carefully studied has encountered such resistance. But the leadership has found ways to overcome them. Some detailed case studies of how exactly they have managed this would be very useful. A valuable role for an institution such as IIEP would be to assist in that learning. It will be a slow process. As I noted in 1997, a useful motto for planners is TTT: Things Take Time. It will be a long journey, but one, I would submit, well worth pursuing.

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### 3. State is the problem and state is the solution: Changing orientations in educational planning

*N.V. Varghese*

Knowledge is central to development, and education is central to the production and distribution of knowledge. There seems to be a positive association between the level of knowledge produced or absorbed in a country and its level of development. A transition from an agrarian to a knowledge economy is, in general, associated with an increased reliance on knowledge in production. The knowledge used in production may be embedded in human beings (human capital) or in the technologies relied on (research and development). Increased reliance on knowledge in production is also associated with an expanding education system. For example, the knowledge economies, in general, have a more expanded education system than agrarian economies. Development experience shows that the levels of economic development and social progress of any country are positively correlated with a move towards massification, if not universalization, of all levels of education.

Natural resources are concentrated in certain geographical locations, manufacturing activities are concentrated in factories located in the metropolises, and production in knowledge economies centres around locations that have easy access to information technology. Natural resources and other assets are unevenly distributed across regions. Human beings, on the other hand, are distributed across regions and are perhaps more equally distributed than any other resources used in production. Developing and transforming human beings into a productive asset is an important way of promoting balanced economic development and human progress.

According to the 2008 World Population Data Sheet, the developing countries account for nearly 82 per cent of the world's population, and their share is expected to increase to nearly 88 per cent by 2050. The developing countries have not yet succeeded in putting in place policies and effective strategies to transform their populations into productive national assets to promote economic growth and social well-being. Education and training are decisive factors in this transformation process.

The argument for educational planning stems from an egalitarian view of facilitating such a transition and human development. Educational planning, in this sense, facilitates the process of transforming people and their inherent talents into a pool of skills and competencies that have greater value in use and in exchange.

This chapter discusses the evolution of educational planning and its varying orientations. The next section discusses the need for state intervention in education. It is followed by discussions on the changing orientations leading to an eventual decline in the role of the state, the emergence of the market, and the return of the state.

### **Planning for learning: The role of the state**

Educating people implies both the provision of opportunities for learning and ensuring that learning takes place. A major share of educational planning efforts has been devoted to the provision of learning facilities and opportunities rather than on learning *per se*. The basic assumption seems to be that an equalization of provision may lead to equity in learning outcomes – an assumption questioned seriously in the recent past. One of the reasons for this rather strong assumption by educational planners seems to be that creating equal opportunities to learn is easier than ensuring learning.

Learning, unlike many other activities, is a highly individualized and, in a sense, invisible process. The provision of facilities is a necessary condition for promoting learning. Persuasion (schools or parents) may be more effective than coercion in promoting learning outcomes. Changes through persuasion take a longer time, especially in societies where structured learning has not been and still is not an integral part of daily life, and in societies that fail to recognize the value of education in daily life. Learning is aligned with the aspirations of certain, and not all, segments of society.

When economists point out the investment nature of education, some segments of the population are highly attracted to it. Investment is attractive to those who have the capacity to save – a middle-class notion. Many of the poor struggle to survive and a major share, if not all, of their income is spent on consumption. The notion of education as an investment (human capital) is therefore less attractive to them. Although the human capital theory (Schultz, 1961; Becker, 1964; Resnik, 2006)

has been the most influential economic theory<sup>1</sup> to promote education, the poor, whose main concern is their present or immediate future, fail to see the future increased returns or long-term benefits of education. Moreover, the challenge confronted by educational planners is to provide a choice to the poor to change their priorities from spending time on something that is of immediate use to something that has enormous value in the future, such as education.

Educational planning is a means by which the state can help create opportunities to learn among its citizens, and is based on the belief that learning has a good societal objective and is good for all individuals. It represents an attempt to regulate and control learning – what is to be taught (curriculum) and how to facilitate learning among all citizens (Farrell, 1997). The success of educational planning lies in its efforts to change the priorities of the poor in favour of educating their children, the evidence of which can be the expansion of education coverage to millions of people from poorer socioeconomic backgrounds.

Educational planning takes place as part of the public intervention strategies to change public policies, priorities, and individual choices in a direction considered desirable for social progress. A belief that education has social objectives, and that they can be more successfully achieved when decisions are taken at the aggregate rather than the individual level, shifts the focus of decision-making in education from individual and household levels to macro levels. Consequently, the public authorities (government) assumed the power and authority to design and deliver educational programmes to their people in all countries. Since the education sector consumes a large share of public resources, it is important that the resources are allocated adequately and utilized properly.

Educational planners in the 1960s were concerned with two major problems (Coombs, 1970). First was the allocation problem – how best to distribute public resources among competing demands; second was the efficiency problem – how best to use the resources. The allocation problem is important at two levels of decision-making. First, at the intersectoral level, the challenge is to decide on the share of resources to be allocated to education in comparison with other sectors. Second, at the intrasectoral level, the need is to decide on the share of resources to be allocated to different levels of education. The major attempt of

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1. There are other equally important arguments based on human rights, human development, equality of opportunities, etc. For a review, see UNESCO, 2002: 30–35.

educational planning has always been to achieve allocative efficiency and internal efficiency in the use of public resources in education.

Allocative efficiency is achieved when the social returns from investment in education are equal to or more than that from other forms of investment. Internal efficiency is achieved when any alternative mode of delivery or production process yields less output of comparable quality for a given level of investment in education. The question of external efficiency, say, for example, the employment of school and university graduates, was an assumption taken for granted since this was not a major problem in the beginning.

The notion of optimality in the allocation and utilization of resources forms a basis for demanding public resources for education. It also necessitates proper prioritization in terms of areas of investment of public resources between sectors and within the education sector. The three commonly relied upon approaches to reach an agreeable solution to the basic planning problems in education are: (a) the social demand approach; (b) the cost–benefit approach; and (c) the manpower requirements approach (see Blaug, 1969). Although the ideas and ideologies represented in these approaches vary, all of them provide an answer to the question of how much to invest in education. The answers will be different based on the approach adopted to estimate the investment and the political process that promotes such a prioritization. While optimization is a major concern for the economists and technocrats, prioritization is a more important concern for the political decision-making process. The decisions on resource allocation to and within education reflect a trade-off between what is optimal as presented by the planners and what is desirable as presented by the political process.

### **Educational planning: How to expand education?**

Educational planning started to develop into an academic discipline and a regular practice in the 1960s. The experience of post-war reconstruction in Europe and Japan reinforced the belief in the role of a strong state and trained human resources as essential conditions for economic and social progress. This was also a period characterized by a high degree of confidence in development economists, their grand models of development, and strong state action leading to increasing public investment and an expanding public sector (Meir, 2001). The newly independent countries in Asia and Africa embraced the state-sponsored model of development

in general and that of education in particular. This created a political will to expand education in the developing countries. As Coombs (1992) reflected, the belief that educational investment is essential for national economic growth (human capital theory), the rising expectations of people who viewed education as a vehicle for upward mobility, and the population explosion, resulted in an unprecedented growth of education.

Major regional conferences organized by UNESCO in Santiago, Karachi, and Addis Ababa in the 1960s fixed regional targets to achieve universal primary education within two decades. For example, the Santiago Conference initially set the Latin American target for 1970, which was revised in the Bogota meeting to 1975; the Karachi plan argued for seven years of free and compulsory primary education in the Asian countries by 1980 and also set a target of investing 4 to 5 per cent of the GDP in education (Edding, 1962). National governments prepared their own plans to reach the targets set in the regional conferences.

Educational plans during this period were seen not only as an input for economic development but also as an integral part of an intense interest to move towards self-reliance, especially among the newly liberated countries. Faith in the state and its capacity to intervene effectively in the development process helped spread the message to increase access to education. Furthermore, optimism on the positive contribution of education to national development and the availability of financial resources helped educational planning to expand its domain of influence. This period (the first part of the second half of the twentieth century) was also associated with greater economic progress, income rising faster than population growth, the rapid expansion of education, and growing literacy (World Bank, 1978). In other words, educational planning as a practice started in a 'vintage decade' for education (Coombs, 1992: 31) – a time very conducive to expansion of its influence on education decision-making.

Educational planning during this period was influenced by macro models, national plans, and national targets aligned with regional targets. The planning was based on models aligned with those in the economic sectors. Expanding education for national development was the priority concern. However, the resources were devoted mainly to the provision of schooling facilities and teachers. Expanding access (opening of schools) and creating learning conditions in the schools (appointment of teachers) consumed a major share of the resources allocated to education. Ministries

of education in many countries had neither planning departments nor the capacity to prepare plans. The planners were mostly (external consultant or national) economists and statisticians who could make projections of enrolment and associated facilities. Educational planning was more of an exercise in projecting enrolments to reach national targets and the budgetary implications of such projections. Educational planning at this stage remained a technical exercise taking place in the ministries of education. The planning techniques centred on projection techniques to achieve allocative efficiency, and student flow charts (cohort analysis) to achieve internal efficiency.

### **Educational planning: How to address disparities?**

The 1970s was a period influenced by a widespread concern among international agencies for growth with equity (Chenery *et al.*, 1974). The development experience in the 1960s showed that even when economic growth takes place, in the absence of deliberate state intervention, it may lead to the persistence or widening of inequalities. The trickle-down effect, even when growth rates remained high, was low, slow, and indirect. While the macro models helped increase national income, that income was not distributed in a socially desirable way. Subsequently, development concerns in the 1970s shifted from growth to *growth with redistribution*.

While the contribution of education to economic growth may depend on the aggregate level of education, its contribution to social and human development depends on how education is distributed (i.e. on who gets education). Societies with higher-level and more widely spread education may indicate a better environment for human development. On the other hand, the greater the disparities in the distribution of education, the more uneven their effects on growth and development. The allocation of public resources indicates the level of government commitment to any selected sector of activity. Therefore, the uneven distribution of educational facilities reflects a non-prioritization of public intervention in education.

Educational progress in many countries was characterized by a widening of disparities in educational development. The planning concerns moved away from macro levels to emerging disparities, especially regional disparities (Carron and Châu, 1981). It was felt that the levelling of inequalities in the provision of schooling facilities was an initial and necessary step to reduce inequalities in educational

development. In a sense, the phenomenon of increasing disparities is an offshoot of the progress made in education. The issue of disparities pointed to the need for expansion of the education system. However, it demanded a change in the pattern of expansion.

A shift in emphasis in educational planning from overall expansion to reducing inequalities in educational provision meant equalizing educational provision as a necessary step. It implied opening more schools in unserved areas and encouraging communities to send their children to schools that were already established. In terms of planning methodology, it also denoted a move away from the macro models and national projections to planning for the location of schools to reduce the distance between schools and households. Planning techniques such as locational planning or school mapping (Hallak, 1977; Hallak and Caillods 1982; Varghese, 1997) became convenient tools to address the issue of levelling-off inequalities in the provision of schooling facilities. Similarly, micro-planning efforts became important to mobilize people, generate demand for education, and persuade communities to send their children to existing schools.

### **Educational planning: What to do with the educated?**

A political commitment to expand education, accompanied by financial resources to support such a commitment, led to an expansion of education at all levels. In some of the developing countries, the allocation of resources to the higher education sector was appreciably high in the initial stages of educational planning. Employment opportunities in general were on the increase in the developing countries in the 1960s and 1970s, primarily due to the growth of employment in the public sector. In newly independent states in Africa, there was pressure to expand higher education to replace the expatriates in many sectors. The first step in African independence was to put Africans at the top of the government and there was consequently a strongly expansionist view of higher education (Sutton, 1971).

However, growth of the public sector and the capacity of the state to generate employment declined by the late 1970s. The private sector was yet to develop as a viable alternative to absorb the large number of educated who graduated from secondary schools and universities, leading to increasing unemployment of the educated. Educational planning concerns moved from creating conditions for expanding learning opportunities to what to do with those who were educated – a

focus on external efficiency of the education system, which was taken for granted in the 1960s. Studies on (un)employment of the educated (Hallak and Caillods, 1980; Sanyal, 1987) sought avenues of alliance between education and work. The issues related to the relevance of courses offered at secondary and higher education levels became more apparent.

The questions asked in the 1960s on how to expand education were replaced by questions regarding the relevance of the education imparted by schools and universities. The planning dilemma was the following: if educational planning needs to be based on expected employment opportunities (the manpower requirements approach), periods of unemployment may warrant a curb on enrolment. If expansion is permitted on the basis of increasing social demand, the unemployment situation among university graduates may worsen. Should governments follow a supply-side solution (a curb on enrolment) or not? Many governments in the developing world suggested and argued for consolidation rather than expansion of higher education. However, there was also a strong argument for the alternative. The argument was that educational development should be de-linked from employment issues when the state response was not very positive to encourage expansion of the system.

Another viewpoint was that de-linking degrees from jobs would reduce the demand for higher levels of education and liberate resources for other purposes. The ‘diploma disease’ thesis (Dore, 1976) highlighted substitution possibilities of the lower educated by the higher educated and continued demand for paper qualifications. At the same time, there were serious efforts to link education with jobs through increasing the relevance of courses. Education systems respond to the changing requirements of productive sectors of the economy by diversifying institutional arrangements in order to provide both short-term and short-cycle courses and technical training. The demand for diversified delivery mechanisms and programmes also became a felt need in many developing countries. Employment-oriented technical and professional courses became an important priority.

### **Educational planning: Fiscal crisis and a reduced role for the state**

The 1980s were characterized by an economic crisis in many countries and the difficulties emanating from the crisis (Coombs, 1985; Caillods, 1989). The economic crisis questioned the capacity of the state

to finance an expanding education sector, and austerity measures adopted by the state had consequences for education (Lewin, 1987). Allocations to education declined and the demand for increased scrutiny of public expenditure became strong. The argument was for more cautious and targeted public investment in general and within education.

The policies pursued as part of the structural adjustment programmes reinforced these very same concerns and strongly argued for a reduced role of the state in development, a reduced share of investment in social sectors such as education, and ultimately a diversion of resources from higher to primary levels of education (World Bank, 1986). The important questions were: (a) where should public resources be productively invested – intersectoral allocation; and (b) where should public resources within education be invested? Based on the experience, the answer to the first question could be seen in terms of diverting resources from education to other so-called productive sectors, and the answer to the second question was in terms of the re-prioritization of the allocation of resources from higher to primary education. Education received a reduced share of public resources, and higher education received a reduced share of the reduced education share.

The weakening of the state and its capacity to finance educational development in many instances led to the reduced role of the state in general and that of the central government in particular. The locus of decision-making shifted from centralized to decentralized levels (Bray, 1996; McGinn and Welsh, 1999). Macro-models had less relevance in the decentralized systems. Educational planning become more process-oriented and participatory (Varghese, 1996) rather than a technical exercise confined to the ministries of education. This, in certain countries, meant creating planning facilities at the provincial levels. The demand for capacity development to enable lower level or regional-level planning authorities to draw up plans increased. However, what was not very clear was: what needed to be decentralized and what needed to be continued at the centralized levels? Similarly, the administrative and planning arrangements to facilitate decentralized planning did not progress as fast as the idea of decentralized planning.

### **Educational planning: Market orientation**

Market-friendly reforms started in many countries during the structural adjustment regime, and the globalization of market ideology further

weakened the role of the state in development. The change in the political landscape, especially after the collapse of the USSR, reinforced a belief that state-centred development had limited scope, if not that it had come to an end, and that market-centred programmes were the only viable alternative. The market-friendly reforms of the 1980s helped in globalizing the role of the markets in development. The planning for markets implied a change in the earlier understanding, vision, and process, which was based on macro-perspectives and dominated the public sector. The education sector could not rely on the state to get adequate resources for its expansion.

The compulsions of resource mobilizations were felt at the decentralized/local and institutional levels. Increased institutional autonomy was also associated with reduced state support to institutions. Institutions started preparing their own plans which were the basis for mobilizing resources. With the introduction of cost-recovery methods, the intake targets were decided at the institutional level. Unlike in a situation of public funding, each student is seen as a potential financial contributor; and the larger the number of students, the larger the amounts collected and profits made.

The public higher education institutions were privatized and governments promoted the private sector and private institutions of education (Varghese, 2004). With the inclusion of education in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS),<sup>2</sup> negotiations further reinforced the market process in education. Countries in Africa are good examples of this growing influence of private higher education. The universalization of school education and the massification of higher education in the developed countries were financed by the state, but the same phenomenon in the developing world is increasingly supported by non-state actors, including external funding agencies.

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2. GATS represents a set of multilateral rules governing international trade in services. GATS covers all internationally traded services including education. Trade in education under the GATS framework takes place in four modes: (a) cross-border supply of the service – where consumers remain within the country; (b) consumption abroad – where the consumers (students) cross the border; (c) commercial presence of the provider in another country – in the form of branch campuses or twinning and franchising arrangements; and (d) presence of persons in another country to provide the service that takes place in four modes: (i) cross-border supply of the service; (ii) consumption abroad; (iii) commercial presence of the provider in another country; and (iv) presence of persons in another country to provide the service (Knight, 2002; Varghese, 2007).

The weakening of central government had implications for planning. Decentralized levels became active in planning, although decisions regarding all levels of education cannot be taken at the decentralized levels. This posed problems in the drawing up of an integrated plan for education. However, financial decentralization was often slow to come. In the absence of their own financial resources and with resources not forthcoming from the central level, planning became a difficult exercise. When the locus of planning was further shifted to institutions, the plans lost a broader perspective, becoming more bound by institutional constraints and perspectives. The institutional priorities were at times at variance with national concerns and priorities. Too much focus on institutional planning and efficiency parameters limited the scope of educational planning.

### **Educational planning: From provision to process**

While the structural adjustment programmes argued for a reduced role of the state, the changes in the centrally planned economies (former Soviet countries) indicated the disappearance of an effective state. The concerns moved from macro-planning to issues related to the management of institutions. It became evident by the 1990s that putting an emphasis on the creation of access conditions was not sufficient to universalize basic education. Empirical evidence indicated that many among those children who continued in the system for several years could not master reading and writing skills as they were supposed to. Hence the quality of education imparted became an area of legitimate investigation (UNESCO, 2007). Similarly, a situation of declining public funding, especially for higher education, was associated with increasing questioning of accountability and efficiency in managing educational institutions.

Institutions with a similar level of resource base showed varying levels of performance, and it was felt that the ways in which the teaching–learning process was organized and resources were used could play an important role in improving the effectiveness of schools. Educational planning started to look into the process factors, and institutional management once more assumed a place of importance. Thus, the planning perspectives moved away from providing inputs to focus on processes, and it became necessary to focus on the institutions and their functioning. The major concern was to improve the managerial efficiency of educational institutions. Studies on quality became important at the school education level (Ross and Mahlck, 1990;

Carron and Châu, 1996; Carron *et al.*, 1998), and issues related to institutional management became important at the higher education level (Sanyal, 1995).

## **Educational planning: From national to external funding**

The decade of the 1990s witnessed a series of world conferences – on education in Jomtien; on the rights of children in New York; on human rights in Vienna; on population in Cairo; on social development in Copenhagen; on women in Beijing; on science in Budapest; and on education again in Dakar in 2000 – which set the global agenda on various issues (King, 2006). While the UNESCO conferences of the 1960s set regional targets, the international conferences in the context of globalization set a global agenda.

Education was a public-funded activity to start with. Market processes made the non-state sector a major player. However, from the 1990s, especially after the Jomtien conference, external funding became an important source of finance for educational development in many developing countries. This is especially so in the basic education sector. Foreign aid forms only a small share of the total expenditure on education in any country. However, foreign funding is used to support investment initiatives, especially in basic education, and hence is an important part of the funding of education.

The pattern of aid flows indicates that a majority of countries still contribute substantially less than 0.7 per cent of the national income. More importantly, aid as a share of national income decreased in the case of many donor countries, except countries such as Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden (OECD, 2008). Even when there was a relative decline of aid flows, the flow to education and basic education increased. The commitment of Official Development Assistance (ODA) to support education increased substantially in the post-Dakar framework period. Total aid to basic education almost doubled from USD 2.7 billion in 2000 to USD 5.1 billion in 2004 (OECD, 2007).

Although African countries received the highest share of aid to education and basic education, their share in the total aid disbursement declined from 33 to 30 per cent in total aid to education between 2000 and 2004. At the same time, the share of education in total aid increased from 12 to 31 per cent in South and West Asia (OECD, 2007). Increased

external funding has implications for planning education, and for the allocation and utilization of resources.

The initial experience of planning for education with agencies was that the planning framework or programming framework was developed, owned, and operated by agency staff or their consultants. At times, the frameworks or models used by the agencies were complex and required data that could not be collected or furnished by the national staff. These models were rarely used by the national planners. Even if they were used, it was only to satisfy the agency conditionalities. For example, many agencies insisted on log frames to justify the educational plans and, more often than not, the log frames were developed after the plans were prepared, which defeated the very purpose of using this technique. At times, it was felt that these models were used more to help justify the decisions of the agency managers than to develop a realistic educational plan.

In many countries, external funding is based on an annual work plan and programmes. The budgets are discussed annually with external financiers for the purpose of resource transfers. The agencies very often are more interested in monitoring, especially the financial aspects, than in planning the programmes. They look for: (i) reporting on progress on the development objectives of the programme, such as access, enrolment, learning achievement, internal efficiency, and so on; (ii) reporting on financial and budgetary performance indicators, such as increases in the share allocated to education in the budget, or the share allocated to primary education as a proportion of recurrent (education) expenditures, increases in non-salary expenditures, and so on; (iii) reporting on the delivery of inputs (classrooms, textbooks, teacher training programmes, etc.) and related expenditures; and (iv) budgeting for the next year, adjusting performance targets, and taking account of under-spending in process planning as an effective tool, which has lost its significance in many countries.

### **Educational planning: Return of the state**

External funding used to mainly take the form of project funding in the developing countries. A project-funding mode rarely questioned the national policies or plans in education, since projects were seen more as independent entities than as an integral part of national efforts to plan education. Thanks to the support to education from various agencies, the

project mode of funding resulted in a multiplicity of projects operated by different agencies at the same level of education in the same country. The donor community felt the need to harmonize their efforts – a move towards aid harmonization – to improve aid effectiveness. This helped in moving from single donor-funded projects as isolated incidents to multi-donor-funded programmes as important events. These events could not be divorced from the national efforts to prepare educational plans. External funding became a source for supporting national plans and strategies in place of donor-driven and donor-drawn-up projects. A move towards increased integration of external funding with national plans to improve the ownership of programmes by national governments also needed the state to coordinate these efforts.

An important change that needs to be noted is the shift in emphasis from educational planning to policy (Jallade *et al.*, 2001). The division of labour seems to be such that national governments are supposed to formulate policy and develop a planning framework, local and institutional levels are supposed to prepare plans and implement them, and donor agencies are supposed to extend funding support.

The Monterrey conference on financing development in 2002, the Rome declaration on aid harmonization in 2003, and the Paris declaration on improving aid effectiveness in 2005 all point to the serious efforts among donors both to increase aid coordination in their support to basic education, and to support national programmes to improve aid effectiveness. All these efforts resulted in a move towards sector-wide approaches in planning education programmes. The financing framework also changed to give indirect assurance to national governments for continued support for the medium term (similar to five-year plans). The medium-term expenditure framework (MTEF) helped in this process. Furthermore, the EFA Fast Track Initiative (FTI), which was launched in 2002 with the objective of accelerating universal primary education (UPE) in low-income countries, was another effort to prepare national plans in education to achieve EFA. At present nearly two dozen countries are funded under the FTI and some of the countries receiving funds from this source have shown good progress. The conditionalities for receiving funding, such as FTI, demand that the countries prepare poverty-reduction strategy papers (PRSPs) (Caillods and Hallak, 2004), agree to MTEFs, and follow sector-wide approaches (SWAps) for education to bring back an overall macro-perspective and a long-term view of educational

development at the national level (for the most recent guidelines see the FTI website: [www.educationfasttrack.org](http://www.educationfasttrack.org)).

This period also experienced a revival of higher education relying on non-state resources. Private universities and institutions of higher education became a new phenomenon and a fast-expanding sector in higher education. The public universities introduced cost-recovery measures and many of them prepared strategic plans for external funding. Furthermore, cross-border education became an important part of discourses in higher education. The coordination responsibilities have become increasingly difficult in the higher education sector because of multiple providers – state, private, open learning system, external, and so on – different national bodies for licensing, quality assurance (Martin and Stella, 2007), examinations, and so on, and varied funding sources. Leaving education and its planning to institutions of higher education may not be desirable since institutions may not possess an overview of educational development. Many countries that encouraged the preparation of strategic plans at the institutional level on earlier occasions started preparing strategic plans at the national level for the development of higher education in the country.

Negotiations for external funding for education are carried out by the federal ministries. Trade negotiations within the framework of GATS also take place through the federal government. In fact, the GATS negotiations are carried out by ministries of trade with or without representations from ministries of education. National action plans are prepared by the national governments for EFA. A careful analysis of developments in the recent past indicates that the government, especially the federal government, which played a reduced role, is back on the scene and all stakeholders, including the donor community, believe that the government needs to be the front runner and should bear the major responsibility of planning and monitoring educational development in the countries.

Education plans have changed. They are more operational documents than plan documents, centring around statistical estimations. There is a greater understanding of the linkages between higher and school education. The debate is no longer considered to be a choice between higher or basic education, as was the case in the 1980s; the argument is for more of both. Plans are mostly national action plans and strategic plans replacing the grandiose plans for the education sector of

the 1960s. How to implement plans, how to monitor progress, and how to assess the impact have become more important than the preparation of the planning document.

The planning process has become more participative and more focused, and depends on the funding possibilities for its implementation. This denotes another era in planning where the state has assumed responsibility for planning and plan implementation. But the responsibility here is not to control but to guide actions. The role the state is playing today is more regulatory and facilitative than administrative and financing in nature. Even when the federal government has resumed responsibilities in planning, it does not assume the responsibility of planning in the traditional sense of the term. It develops guidelines and facilitates planning at the decentralized and institutional levels. It realizes that when programme planning and implementation is taking place in a decentralized context, the work and responsibility of planners at the national level needs to change. The federal government is developing criteria to prepare plans, allocate resources, assess quality, and evaluate outcomes. The plan preparation and implementation process is a joint responsibility in which decentralized units play an important role.

An educational planner of the 1960s was generally expected to be a technical person capable of crunching numbers, comfortable with models projecting the quantitative targets to be achieved. An educational planner of today needs these technical skills, plus the capacity to mediate with varying demands emanating from different stakeholders. Social skills are as important as technical skills, especially because the process of drawing up plans is equally as important as the plans themselves.

## **Conclusion**

The discussions in this chapter show how the role of the state and orientations in educational planning have changed over a period of time. Planning implies public intervention. In the initial years, educational planning was an activity undertaken at the national level, mostly by ministries of education, to direct educational development in the country. The central ministry of education was responsible for formulating, funding, and implementing plans. In the next stage, although the state continued to play a dominant role, the locus of decision-making shifted from the central to a decentralized level. In the subsequent periods, the role of the state declined, primarily due to its fiscal incapacity to finance educational

development and the emergence of market forces in education. Planning at the local and institutional levels became more attractive. The vacuum created by the declining role of the state was, to a limited extent, replaced by the private sector and external funding agencies. However, over a period of time the institutions, private sector, and donor communities realized that there was an important role to be played by the state in terms of coordinating among various layers of planning and decision-making units, developing a long-term perspective and a framework, and linking education with economic development and poverty reduction strategies.

It is expected that the state will continue to play an important role in educational planning. The state is back in its seat, not by force but by invitation from other stakeholders, since they feel their efforts will be strengthened with its presence. Educational programmes cannot be designed in a vacuum and cannot be implemented without state support. The educational programmes should follow from a policy and perspective much broader and wider than institutions, local authorities, private agencies, and the external community can provide independently. The state is needed to negotiate the plans with layers of decision-making units within the public and private sectors in the country, and also to negotiate for funds with outside agencies.

The nature of plans drawn up in the education sector, too, will change. Educational plans of the 1960s indicated what public-sector units should do with public money. Educational plans of today and of the future should reflect what is to be done in the sector and how the responsibilities will be shared among government agencies and between the government and other stakeholders. The plan documents will be more a reflection of negotiated agreements reached among the partners in implementing the educational programme. The state, in consultation with other stakeholders, will focus its attention more on policy matters, developing a perspective, a framework to prepare plans, and criteria to mobilize and allocate resources, assure quality, and monitor progress. The state will increasingly play more of a facilitative and regulatory role than a financing and controlling one. The planning (drawing up) and implementation of plans and the monitoring of their progress will be left to the local and institutional levels. Finally, markets will become part of the prepared plans and programmes, and the plans will be flexible documents rather than blueprints demanding strict adherence. The return of the state and its regulations have become necessary and acceptable, especially during the period of the economic crisis.

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## 4. Educational planning and the EFA Fast Track Initiative

*Abby Riddell*

The 2000 World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, which reiterated the goals of Education for All (EFA) set in Jomtien, Thailand, a decade earlier, placed great emphasis on planning. The Framework for Action (UNESCO, 2000a: 37) declared that:

The heart of EFA activity lies at the country level. National EFA Forums will be strengthened or established to support the achievement of EFA. Countries will prepare comprehensive National EFA Plans by 2002 at the latest. For those countries with significant challenges, such as complex crises or natural disasters, special technical support will be provided by the international community.

The Framework added:

Where these processes and a credible plan are in place, partner members of the international community undertake to work in a consistent, coordinated and coherent manner. Each partner will contribute according to its comparative advantage in support of the National EFA Plans to ensure that resource gaps are filled.

The Framework also declared that ‘no countries seriously committed to education for all will be thwarted in their achievement of this goal by a lack of resources’. Subsequent statements combined some of the phrases. For example, the review of progress in Africa during the initial five years following the World Education Forum (UNESCO, 2005: 4) sought to ‘remind the donors of their commitment that no country with a credible plan should be thwarted by lack of resources’.

This message was at the heart of the EFA Fast Track Initiative (FTI), which was created in 2002. The FTI is a global partnership of agencies and donor and recipient countries to support the goal of EFA through provision of financial resources. It is described as a global compact of agencies, and has various mechanisms for disbursement of resources. One mechanism is the Catalytic Fund, and another has been the Education Program Development Fund (EPDF), which was later replaced by the Policy and Capacity in Education (PACE) scheme. To access funds on a significant scale, countries have had to secure endorsement of their plans.

The FTI processes helped to reify the nature of planning following its decline at the time of the destruction of the Berlin Wall and the ‘victory’, as it was seen by Western industrialized countries, of market forces and capitalism over centralized planning and communism.

Of course the significance of ‘the plan’ in development circles has a far longer history. Following a standard model, for many decades almost all countries in receipt of external assistance have had departments or, more commonly, ministries of planning; and plans were perceived as necessary for development agencies which aspired to align their aid with recipient countries’ own goals and targets. Indeed the FTI was built on some of the insights and processes associated with sector-wide approaches (SWAps) in education which predated the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (Riddell, 2002; OECD, 2005). However, notwithstanding the critiques of planning which noted the importance of politics rather than merely the technical aspects of planning, considerable FTI support for ‘credible’ education sector plans emulated the earlier, technocratic approach rather than the revised models.

Against this backdrop, this chapter outlines the role and impact of the FTI on the nature of educational planning. It describes both the different modalities used and the FTI planning tools deployed. The chapter draws on the extensive material brought together for the 2010 mid-term evaluation of the work of the FTI conducted under the lead of Cambridge Education with Mokoro and Oxford Policy Management. It also draws on a number of policy documents that have been produced in the wake of that evaluation (e.g. Klees *et al.*, 2010; Malouf, 2010).

## **Credibility**

Approaches to educational planning have changed radically in recent decades in both theory and practice. In the past it was common for plans, which were often more like wish-lists with bottom lines ratcheted up by various percentages from the previous year, to be developed as instruments for ministries of education to use in their negotiations with ministries of finance. Today, plans more commonly comprise detailed and costed strategies which clearly specify the results to be achieved. In many countries the plans are produced as part of national medium-term expenditure frameworks.

Such costed strategies are a starting point for ‘credibility’. However, even these newer approaches to planning have not been able entirely to

shrug off the practice of writing plans behind closed doors. As a result, there has often been a gap between the rhetoric of (genuine) policy dialogue and the final outputs. Indeed, even when educational planners have been schooled in policy simulations and have been able to forecast achievable combinations of results around transition rates, class sizes, and budgets for, say, teachers' salaries and textbooks, such simulations have often remained uninterrogated except by the specialists. Wide participation in educational planning, to ensure that the goals to be achieved match those seen as important by different stakeholders, has long been theorized, but not always implemented. 'Credibility' draws from all these notions of technically informed, yet not technocratic, educational planning.

What, then, have been the requirements of a 'credible' education sector plan capable of being endorsed by the FTI? And who has judged the credibility? First it is necessary to note that FTI governance changed several times during the initial eight years of the FTI's existence. In the beginning, a very small secretariat was set up in the education department of the World Bank. FTI policy was decided by the FTI Steering Committee, which in 2010 became a 17-member Board of Directors. The Steering Committee had five members: two co-chairs, representatives of UNESCO and the World Bank, and the most recent outgoing co-chair.<sup>3</sup> The FTI Steering Committee was supported by annual (later biennial) FTI Partnership meetings, which comprised a global platform for consultation.

Several key FTI documents helped to shape roles in determining the credibility of plans for endorsement. Most important was the FTI Framework, which included the Indicative Framework and the FTI Appraisal Guidelines (FTI, 2006). The architects of the system were anxious to achieve synergies with existing mechanisms, but ironically different local interpretations of what needed to be produced often resulted in an EFA planning process taking place alongside existing national education sector plans. A similar problem had arisen in connection with UNESCO's *Country guidelines on the preparation of national EFA plans of action* (UNESCO, 2000b). UNESCO's guidelines were drawn from the approaches agreed at the 2000 World Education Forum. Each national

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3. The structure required one co-chair to be from a G8 country and the other from a non-G8 donor country. The Group of Eight (G8) is a forum created in 1975 initially (as G6) for governments of six countries: France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In 1976, Canada joined the group (thus creating the G7). Russia joined in 1997, thus making the group the G8.

EFA plan was supposed to ‘be developed by government leadership in direct and systematic consultation with national civil society’. It was intended to ‘attract co-ordinated support of all development partners’, and to be included within the national development planning framework and process (UNESCO, 2000*b*: para. 16).

The gap that remained between the theoretical underpinnings of these guidelines and their practical application continued to vex the idealists who had played a key role in driving the EFA movement. Moreover, the duplication of effort had a political cost. The FTI mid-term evaluation remarked that insufficient communication between headquarters and local development agency representatives, as well as poor articulation and understanding of incentives for change, led to neglect of politically engaged planning processes (Cambridge Education *et al.*, 2010*a*: paras S38, 4.2).

## **The FTI Framework**

The FTI Framework set out the standard requirements for endorsement. However, in practice eligibility became a moving target, since the criteria changed over time. A poverty reduction strategy, or a national development plan and programme containing such a strategy, was normally the starting point. It was expected that the components of the approach to primary education (inputs, outputs, outcomes, and costings) would be contained within such a national programme, and that ‘sector financing’ would be ‘consistent with the FTI Indicative Framework’ (FTI, 2004*a*: 7). The Framework stated that the FTI encouraged the use of indicative benchmarks that were locally adapted, ‘to enlighten debate, in-country reporting on policies and performance and mutual learning’ (2004*a*: 4). The document added that a sector-wide programme for education agreed with in-country donors ‘would include a strategy for HIV/AIDS, gender equality, capacity building, monitoring and evaluation’ (2004*a*: 5).

### ***The appraisal for FTI endorsement***

The *Guidelines for appraisal of the primary education component of an education sector plan* (FTI, 2006) were produced ‘as an aid to the teams conducting the appraisal’. They were intended to be ‘conducted in-country, [and] led by local donor agency representatives, as they are best placed to evaluate the feasibility and credibility of sector plans’ (FTI, 2004*a*: 8).

Six basic assessments of the education sector plan were to be carried out in the appraisal, focusing on:

- country ownership and consultation with key stakeholders and civil society groups in the design of national education priorities and policies;
- the feasibility of strategies, priority public actions, and investments proposed to address constraints on universal primary completion;
- specific strategies for addressing priorities such as gender equity, rural access, HIV and AIDS prevention, and the needs of vulnerable children;
- the projected evolution of sector costs and financing (internal and external);
- strategies to support capacity enhancement; and
- monitoring and evaluation capacity, and other capacity-building activities.

The whole orientation of and approach to appraisal in the FTI, including the approach to in-country endorsement, was drawn directly from SWAp experience. It sought to support country-led education programming in a manner that incorporated universal primary completion, if not all the Dakar EFA goals. The approach envisaged that primary education would be embedded within sector-wide education plans, which in turn would be embedded within national poverty reduction strategies or development plans. The SWAp ideals behind the FTI's origin were underlined in the following statement (FTI, 2004a: 4):

FTI promotes improved coordination, complementarity and harmonization in donor practices and financing to flexibly support country-owned education sector strategies. The FTI implies moving towards a sector-wide approach (SWAp), wherever appropriate, in fast-track countries.

The aim of relying on the local donors' group for appraisal of the primary component was to build harmonized support that was aligned with government plans. It also sought to reduce transaction costs by incorporating external support with domestic funding, and overcoming identified constraints in data, capacity, policies, and finance. The FTI expected that appraisal would be 'conducted as part of the regular annual education sector review' (FTI, 2004a: 8). This concept also derived from SWAp practice.

### ***The FTI indicative framework***

The FTI Indicative Framework, which was unveiled in the World Bank's *Action plan to accelerate progress towards EFA* (World Bank, 2002), was based on work by Bruns and colleagues at the World Bank (Bruns *et al.*, 2003). The Indicative Framework has caused much controversy due to its superimposition on countries with extremely varied contexts, its 'shaky' statistical foundations (Cambridge Education, 2010c: para. C14), and the different interpretations that were applied to its use in the endorsement process.

The Indicative Framework consists of a set of parameters, drawn from an analysis of 55 low-income countries' primary education completion rates, which were viewed as 'important determinants of primary education outcomes: overall spending on primary education; average class size; average teacher salaries; spending on inputs other than teacher salaries; and the rate of repetition' (Cambridge Education, 2010c: para. C3). Partly perhaps because of the envisaged local adaptation, but also because of the actors in specific cases, the use of the Indicative Framework varied considerably. In some countries it merely provided benchmarks against which the country's parameters could be weighed, but in others it was seen as a new set of conditionalities (Chiche *et al.*, 2010: para. 5.23). As the FTI mid-term evaluation concluded, the Indicative Framework 'has often been understood in a more prescriptive sense' than merely a benchmark (Cambridge Education, 2010c: para. C7). In particular, the specific indicator of average teacher's salary (3.5 times the GDP per capita) and the manner in which this has been applied have been the subject of much criticism. A more general critique has been of the inappropriateness of any such benchmarks, given the very different contexts of educational development across the globe.

### ***Contexts***

The FTI mid-term evaluation gathered an enormous amount of information from documents, stakeholder interviews, consultations, country case studies, and country desk studies. One focus was on the way in which the compact itself was assembled. The evaluators found that the early experiences had a sustained effect on the perspectives of the main development agency signatories, which in turn conditioned the approaches taken by their respective headquarters as well as their in-country staff. Some actors felt that fast-tracking EFA should be piloted on a set of 'strong-performing' countries likely to achieve the goals. Others felt that

this number of countries would be too small, and that such a concentration would hold back the momentum of the Dakar commitments. A third group felt ‘bounced’ into the FTI compact with inadequate consultation on changes to key parameters (Cambridge Education, 2010a: Chapter 2).

To receive FTI funding, countries had first to fulfil the eligibility requirements. Initially the door was open only to invitees (18 countries plus five ‘analytical fast-track’ countries: Bangladesh, Democratic Republic of Congo, India, Nigeria, and Pakistan); but by November 2003 the criteria had been widened so that all low-income/International Development Association (IDA) countries were eligible for inclusion. There were also differences in understanding of how to proceed toward endorsement. One reason for these differences related to the membership mix in the local donors’ groups (LDGs) on the ground. Donors varied in their interpretations of the importance to be given to the criteria in the FTI guidelines, but appraisal of the credibility of the recipient countries’ education sector plans lay in the hands of the LDGs.

Finance was another area of divergence. In theory, endorsement was meant to lead to the mobilization of domestic and external finance by country-level development partners. This process was to be led by the coordinating agency (lead donor), which played the role of interlocutor for the local donor group and for the country in global FTI meetings. In practice, local donors did not generally mobilize additional funding, as had been the case in countries involved in SWApS. Indeed, the Catalytic Fund had initially been established only for ‘donor orphans’, that is, countries with a paucity of donors and therefore unlikely to attract the necessary finance for their education sector plans. The FTI’s failure to live up to its SWAp ideals of local donor group fund mobilization was recognized in the ‘extended’ Catalytic Fund to which all FTI-endorsed countries could apply. The extended Catalytic Fund became the driving force behind endorsement applications and therefore countries’ revised plans, tailored to what were perceived as FTI requirements.

To understand the different ways in which FTI endorsement occurred, it is important to note the contexts of the countries applying for endorsement. Some already had nascent education SWApS and ‘credible’ education sector plans with active local donor groups. Others were donor orphans, without the likelihood of fund mobilization. The ‘analytical fast-track countries’ were not encouraged to apply for endorsement because it was felt that they might consume almost all the funds available.

However, this constraint sat uncomfortably alongside one of the core principles of the FTI – namely the commitment to provide funds to any country with a credible plan.<sup>4</sup>

The capacity, competence, authority, and interest of the LDGs also varied considerably. Some LDGs had members with considerable prior experience of SWAps, but others had little orientation to the new aid modalities. The professionalism of in-country development partners was often stretched. Also, the selection of the particular Coordinating Donors in some countries proved sub-optimal because of a lack of involvement of some agencies in any harmonized, aligned support or because of the varying experience of local staff or their knowledge and understanding of SWAps (Cambridge Education, 2010a: para. 2.50). In a number of countries studied in the mid-term evaluation, the LDGs, and even one lead donor, were unaware of the aid-effectiveness expectations.

A further consideration was whether the country was a fragile state. The FTI endorsement process was built around appraisal of an education sector plan which for many countries was unrealizable. The ‘gold standard’ approach to endorsement for such countries was seen to be inappropriate, even by the FTI itself. As a result, the FTI sought an alternative process leading to a transition fund, which was meant to be a separate window affording access for such countries on a different basis. A Progressive Framework was developed to guide the appraisal of interim plans for such countries.

Perhaps all these differences should have been expected because, notwithstanding the ambitious objectives of a compact between endorsed recipient countries and donors, in reality the FTI was a donor-established initiative. Moreover, notwithstanding the objectives of the Paris Declaration the reality was one in which approaches differed, often sharply, from donor to donor.

### ***The ways in which the FTI could influence educational planning***

The influence of the FTI on educational planning may be assessed in many different ways. A starting point might be the number of countries which secured endorsement and thus passed the credibility test for their education sector plans. By the end of 2009, the number was 41.

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4. However, the analytical fast-track countries were allocated significant resources from the Education Program Development Fund (EPDF). This might have been implicit compensation for exclusion from the other FTI resources.

For several reasons, however, mere counting of endorsed plans would be inadequate. First, many education sector plans ‘qualified’ without all the appraisal boxes having been ticked. Second, even when the qualification hurdle had been cleared successfully, local ownership of the plan was not always robust. One indicator of this matter was the scale of external technical assistance. The weaker the capacities of the ministry of education, given the reluctance of development partners to ‘fail’ an education sector plan, the greater the dependence of the country on external assistance for its plan.

Another indicator of FTI influence on educational planning might be the nature, extent, and quality of the analytical support for the planning process. The Education Program Development Fund (EPDF), as will be explained below, comprised a major avenue of such support. An initial entry point to judge the influence of such support would be the Country Status Reports, which were commonly a first attempt to examine the education sector as a whole. Another entry point could be the support to policy simulation models which laid out the costs of different policies such as increased classroom construction, different class sizes, teachers’ qualifications, lowered repetition rates, and greater intakes. However, counting inputs and outputs will not necessarily show that outcomes such as learning have been achieved or that educational planning capacities have been sustained. When funding is contingent on the plan being endorsed, it often happens that priority is given to producing the plan rather than to the process of producing it.

Analyses of the quality of education sector plans revealed a number of weaknesses related to cross-cutting and other over-riding issues. These led to a series of reviews and guidelines on specific themes including disability, equity, gender, and HIV and AIDS (Cambridge Education, 2010a: para. 3.75). In turn, this deepened and extended the influence which the FTI processes had on educational planning.

In 2008, the FTI Secretariat prepared a desk study of the 28 education sector plans that had been endorsed by 2007, looking at their clarity, relevance, monitoring, policy, finance, and capacity (FTI, 2008b). The authors scored the plans against these criteria and listed the documents which were rated above and below the overall average. The study suggested that in general the education sector plans exhibited strong country ownership, though it would seem difficult to draw firm conclusions on ownership merely on the basis of reading the documents.

Indeed, the mid-term evaluation team argued that in order to grasp a country's ownership of the planning processes, it is necessary to examine not only the plans, but also the wider political economies within which they were developed and implemented.

The 2008 FTI study of education sector plans also found that the Indicative Framework and appraisal guidelines had not been used systematically or consistently. The report noted that in some instances the documents produced by the donor community for the appraisal and endorsement reports were far more comprehensive than the individual education sector plans (FTI, 2008*b*: 26). All of the countries studied for the FTI mid-term evaluation had education sector plans prior to preparing for FTI endorsement.<sup>5</sup> However, several had to prepare new plans or to amend existing plans, for example, to include what were understood as 'required' benchmarks (Mali and Burkina Faso) or to secure a 10-year plan (Rwanda). Most of the countries studied were judged to have had weak, fragmented, or partial capacity-development components, and many of the countries had nascent if not fully developed education SWAps. However, the mid-term evaluation pointed out that the existence of a SWAp did not preclude regressive steps being taken in terms of the aid modality chosen for FTI Catalytic Fund support (as happened in the case of Cambodia). A handful of the countries studied were found to have participatory planning processes, and appraisals were carried out by LDGs, local education groups (LEGs), and consultants (Cambridge Education, 2010*d*).

It is important to record the distinction between 'credibility' and 'realism' that emerged in the mid-term evaluation (Cambridge Education, 2010*a*: para. 3.99):

LDGs have tended to endorse plans that were judged credible because they showed government ownership and commitment, covered the key issues and provided a reasonable basis for implementation, even if their targets were judged unrealistic.

Thus, notwithstanding the appraisal guidance, some endorsed and therefore ostensibly 'credible' plans enabled countries to gain access to the Catalytic Fund on the basis of financial calculations that were clearly off the mark. This was especially true of the initially endorsed set of countries when a 'light touch' appraisal was carried out, in

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5. The country case studies were of Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Yemen. The country desk studies were of Ethiopia, Malawi, Mali, Moldova, Rwanda, Uganda, Viet Nam, and Zambia.

advance of the written guidance later provided (Cambridge Education, 2010a: para. 3.73).

## **The Education Program Development Fund**

The most explicit type of FTI support for educational planning was through the EPDF. The Fund was established in 2004 ‘to enable more countries to access the FTI and its support mechanisms, create a support mechanism downstream, and enhance donor collaboration and harmonization at the country level around country education sector development plans’ (FTI, 2004b). The second concept note (FTI, 2005) extended EPDF support to low-income countries that could benefit from increased technical and analytic support, not only those with insufficient capacity to develop national education sector plans. Documents prepared as part of the mid-term evaluation (Cambridge Education, 2010e, 2010f; Riddell, 2009) provide a detailed background to the operation of EPDF over the years 2004–2009.

Like the FTI compact itself, different development agencies had different views of the EPDF’s operation. Some were positive, but others were negative. In retrospect, given the weaknesses identified, it is surprising how little was done to change the EPDF, notwithstanding the establishment of several task forces. For a compact that gave such prominence to the principle of being country-led (even if this included leadership by the LDG or LEG, rather than explicitly and exclusively by nationals), it is remarkable that the World Bank regional education managers remained effectively in charge of the EPDF. Requests for EPDF monies were made by the World Bank task team leaders, who served as interlocutors for the LDGs. Such requests were then sent on to the World Bank regional education managers for presentation to the EPDF Strategy Committee, headed by the education sector manager of the World Bank Human Development Network. The FTI mid-term evaluation found that many LDGs and recipient governments were unaware even of the existence of EPDF as a resource for technical support (Cambridge Education, 2010f: Table IV.7). In spite of SWAp comprising a ‘model’ for the establishment of the FTI, the management and utilization of the EPDF stood quite apart from SWAp practice with respect to the encouragement of harmonized, government-led capacity development. The mid-term evaluation also drew attention to the World Bank’s overlapping roles in terms of its implicit ‘ownership’ and management of the EPDF (Cambridge Education, 2010b: para. B.121).

### ***The EPDF record***

The ways in which the EPDF was used, and in which it contributed to educational planning, may be assessed through specific examples. Sixty countries were afforded EPDF support in the years 2004 to 2009. From the US\$112.1 million available, US\$94.5 million was allocated to country-specific and regional activities, and US\$17.6 million to the Global Campaign for Education to support national civil society coalitions in FTI partner countries (FTI, 2010). However, cumulative disbursements had reached less than half of the April 2009 total allocation figure of US\$75.75 million (Cambridge Education, 2010*f*: Table IV.1). Of the 79 IDA countries in the world, 50 had received some EPDF support, and of these 32 had endorsed education sector plans. In the 39 IDA countries of sub-Saharan Africa, 27 had received EPDF support; and of these 16 had endorsed education sector plans. Without attributing causation, 64 per cent of IDA countries receiving EPDF support had endorsed plans, as opposed to only 41 per cent of IDA countries in general. The range of EPDF allocations was wide. Eritrea, Honduras, Indonesia, Lesotho, Niger, and South Africa each received very small allocations, but Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Yemen each accounted for between US\$1 million and US\$2.1 million in EPDF allocations (Cambridge Education, 2010*a*: para. 2.26).

Analysis of EPDF expenditures by different sub-categories proved difficult due to the lack of documented evidence. One attempt was made by Bellew and Moock (2008), and another was made in the context of the mid-term evaluation for the countries studied in depth. The studies found that less than half of the activities funded by EPDF were geared toward preparatory education sector plan work. The remainder was allocated to individual studies, capacity development, or knowledge sharing.

### ***EPDF objectives and principles, challenges and successes***

The EPDF had four objectives. The first was to support sustainable national education sector plans. The other three objectives were strengthening government technical and institutional capacity to develop and implement policies and national education sector programmes; improving the understanding of issues that are key constraints to EFA through support for regional studies, analytical work, and strategies; and strengthening governments' political commitment, consensus, and ownership through policy dialogue and consensus building at the country and regional levels

(FTI, 2005). The mix of quantitative and qualitative data collected from the country case studies for the mid-term evaluation is a key resource against which to form at least some preliminary (and probably the most informed) judgment of performance. The assessment of the mid-term evaluation was that:

- The continuing lack of clarity and transparency of the EPDF resource allocation decisions cast a shadow on its efficacy.
- There was insufficient evidence to conclude (as per the FTI objective) that the EPDF had strengthened ‘Government technical and institutional capacity to develop and implement policies and national education sector programs’, especially when a capacity-development objective had not been part of the process of developing some of the necessary tools and products for such strengthening.
- Harmonized procedures had not resulted from EPDF contributions.
- The work emanating from the EPDF was not generally defined or led by government, not least because many governments were in the dark about the availability of EPDF monies and the processes to apply for them.
- The objective appears to be that EPDF monies should supplement rather than substitute existing resources, given the practice of World Bank task team leaders who were deemed necessary by access funding for activities but whom the World Bank itself cannot fund (Cambridge Education, 2010f).

In spite of the seeming divergence between many of the core principles upon which the EPDF was meant to operate and what happened in practice, the evaluation did acknowledge some very real successes. These included the credible plans, the country status reports, the policy simulations and policy dialogue, the individual studies and impact evaluations, and knowledge-sharing. Nevertheless, these successes related more to products than to processes. In none of the countries studied was there evidence that assessments had been made of the processes of capacity development, as opposed to the products. Yet, such assessments are crucial to resource-allocation decisions as they are needed to inform choices concerning the effectiveness of the different forms of support.

As the EPDF was a core, purpose-built component for FTI support to national education sector plans, one of the more surprising findings of the evaluation was that none of the EPDF reporting documents mentioned the FTI’s own capacity development guidelines (FTI, 2008a),

which were intended to support improved practices in-country. Indeed, notwithstanding the idealism and forward-looking perspectives which helped to shape the FTI, it is difficult not to conclude that EPDF practices had been more closely aligned to approaches to capacity-building that are now widely regarded as partial and inadequate, without national coordination of the activities or ownership, and characterized by a piecemeal approach.

### ***Overall assessment of the EPDF***

The preceding paragraphs suggest that the experience and praxis of the EPDF stood in strong contrast to the overall thrust and core principles of the FTI. This was consistent with the overall view of the mid-term evaluation that the FTI had not triggered comprehensive, coordinated, harmonized capacity development capable of bringing about sustainable educational planning expertise. Rather, the EPDF, like the Catalytic Fund, had been just another pot of money, though even less accessible to countries than other development partner funds.

In some education SWAp, a pooled fund for technical assistance and capacity development has been created in order to provide a resource for SWAp development. At its best, this has encompassed the necessary capacities required for sustained educational planning, which could not only produce a credible education sector plan, but could help to build the necessary monitoring and evaluation of its progress as it is being rolled out. An example is Zambia's Basic Education Sub-Sector Investment Program (BESSIP) in the late 1990s. The EPDF had this potential. Indeed, it was used for a variety of worthwhile purposes, not least the gap-filling of needed policy analyses. But its use was determined not by the recipient country, or even by the LDGs, but largely by the World Bank task team leaders, albeit using their assessment of what was in the best interests of the countries concerned.

One of the most important lessons of recent assessments of capacity development initiatives is that, like education sector plans, capacity development will be neither successful nor sustainable unless there is sufficient stakeholder buy-in. It must be driven by national ownership: the countries concerned need to determine their own priorities and lead in the coordination of all activities. The FTI neither triggered such additional capacity development support nor provided it through the

EPDF in such a manner as to contribute, as SWAps are meant to do, to greater *sustainable* development.

Building sustainable capacities of course is far from easy. Roundtable 8 at the Accra Forum on Aid Effectiveness included the wise advice: ‘Be practical about planning. If consensus on a “perfect plan” is proving elusive, be prepared to start implementing, measure results and improve plans through use’ (OECD, 2008: 2).

Thus, following such advice, one might say that the process leading up to FTI endorsement with appraisal of a credible plan, utilizing benchmarks and guidelines put forward by development agencies, was not the best one. Indeed, even if ‘perfect plans’ had been realizable for the small set of countries initially intended to lead the way for others, then once eligibility to FTI had been opened up the process of endorsement should have been seen as increasingly suspect. This is not to say, however, that it was wrong for FTI to support capacity development for sustainable education sector planning. The problem was that the ‘gold standard’ of the ‘perfect plan’, superimposed on countries, contributed to imbalances in the process of capacity development.

## **The Progressive Framework**

The FTI reached a turning point following the completion of the mid-term evaluation and the positive reception to many of its recommendations. A different endorsement process was designed by the FTI Fragile States Task Team for countries that were not eligible for Catalytic Funding. The mechanism used a Progressive Framework (as opposed to the Indicative Framework). It recognized the capacity development required as part of the planning process, with ‘interim plans’ ostensibly leading to comprehensive education sector plans over time. An Education Transition Fund, intended to be managed by UNICEF, was foreseen to meet the financial needs of such countries along such development trajectories. The Progressive Framework was approved by the FTI Steering Committee in 2007, but in 2009 UNICEF withdrew from its intended management role and the separate endorsement and funding process for fragile states could not be implemented. Ironically, the demise of the Education Transition Fund in 2009 opened the way for the Progressive Framework (as opposed to the Indicative Framework) to be applied to all countries rather than only to so-called fragile states.

The Progressive Framework had four dimensions:

- Sector Assessment, Planning and Coordination;
- Resource Mobilization and Financial Management;
- Service Delivery (Access and Learning Spaces; Teaching Personnel; Learning Process); and
- Monitoring System Improvement.

As stated in the Concept Note (FTI, 2008c: para. 28):

The indicators within each of these categories are illustrative, not prescriptive. They need to be contextualized according to location. The indicators include those conditions and actions which expand and improve education access and quality, enhance the capacity of education authorities, while aimed at reducing sources of conflict and fragility.

Four steps were outlined for Interim Strategies (as opposed to education sector plans). They were the convening of an in-country sector working group, undertaking a situation analysis, developing the Interim Strategy, and finally implementing the Strategy. This process was expected to build ‘the capacity of public institutions to develop and manage education services so that ultimately there is a national sector strategy and plan, which includes local and regional plans, and the mechanisms to manage resources for its implementation’ (para. 33).

As stated in the recommendations of the mid-term evaluation (Cambridge Education, 2010a):

The underlying principles of the Progressive Framework ... should be applied to all partner countries. In this way, entry to the FTI ‘club’ would not depend on passing a one-off ‘threshold’ test, but would be linked to a credible commitment to improve, with support tailored to circumstances, and renewed according to accomplishments (para. 5.19).

There needs to be one common process that all countries follow, but with support tailored to circumstances. This broad, inclusive approach requires its activities to be integrated, hence the new EPDF would not be treated as a separate stream of activities. This approach would provide a ‘one-stop shop’ with flexible facilities, and avoid the fragmentation of activities into different funds with different rules and processes. To maintain flexibility the approach needs to be protected from the present rigidity of World Bank project procedures (para. 5.20).

Funding should be provided in a way that promotes and rewards successful planning and implementation at country level, and encourages and strengthens joint work by governments and in-country donors, including progress on harmonisation and alignment (para. 5.22c).

The use of the Progressive Framework could pave the way towards much greater flexibility of support and the use of endogenous indicators, rather than the benchmarks turned ‘norms’ of the Indicative Framework.

## **Policy and Capacity in Education**

The redesigned EPDF, entitled Policy and Capacity in Education (PACE), envisaged an approach to capacity building that went beyond ‘the simple preparation of an education plan to strengthening the implementation of policy, including how it is actioned and financed, and identifying the results achieved.’ This was a welcome change, although the Concept Note (FTI, 2009) presented to the FTI Board of Directors in 2009 fell short of the ‘one-stop shop’ of the mid-term evaluation recommendation. Three objectives were detailed for the PACE:

- Strengthen country capacity to develop and effectively implement good education policies leading to robust results-oriented programmes with realistic budgets.
- Support initiatives that help countries address thematic challenges and increase the impact of investment in education, drawing on innovations, evidence, and learning.
- Reinforce the role of the LEG in coordinating support to the education sector, engaging and aligning a broad constituency, and advancing country leadership and accountability.

The architects of PACE also proposed a notional annual allocation to eligible countries of US\$300,000 to meet these objectives. This was very useful, but they restricted the roll-over of this annual amount as well as advising against its use ‘to support recurrent [Capacity Development] activities that can be supported through the broader sector program’. This meant that PACE was effectively ring-fencing its capacity development from others including the Catalytic Fund, and narrowing its predictability to one year.

The notion of a separate fund for capacity development made sense when the logic of FTI was that endorsed plans, which themselves would contain comprehensive approaches to overcoming capacity challenges,

would catalyse further donor funding to fulfil education sector plan objectives. This had not been the case, and thus a new model, placing capacity development for a plan first and for policy and programme implementation thereafter, was logical. The PACE concept maintained the notion of separate funds. Funds for capacity development – whether for ‘endorsement’ or for programme implementation – should be continuous, predictable, and provided within an even longer-term framework than that of funds provided for other purposes. This is because capacity development is not a ‘one-shot’ injection, but requires continuous attention, resourcing, and interconnection with public service reform.

Too little attention has been paid to understanding the different incentives of different stakeholders in most development aid. As the OECD guidance (2006: 13) put it: ‘Successful efforts to promote capacity development therefore require attention not only to skills and organisational procedures, but also to issues of incentives and governance.’ Only a very powerful ministry of education representative on the LEG would be able counter the use of PACE funds by the Supervising Entity for preparatory work for a Catalytic Fund application. Compared with using the Progressive Framework and locally endorsed indicators to direct and replenish funding based on performance, these aspects of the PACE design still looked fairly regressive.

Another concern was that the governance and management framework envisaged by PACE relied both on the LEG and a ratcheted-up FTI Secretariat with 8 to 10 new PACE posts and a PACE Strategy Committee. This approach did not require recipient country representation, which would seem to be recreating the mistakes of the initial FTI management bodies as well as contributing to a reduction in the choice of providers. Experience suggests that technical assistance, where needed, should be brokered by an independent unit that has no particular stake in supplying the assistance. Neither the LEG nor the strengthened FTI Secretariat with its PACE posts was well placed for such a role.

The PACE Concept Note placed increasing reliance on the LEG, ostensibly to lend further support to principles of government direction and of partnership. This was certainly a step forward from the current system, but perhaps did not go far enough. The new approach offered here needs to be assessed in the context of the government and other national

stakeholders not usually having effective political leadership of the LEG. Combined with this factor was the acknowledged de-professionalization of many of the in-country education cadres of the major development agencies, which made reliance on the LEGs even more precarious (Cambridge Education, 2010a: Box 6; Wallace, 2007). PACE certainly foresaw strengthening the LEG, which was to be applauded. However, this work needed, ideally, to be led by government, and should be put into practice either from the start or with the necessary capacity development to bring about its reality. Government leadership, coordination, and management of capacity development should not remain a distant wish for the future, but provide the necessary basis upon which support should be given to bring about its reality. This would entail LEGs *not* assuming responsibility, for instance, for the procurement and management of TA, but mentoring national stakeholders in such processes, drawing on capacity development funds made available not only for the identified tasks, but also for the process of coordinating and managing capacity development.

## Conclusion

A large part of this chapter has discussed capacity development for educational planning because the basis of FTI funding has been the ‘credible’ plan. Thus, the chapter has looked at the influences that FTI has brought to bear on educational planning to produce the credible education sector plan and the variety of ways in which such influence has been brought about.

In relation to contemporary practices among aid donors, the establishment of the FTI was ahead of its time in terms of its aid effectiveness ideals. Perhaps the commitment at Dakar of providing assistance within the context of a credible plan was taken too literally. The EPDF got waylaid, and ‘the plan’ became reified. In practice, many LDGs did not graduate to the more independent and recipient-led type of LEG envisaged. The LEGs often did not have sufficient national representation, and their activities were uncoordinated, consisting largely of piecemeal activities. Strong local leadership was often lacking, and there was little appreciation on the ground of FTI’s aid-effectiveness ideals and how to embed them within local systems and practices. In such a context, LDGs were often practically technocratic, with little effective space given to genuine country-led participatory processes. The means of engaging stakeholders in the political process of planning were

not supported in some cases because of a lack of competencies amongst the wider stakeholder group – including development partners. In other cases, this was due to an unchallenged tradition of planning being the preserve of government and its iteration – and policy trade-offs – not being communicated widely.

The greater use of the Progressive Framework could better contextualize ‘the plan’ so that governments could apply for assistance, ‘linked to a credible commitment to improve, with support tailored to circumstances, and renewed according to accomplishments’, as recommended in the mid-term evaluation (Cambridge Education, 2010a: para. S77). The LEGs (or LDGs) would need to be integrated into such a reformed approach. As Klees *et al.* have written (2010: 7):

technical tools do not drive the process of developing a credible education plan, which is an inherently political process and ideally should involve a range of stakeholders from government officials to teachers to civil society organizations. Instead, technical expertise serves to inform the dialogue and open up new ways of seeing things.

In moving away from endorsement of ‘the plan’ at one point in time to a more flexible, iterative appraisal process, the engagement of LEGs would need to be continuous, rather than as was the experience of FTI in its initial years, limited largely to the point of endorsement. Such ongoing appraisal would need to be supported by an FTI Secretariat more professionally engaged with LEGs. Additionally, development agencies’ headquarters would need to align their global commitments to aid effectiveness with institutional incentives for ‘good’ donor behaviour in-country. This sort of ongoing engagement would enable the FTI to far better fulfil the promise it held out when it was established in 2002.

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## 5. Educational planning in a time of political transition

Tamás Kozma

### Contributions I

I first became acquainted with IIEP in the 1970s. The director at that time was Michel Debeauvais, whom I had met at a conference. I did not dare just walk into his office, since he was a reserved man, so I looked for someone who could introduce me to him more formally. I happened to be in Paris for a research seminar, and met a French teacher who was a Hungarian immigrant. She told me that I had no reason to be shy, since IIEP was an international institution open to all who were interested.

That advice led to my first visit to 7–9 rue Eugène Delacroix in the 16th *arrondissement* of Paris. I did not speak any French, and even now I understand only a little. This increased my nervousness. The main reason for my uncertainty was that I had heard a lot about IIEP in Budapest. In 1971, the *World educational crisis* book by the founding director, Philip H. Coombs, was published in Hungarian, three years after its original publication in English (Coombs, 1968). Those in charge of educational policies and planning were eager to read the book, at least in the Ministry for Education and also I believe in the Party Headquarters and the National Planning Bureau. After 1968, the Kádár regime – Hungary’s ‘socialist dictatorship’ – began to see the importance of education, and soon a Party decision was made concerning the matter. In the professional circles that were allowed to come close to policy-making, it was common knowledge that IIEP was doing something significant: educational planning. The leadership felt that such knowledge and experience was essential for the effective building of socialism.

Many Hungarian experts applied for IIEP training programmes, some supported by the Party leadership while others worked through other channels. József Nagy was among them, and wrote an important book on the field (Nagy, 1970). He was one of my young professors at Szeged University, and later became a colleague and a friend. Nagy spent 10 months at IIEP, and after his return proudly showed everybody the calculator that he had bought in Paris, which was unlike anything we had ever seen. At this time we were not allowed to travel abroad,

especially not to the West. Coombs' book and the calculator had an impact. Experts, policy-makers, and party officials all thought of IIEP as the 'treasure island' of educational planning. It was seen as a place where people already possessed the knowledge we would need in order to build socialism in Hungary. Moreover, it was felt that the professionals at IIEP might tell us how to proceed if we could ask them the right questions.

I was not sent by anybody to visit IIEP. Even the fact that I was allowed to participate in a conference on education in Paris was a wonder. I was in my early thirties – the best age to migrate illegally to the 'free world'. I was not even a Party member; and my family, which had been deported after the war, was not politically reliable according to the judgement of the Party. I had been a village teacher, then a journalist, and later a specialist in education, and thereafter worked at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. But why would an ex-teacher go to IIEP, the citadel of educational planning – especially when he had been neither invited nor sent? I was nervous as I stepped through the gate.

Michael Debeauvais was perhaps slightly surprised, but did not show it. He generously ignored the fact that I knew no French and that even my English was poor. He remained aristocratic and distant, but was very helpful, and listened to me as I explained my reasons for coming. I did not mention the political context, and he did not ask me about it; clearly he was well informed. I emphasized educational planning and how much it was needed in Hungary. I mentioned that I was running a unit at the Academy of Sciences for school network analysis. After contemplating awhile, Debeauvais suggested that I meet Jacques Hallak.

Why him of all people? This, in fact, arose from a misunderstanding. Debeauvais and I interpreted the English expression 'school mapping' differently. To Debeauvais this term referred to the practice of collecting statistical data at the institutional level by local educational planners. It was developed and applied by Jacques Hallak and colleagues as a method of data gathering for countries with few reliable statistics on education (see e.g. McCabe and Padhye, 1975; Hallak *et al.*, 1975; Hallak, 1977). My interpretation of school mapping was totally different. I thought it meant the cartographical representation of human geographical analysis of a given school network – and this caught my imagination.

I did not possess much knowledge about educational statistics, but having taught in a village I knew about the environment of village schools, and had written my dissertation on the disadvantaged situation

of the village children living around me. That was the period during which social structure research and the study of social mobility began in Hungary. However, my hypothesis was different from that of most sociologists at the time. In my book (Kozma, 1975), I tried to demonstrate that it was not so much individual students who were advantaged or disadvantaged but whole schools and indeed whole villages. I tried to develop a new way to demonstrate my view. School mapping seemed to be exactly the method I was seeking.

From the office of the IIEP director I was sent to meet Jacques Hallak. By then I felt braver, and in any case less courage was needed to meet Jacques. He was inquisitive, open, and active. He was enthusiastic to hear what I had to say, and immediately started asking questions, one after the other while eagerly listening to each of my answers. In the end, I was not sure who had done the most talking and who had done the most listening. I explained my understanding of the relationships between educational planning and educational politics in Hungary. Put another way, I was talking about the relationship between experts and politicians.

Finally, Jacques handed me a book about school mapping and left the room. I thought that he wanted me to take a deeper look at the book, but he was back within a minute with a pretty lady called Françoise Caillods, his assistant. That is how I first met Françoise.

That visit established the basis for a long professional relationship, even though it all began with a misunderstanding around school mapping. At that time, experts were only allowed to contribute to Hungarian politics if they were able to quote statistics. Today, we would call this 'evidence-based policy-making'. Party politics fell under the direction of János Kádár, but statistics were considered to be the true indicators of reality. Even in the education sector, these statistics were known only by the planners (that is, the experts). It was they who provided the figures for the Party's decisions or, better, for advertising and promoting those decisions.

All this was happening in Budapest, where the statistical and planning offices were located. But most of the schools, teachers, and students were located outside the capital, and their circumstances were known only to those who visited them. There was a genuine need to collect data at the institutional level. It was this I learned from Jacques Hallak, Françoise Caillods, and the methods of school mapping.

IIEP, as a UNESCO institute, has never had anything to do with party politics and state ideologies. Neither did it teach me anything about how to prepare a 'change in regime' (as political transformation was called). What I learned was how one must and can be a useful and efficient expert – one of the kind who at that time in Hungary were simply called educational planners. These were experts who could not be excluded from important discussions and decisions because they knew something the Party did not. That 'something' was reality itself: the lives of schools, teachers, students, parents, and employers, and the operations of cities, towns, and villages in which the schools were situated.

These patterns did not necessarily prevent us from being supporters of the regime. The Party, in fact, thought we were supporters. The Kádár regime differed from others in Eastern Europe in the extent to which the Soviet leaders made allowances. This feature was a result of the 1956 revolution when the people of Hungary revolted against the Soviet system. The Soviet army responded with force, greater than any used during the Second World War, and put down the revolt. However, in the aftermath of the 1956 events the Soviet leaders, to a certain extent, favoured Hungary. They allowed Kádár to consult experts who had important knowledge about Hungarian society, thinking that by so doing they were strengthening the regime (and they were); but in the long run they were also creating the conditions for its fall.

How did school mapping contribute to the fall of the system? It represented decentralization versus centralization. With the help of school mapping, I learned the method of collecting local statistical data on education. No politics, no ideology, no opposition, and no anti-Communism: we merely worked with reliable statistics, using scientific analyses. However, these statistics began to highlight unexpected facts. They indicated growing inequalities between the different areas and schools of Hungary, even though the Party stated in every document that differences had diminished. Our research indicated that in certain areas the population had changed completely and, in particular, that over a period of 10 years many Gypsy (Roma) children had appeared in schools (see e.g. Forray and Kozma, 1986). Yet the Party's documents did not even hint at this fact, chiefly because the Kádár system had no official discourse on poverty or the Gypsies. Our field studies showed that fewer and fewer young people chose vocational training, even though the Party wished everyone to become an industrial worker because such workers were considered to be the real supporters of the Party (the 'ruling class').

In short: school mapping enabled us to learn about the real processes of education in Hungary, and those processes were providing advance warning of the decline of the regime. The 1960s witnessed the first phase of the Kádár regime with the system gradually becoming more and more open. The second phase in the 1970s saw a reversal with the establishment gradually becoming more and more rigid. The third and final phase occurred in the 1980s, with the system, together with its leader, becoming weaker and weaker, until finally in 1988 it was in its last days (like Kádár himself). I became acquainted with IIEP during the period when the regime was becoming increasingly rigid. Opposition was less and less tolerated. Planners and experts were not allowed to provide opinions, only the facts from their research, and sometimes not even these. Evidence-based studies like school mapping somewhat loosened up the system. This is how IIEP contributed – unintentionally – to the political developments in Hungary.

## **Contributions II**

The year 1992 began a period of 15 years during which I was first a member of IIEP's Governing Board, and then a member of the Council of Consultant Fellows. Following the political transformation, I took another trip to Paris, and included a short visit to IIEP. By then, Jacques Hallak had become Director, and called the attention of the Governing Board to the possibility that I might be an appropriate candidate for election.

This all sounds quite simple, but it was not. Before that the fall of the Soviet Union, travelling to Paris was not only a question of money but also, perhaps even more, a political issue. Hungarian tourists were allowed to travel to the West only once every three years, and had to secure travel permits from the Hungarian Ministry of Domestic Affairs, which housed the police and secret police. A travel permit every three years was much envied in the neighbouring countries under Soviet occupation, where citizens could not travel to the West at all. But there were still obstacles. Once intending Hungarian tourists had a permit, they had to secure foreign exchange. Individuals were allowed to purchase only the equivalent of US\$50 in foreign exchange, albeit at an artificially low rate, and in other circumstances possession of convertible currency was not only forbidden but brought a serious prison sentence in cases of infringement. One could not travel very far from Hungary with US\$50 unless one had help from someone abroad, which also raised suspicions in the eyes of the establishment.

All this suddenly ended in 1989/90. Hungary was the first country in the Eastern bloc to allow its citizens to obtain passports valid in most countries of the world. This was how I travelled in 1992 – freely. I had outgrown my previous anxieties, both subjectively and objectively. I was very happy to have been invited to IIEP. I had a vague feeling that this invitation had arrived in the same package as the sudden ‘freedom’ following the political transformation. And maybe it did.

My professional career changed. At the time I was elected as a member of the IIEP Governing Board I was Director-General of the Hungarian Institute for Educational Research (HIER). This position did not come easily, since (as I later discovered when my personal records were released by the Party) I was not sufficiently Marxist-Leninist and was not a member of the Party. At that time, everybody at our Institute was considered slightly suspect, since we were undertaking field research and other kinds of expert activities that the Party had not requested, though it did not forbid them. Following my second visit to Paris I tried to reshape our institute to resemble IIEP. My efforts were helped by regular meetings and consultations with Jacques Hallak and colleagues, including Françoise.

HIER, where I worked as Director-General from 1990 to 2000, was a curious body. It had been founded in 1980 following an order from György Aczél, Kádár’s Deputy for Education, Culture, and Science. The idea was that professionals who were critical of educational policy should convey their observations and their information directly to the Party, and not to others, in secret. So the Party gathered the critical researchers and founded an institute to provide a regular income. The researchers could work relatively freely on educational praxis and policies, including government policies. In exchange, there was no publicity and they were excluded from real political life. Criticizing educational policies was allowed, but such criticism was rarely made public. There was no internet yet. Covert publishing outlets existed, but those who published their findings without permission risked losing their jobs. Later we found out that some colleagues had been under continuous observation by the secret police.

With the political transformation, everything changed. Research and criticism became natural, and the obstacles to publishing were eliminated. Researchers and experts could criticize not just the Party but also other political bodies. From there on, HIER no longer faced

interference by one single Party and the secret police, but confronted the new circumstances of party politics in general. The institute staff felt confused by these new circumstances. The Party, which had been feared but which also asked for their advice from time to time and in return offered them a living, no longer existed. Opposition political parties sought the critical views of HIER staff, but the staff were paid by the governing parties and the government. It was a trap.

Under these circumstances we had to learn a new role as politically neutral experts, no longer serving the ruling or opposition parties, and perhaps not even the government, but instead serving the nation itself. There were two ways to meet the challenge. One was the market. As education began to enter the market in the 1990s, increasing numbers of colleagues left HIER. The younger ones, who had more initiative, became advisors to schools and founded or joined consulting firms. The second way was for HIER to become the government's advisor – not criticizing it but supporting it through policy analysis. During the first half of the 1990s, all the staff at HIER had to decide to take one direction or the other.

IIEP, alongside other bodies, helped to solve this dilemma. IIEP, as I have mentioned, never engaged in politics. It did not express any opinion for or against the change in system, although its experts visited Hungary from time to time. (Once I hosted Françoise, and much later Jacques.) The main field of IIEP's activity has always been developing countries, even if indirectly the Institute assisted us in meaningful ways. In particular, IIEP provided an example of politically neutral professional work that focused exclusively on education. For example, the Institute created a forum to discuss the nature and importance of educational planning in Eastern Europe following the change in system. The change opened up the market economy in these countries, while the planned economy disappeared. Many believed that there was no need for educational planning. They said that education must be controlled by the market, and that demands rather than needs should determine the development of education. This line of thought considered education a service, whereas the other line viewed education as a public good and the institutions part of that public good. Such debates were quite frequent whenever we discussed IIEP's strategies in Governing Board meetings.

The scientific, professional, and educational political prestige of IIEP contributed to the fact that, following the political transformation,

every Hungarian government paid increased attention to international educational relationships. I do not claim that IIEP and UNESCO became the only protagonists of educational politics in Eastern Europe after 1990. Several international actors arrived, including the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Council of Europe, and the European Union. Most of these institutions brought money in the form of loans and projects, as well as some external pressure. However, IIEP continued to represent the same tested norm that we had come to know and trust. IIEP placed the HIER and some other research institutes on its list of depository libraries. Through this action, IIEP raised our awareness of the global changes that began in the 1990s in the field of education. The experts and intelligentsia of the countries in transition were engaged with their own situations and problems. Naturally, as a result of the changes in the system, the political elite also changed. For them, every educational connection and issue was new. The continuous supply of information from IIEP greatly assisted Eastern Europe in avoiding seclusion in educational affairs.

I also benefited personally in another way. By becoming a member of IIEP's Governing Board, I gained insight into the structure and operation of an international institute for research and development. Previously, I had no such knowledge; I did not know – I could not know – anything about how such institutes of research and development worked in the West. Our institutes were essentially organized according to the Soviet system. So I decided to reorganize the HIER according to the IIEP model.

Through my membership on IIEP's Governing Board I came to understand the importance of such boards, and so, subsequently, tried to organize a scientific board for the HIER. Beforehand, I had not understood why the HIER needed founding statutes. Now I tried to modify them to enable the scientific board to make decisions regarding policy issues. This step caused general surprise both at the HIER and at the Ministry. The HIER was directly supervised by the Minister of Education, and the significance of this relationship became evident whenever a new minister was appointed, which in that period was approximately every two years. IIEP provided a model on how to cooperate with the administration without the risk of either the Ministry or the experts losing their own identities.

It could be said that IIEP did little to encourage a change in regime or for education in Hungary. Other international organizations have

seemingly done a lot more. Yet I would like to emphasize the role of IIEP as an institutional teacher. It offered an international standard, atmosphere, and relationships for all those who visited it on a regular basis. By influencing individual visitors, members, friends, trainees, and readers, it created prestige not only for itself, but also for those who benefited from this impact. IIEP helped us to try to solve educational dilemmas, using international methods in the midst of political change.

### **Contributions III**

The year 2000 brought significant changes for me. My membership of IIEP's Governing Board expired, although I remained in touch with IIEP through the Council of Consultant Fellows. I also stepped down from the position of Director-General at the HIER and regained my status as a university professor at the University of Debrecen. Later, the HIER was restructured and merged with other institutes under the Ministry for Education. At the national level, one phase of the transition had concluded and another had begun. In the area of education, this new phase could be best described by the Bologna Process.

The political transition of 1989/1990 was a determining experience, about which many studies have been published. According to one view, the transformation in Eastern Europe was not a real change, and what we called the change in regime was in fact the speeding up of processes that had begun earlier. Some analysts argued that the political events that accelerated in 1989/1990 in Hungary and the world had been prepared in the 1980s. According to this view, the Kádár system collapsed not because of political transformation, but because it had grown old and weak, and this happened to coincide with the wider forces of world politics. According to this view, the educational transition began as early as 1985, the year the last education law was passed before the regime's collapse. In Hungary, educational decentralization and increased school autonomy had started prior to the change in regime. The political transformation helped but also hindered the peaceful unfolding of this process. The obstacles were caused by the political fights about education between conservatives, liberals, socialists, and Christian democrats.

The alternative opinion states that the political transformation can be viewed as a process that began in 1989/1990 when Hungary left the Soviet sphere and ended in 2004 when the country was admitted to the European Union. According to this view, the significance of the

political transformation was that Hungary could move from the Soviet economic and military sphere, characterized by the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), into the Western sphere, characterized by the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). As such, 1989/1990 merely witnessed the beginning of the change. According to this view, the goal and significance of the political transformation was Hungary's joining of NATO in 1999 and the European Union in 2004.

In the educational sphere, the latter view suggested that the political transformation undermined the earlier political structures of education. Rival sponsoring bodies for schools appeared, the most spectacular aspect being the return of the churches. Educational enterprises also appeared, especially in the field of professional training. Uniquely in the region, public education was managed by individual local governments rather than by the Ministry for Education. As a result, there were as many possible public education systems as there were local governments, at least according to the law. The Ministry for Education endeavoured to regain control over schools by developing a curriculum framework and requiring students in different schools to take more common examinations. Nevertheless the influence of the government decreased, and the place of the Ministry for Education was to some extent taken by other ministries, especially the Ministry of Finance, and by buffer organizations in the university sector. According to this view, the turbulence was stabilized by joining the European Union.

My interpretation of the political transformation in Eastern Europe – and Hungary within it – differs from the two lines of thought mentioned above. It is based on studies that I have conducted since 2000, especially on the changes in higher education policy, and I would argue that the political transformation in Eastern Europe took place not in one or two but rather in three phases.

The first phase lasted from approximately the end of 1988 until 1993/1994. During this period, Eastern and Central European countries left the Soviet sphere of interest and became independent for the first time since the beginning of the Second World War. These events generated great economic and political confusion. Some people point out that this change came from above, outside societies, and assert that it did not change societies themselves. But this view overlooks the great changes that were also taking place in societies. In Hungary's education sector,

one significant change was that local governments were able to establish schools and control enrolments. The Hungarian law on local governments was unique in the region, giving powers not found anywhere else in Europe with the possible exceptions of England and Scotland.

As a result of this change, civil organizations also became stronger. In the area of education this meant that many new institutions were founded by civilians. Ethnic communities, churches, local governments, and all sorts of enterprises tried their hands at founding schools and creating higher education for their communities. Such initiatives of civil society became successful only when supported by local politicians. This period saw many political careers setting out from civil movements for education. Those initiatives became successful when their leaders were successful politicians.

The methods of IIEP were pushed into the background following the political transformation. Balanced professional work, politically neutral educational planning, and long-term forecasts are necessary and possible in a world where changes are relatively slow. Turbulent times demand quick decisions and responses to the challenges of the market or the community. Politicians and change-agents replace experts and educational planners. The expert strives to find and reveal tendencies, as espoused at IIEP. The change agent, by contrast, tries to catch the moment. Such success in timing is what the change agent's career rests upon, something not taught at IIEP.

The second phase of the change in regime was one of consolidation. This period lasted from approximately the mid-1990s until 2004 when Hungary acceded to the European Union. This phase saw the evolution of political structures, including those in the domain of education. Professional politicians appeared, many of whom did not want to change schools on the basis of pure enthusiasm or commitment. They had learned the techniques of parliamentary policy-making, and had built connections with the appropriate interest organizations and international organizations. They started to form circles of education experts on whom they could rely for policy-making. The Eastern European governments were trying to regain the influence over education they had lost in the initial years of the political transformation. They liked to talk about creating a smaller and less costly state, and they tried to centralize educational politics through curricula, accreditation, finance, and laws. Many Eastern European governments, especially in the new states

such as Croatia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine, tried to shape education systems that expressed their national identity, different from those they had been forced to use under the Soviet system.

Accession to the European Union brought an end to Eastern European states' endeavours to shape their national education systems in their own ways. This was the third phase of the political transformation. As members of the European Union they suddenly found that they had to participate in the creation of a mutually compatible education system. In higher education, this endeavour was represented by the Bologna Process through which a European Higher Education Area was formed, which demanded compatible European higher education. In the European Higher Education Area, the institutions were graded by quality assurance agencies independent of individual governments. The Maastricht Convention would not allow the Council of Europe to play this role, and instead created buffer organizations that submitted the new resolutions to the ministers of education of the relevant countries. The Bologna Process resolutions acquired the force of law when the concerned countries issued legislation, thus granting the non-legal international educational policies legitimacy at the national level. Individual countries gradually gave up their endeavours to create their own education systems. The newly joined countries were at the bottom of a hierarchy managed by invisible hands in the shape of buffer organizations, but felt that they were taking part in this process voluntarily.

The role of IIEP gradually faded in the countries that joined the European Union and the European Higher Education Area, its function taken over by the other international organizations mentioned above. However, one of its messages will not fade – at least for those who have participated in its activities over a long period of time. Overall reform plans that rely on governments and are initiated by governments are fragile and easily fail. Real changes take place at a deeper level in institutions, teachers, students, parents, and local communities. This is what IIEP's message has been and will remain for all those countries that are in the process of building new structures and/or desire fast results.

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**Part II**  
**Themes and orientations**

## 6. Education and epidemics

*Gudmund Hernes*

### **The bad news**

The HIV and AIDS epidemic is arguably one of the most severe in human history. Since the first cases of a new disease, later identified as AIDS, were reported on 5 June 1981, an estimated 25 million people have died, corresponding to the entire population of the five Nordic countries. At the end of 2007, 33.2 million people were living with HIV – corresponding to half the population of France or twice the population of the Netherlands. The number living with AIDS will increase as medical advancements prolong the life expectancy of the infected.<sup>6</sup> These numbers are big. And in 2007 more people were infected than died – an estimated 2.5 million (corresponding to the total population of Mongolia, Oman, or Latvia) against 2.1 million deaths.

These global numbers do not tell the whole story: though all countries are affected, their impacts vary greatly geographically. Sub-Saharan Africa is by far the worst-hit region, with an AIDS-related death rate corresponding to three-quarters of the global rate; in 2007, nearly 7 out of 10 people newly infected with HIV lived in the region. South and South-East Asia are the second-worst affected regions. There are also countries in Europe with alarming numbers, Russia being the prime example with some 900,000 infected, though with declining reported cases of new infections. The modes of transmission also vary geographically. Indeed, it can be argued that the epidemic is not one epidemic but several. A typically African variant is a generalized epidemic sustained in the general population and spread through heterosexual contact, while another epidemic in the rest of the world is concentrated among groups ‘most at risk’, that is, men who have sex with men, drug users, sex workers, and their sexual partners. There are also national and local variations on these broad themes.

The geographical variations also do not tell the whole story. There are social gradients in the infections. Not only are infection rates generally higher in poor countries, the epidemic also damages the

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6. Most of the numbers are taken from UNAIDS (2007).

very resources needed to combat the epidemic. It has harmful effects when mothers and fathers fall ill or die. It puts strain on the economic condition of households when expenditures have to be diverted to care and treatment. Not only is the epidemic destructive of human capital, it also drains resources from the health sector as well as from other sectors in society, such as education or communication. The great number of orphans, particularly in Africa (now numbering some 10 million), can be exhausting for substitute care-givers such as grandparents and older siblings. It also places the orphaned children themselves at multiple risks, ranging from neglect to exploitation. If the number of people/children affected in any way by the epidemic is added to the number of people infected by HIV, the total numbers are staggering.

The social impacts do not tell the whole story, as there have been other setbacks as well. For many, perhaps the most devastating news was a message published in March 2008: after two decades of search for a HIV and AIDS vaccine, after much hype and much hope – and enormous investments of funds by donors and time by researchers – two field tests of the most promising vaccine contender not only failed to protect people from the virus, but might even have put them at greater risk (Robertson *et al.*, 2008). The vaccine did not work – indeed, those who were vaccinated seem to have had a higher risk of being infected.

One possible explanation is that the vaccine may have primed the immune system to be more, not less, susceptible to HIV infection. Seven other trials of similarly designed AIDS vaccines have either been stopped or put off. The tentative explanation is that if a vaccine triggers the killer cells of the immune system to multiply, this opens up the body for attack from HIV, which infects these very cells – simply creating more immune cells or docking stations for the HIV to latch on to. But this explanation remains uncertain. Few other diseases have been studied as extensively as AIDS. And yet, Ronald C. Desrosiers of Harvard declared in 2008: ‘We simply do not know at the present time how to design a vaccine that will be effective against HIV’ (Brown, 2008; see also Fauci *et al.*, 2008). So there is no shot in the arm, no quick fix, no magic bullet to stop the epidemic. Vaccine researchers are back at the drawing board, and they do not know where to start next, or even if a vaccine to prevent HIV infection will ever be possible.<sup>7</sup>

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7. See also ‘Scientists bleak about AIDS vaccine prospect’, *Washington Post*, 14 October 2008. Available at: [www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/10/14/AR2008101401189.html?nav=hcmodule](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/10/14/AR2008101401189.html?nav=hcmodule)

## The good news

Following this summary of the bad news, there is some good news. First, new numbers seem to indicate that the longstanding difficulties in providing accurate estimates led to somewhat inflated estimates. Hence the estimated numbers of deaths and infected have been revised downwards. This being said, if the number of infected (33 million) is equal to the whole population of Algeria, we still have a *big* problem on our hands.

Second, the new numbers indicate that the epidemic in terms of new infections peaked globally in the late 1990s. If one describes the epidemic as an S-shaped curve, the inflection point is situated around the turn of the century. But again, when the number of new infections every year is greater than the whole population of Namibia or Slovenia (2.5 million) the epidemic remains one of major proportions. Yet the good news is that the annual number of new cases of HIV infection globally has decreased.

Third, treatment is up and is successful. The so-called ‘3 by 5’ initiative was launched by the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) and the World Health Organization (WHO) in 2003. Its target was to provide 3 million people living with HIV and AIDS in low- and middle-income countries with life-prolonging antiretroviral treatment (ART) by the end of 2005. The scaling up did not move as fast in spite of new funding mechanisms, notably the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, established in 2002. In fact it became ‘3 by 7’, which, by international standards, is not bad. Many were sceptical about the ‘3 by 5’ initiative, not just because of worries about funding, but also because of concern that the poor would not comply with the regularity that drug programmes require – in other words, that the strictures would be too onerous and thus the programmes would be ineffective. Both concerns proved unfounded: funds have been forthcoming, not least due to the generosity of the United States of America (USA), the main donor; and poor people are no less compliant than people in rich countries.<sup>8</sup> Today,

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8. The fear of faulty compliance – that the poor or illiterate would not comply with the treatment regime – came up early when treatment was provided in Africa. For example, in 2001 it was reported that ‘American foundations and African experts say that unless public health systems are strengthened in poor countries, the benefits of more AIDS drugs at lower prices could be undone by ineffective distribution or misuse, leading to the development of new strains of drug-resistant viruses’ (*New York Times*, 1 April 2001). A couple of years later it was reported: ‘Contradicting long-held prejudices that have clouded the campaign to bring AIDS drugs to millions of people in Africa, evidence is emerging that AIDS patients there are better at following their pill regimens than Americans are’ (*New York Times*, 3 September 2003). (For a recent summary, see ‘AIDS: Getting the message: Good news on treatment. Bad news on propaganda’, *The Economist*, 5 June 2008.)

the treatment programme that changes a HIV infection from close to a death sentence to a manageable chronic disease reaches about one tenth of all people living with HIV. It should be noted that full ART need not be introduced immediately after HIV infection, but only after some years. It is estimated that about one third of the infected need ART. Hence, one can argue that about one third of those in need of it have now been reached. This means that a large and growing number can live fairly normal lives with the disease – which is also an incentive for those who suspect infection to get tested and get treatment.

However, since ART does not cure, but only palliates the infection, this treatment is not a one-shot remedy; it has to last for life. Hence the cost will cumulate, each year adding more and more to the total. One estimate is that:

US-funded AIDS treatment currently costs about \$2 billion per year and could grow to as much as \$12 billion a year by 2016 – more than half of what the United States spent on total overseas development assistance in 2006. And the AIDS treatment entitlement would continue to grow, squeezing out spending on HIV prevention measures or on other critical development needs, all of which would be considered ‘discretionary’ by comparison (Over, 2008).

The key challenge is to make the drugs available and affordable – ‘Drugs for all’, so to speak. Hence the early goal of ‘3 by 5’ has now morphed into what is called ‘Universal Access’: if in need, you should get the drugs without discrimination, whoever you are or whatever practice you engage in (Piot, 2008). The financial problem has been aptly summarized by Botswana’s former president, Festus Mogae, who has argued that unless prevention efforts make more headway, ‘a crisis is bound to come’ as ever more people seek treatment and stretch resources to the limit. ‘We are fast approaching a situation where we cannot afford what we are doing even now’ (Cohen, 2008).

Fourth, political and other leaders are less queasy and squeamish than before in addressing HIV- and AIDS-related issues, although few are as dauntless as the Thai Senator Mechai Viravaidya, who established the famous restaurant Cabbage and Condoms in Bangkok and who, at a World Bank Annual meeting back in 1991, cheerfully distributed condoms to astounded bankers and ministers. There is much more openness now than 2001, when *The New York Times* reported my quipping during UNGASS on HIV and AIDS: ‘Gudmund Hernes, an

official with UNESCO, noted that he would never have believed that he would sit in the General Assembly of the United Nations, “discussing condoms” (Steinhauer, 2001). Many colleagues will also remember that when those of us who were working on HIV and AIDS at UNESCO suggested in 2002 that there should be dispensers for condoms in the restrooms at UNESCO Headquarters, this was not found appropriate in an upright organization. But now they are in place.

## **IIEP’s role in prevention**

So this brings us from treatment to prevention. For UNESCO in general and IIEP in particular, prevention was taken as the key focus and education as the practical method to promote it. The task was to devise regular and systematic ways of reducing the spread of the epidemic by disseminating knowledge. Infections, it was believed, could be reduced by information. UNAIDS was established in 1994 by a resolution of the UN Economic and Social Council, and was launched in 1996. UNESCO was one of its original six co-sponsors with a major focus on education.

There are two perspectives on the link between education and the HIV and AIDS epidemic. The first is to identify *how education can be used to promote health*, for example, through curriculum reform and teacher training. The other is to identify *how the epidemic impacts on the education sector*. IIEP was probably the first unit to address this latter issue.

It happened at a 1993 seminar organized at IIEP, which brought together 30 experts for three days. The seminar is reported by Oulai and Carr-Hill (1994). One major contribution was a paper by Sheldon Shaeffer (1994) entitled ‘The impact of HIV/AIDS on education: a review of literature and experience’. Shaeffer not only provided a review; he also established the categories and a framework that later became the paradigm for how to analyse the impacts of HIV and AIDS on the education system, namely: how the epidemic impacts on the demand for education (e.g. fewer children being born or children having to stay home to care for parents who have fallen ill), the supply of education (e.g. loss of teachers or fewer resources), and the process of education (e.g. increasing randomness of education or discrimination at school). Shaeffer also addressed the question of which factors had an impact on the effectiveness of the delivery of messages about HIV and AIDS. Yet it took some time before UNESCO became fully engaged in the fight against HIV and AIDS. An official was assigned to the task and good

work was carried out in regional offices, but at IIEP the follow-up to the 1993 seminar was at first limited.

The Thirteenth International AIDS Conference was held in Durban, South Africa, in July 2000 on the theme 'Breaking the Silence'. One who broke the silence and presented a very influential paper was Michael Kelly. His presentation triggered an invitation to write *Planning for education in the context of HIV/AIDS* (Kelly, 2000) for IIEP's Fundamentals of Educational Planning series, of which Françoise Caillods was co-General Editor. Kelly in several respects organized the book around the categories that Shaeffer had established. A year later, in April 2001, UNESCO presented its own Strategy for HIV/AIDS Preventive Education,<sup>9</sup> and a Coordination Unit for HIV and AIDS was set up reporting directly to the Director-General. It was placed at IIEP under my leadership.

Since then great strides have been made by UNESCO, by all sectors, and in all regions. An enormous effort has been made by IIEP, most of it under the leadership of Françoise Caillods. She organized broadly conceived research on HIV and AIDS and education, with the goal of informing and training educational planners and educators. In 2003 she established the HIV and AIDS Education Clearinghouse,<sup>10</sup> a portal website coordinated by IIEP with services ranging from nearly 500 downloadable documents to a glossary of key concepts and discussion forums. The same year she launched an action research programme, and set up a capacity-building programme to support educational planners, managers, and trainers in the integration of HIV and AIDS in educational plans. The portal makes available on-site technical support to ministries of education, institutions of higher learning, and regional bodies to respond to the epidemic as a management issue. Country reports on the impact of HIV and AIDS have been produced, for example, for Malawi, Tanzania, and Uganda, and provide virtual templates for carrying out such work elsewhere. In the IIEP tradition, the reports are buttressed by research and followed by workshops to train trainers, thereby creating a multiplier effect.

It is always difficult to assess the results of such efforts. But IIEP, through the work orchestrated by Françoise Caillods, has established a niche as well as a site for one-stop shopping on how to mitigate the

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9. See <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001310/131026e.pdf>

10. See [http://hivaidsclearinghouse.unesco.org/ev\\_en.php](http://hivaidsclearinghouse.unesco.org/ev_en.php)

impacts of the AIDS epidemic on education. It is continuously updated and informed by research, monitoring activities, and learning by doing. Clearly this is one of Françoise's important legacies at IIEP. When UNAIDS in its latest global report concluded that gains have been made in the fight against AIDS, some of these gains can be attributed to the type of work that Françoise initiated and implemented.

## Why is prevention education so difficult?

AIDS impacts on education, but education can have an impact on the spread of the epidemic. Since a vaccine seems to be as far off as it has ever been, there is general consensus that more stress has to be put on prevention education. This raises the question 'where we are in prevention programmes? Have we addressed the issue in the most appropriate and effective way?'

What could be called the 'fundamental theorem' of prevention education is that people in their individual decisions behave as rational actors. Rational actors make their choices in terms of the expected consequences. And they will act on new information if that changes the expected values of the outcomes they achieve. If we put it in a formula, *the expected value of information* equals the expected value of an outcome *with* new information, *minus* the expected value of the outcome *without* the new information and *minus* the cost of obtaining the new information.

With respect to HIV and AIDS, information can make quite a difference: HIV and AIDS constitute at best a severe chronic disease; it is easily prevented (primarily by condoms, abstinence, or clean syringes, although there are other modes of transmission such as mother-to-child or tainted blood transfusions). The key point is that to be infected by HIV, you have to (generally) *do* something to acquire it, and by simple precautions you can avoid it.

Hence one would think that providing the information, for example freely through education or, say, by public media, would reduce infection rates. This has happened – people are more careful. Yet we have also learned this: information is not enough. For example, Dobson (2003) reported that more than half of British male medical students did not practice safe sex on holiday, in spite of all their knowledge about HIV and AIDS. Indeed, one could argue that HIV and AIDS not only is unlike other epidemics in its devastating impacts; it is also devastating because people do not react to it like they do to other epidemics.

The following example may help to illustrate what differentiates HIV and AIDS from other epidemics. In 2003 bovine spongiform encephalopathy (more commonly known as BSE or mad cow disease) was confirmed in the USA. About 50 countries, including Japan, the Republic of Korea, and Taiwan banned imports of American beef. Japan lifted the ban in 2005. In April 2008 the Republic of Korea negotiated with the USA a lifting of the five-year ban on beef imports. This resulted in massive demonstrations and rallies in Korea against the government of the new president, Lee Myung-bak. For example, on 10 June 2008 at least 100,000 people massed in the streets of Seoul to protest (Choe, 2008a). Ten days later the President replaced 9 of 10 senior presidential aides to restore trust in his government and promised to replace some cabinet ministers in the coming weeks. In the meantime a new deal was negotiated with the USA: the lifting of the ban would not include cattle older than 30 months believed not to be exposed to BSE (Choe, 2008b).

To put it in perspective, the total number of deaths worldwide from the human variation of BSE – known as new-variant Creutzfeldt-Jacob disease – by April 2008 adds up to about 200. Clearly a small amount compared to the 2.5 million annual new infections of HIV. In the Republic of Korea the number of deaths from AIDS in 2004 was 220. Clearly the risk from HIV was much greater than the risk from Creutzfeldt-Jacob. Yet the public reaction to the latter was much stronger. One could say the same about the British reaction, where 4.4 million cattle were slaughtered to prevent the spread of BSE.

Let me take another example. At the end of February 2003, the world health system was dramatically jolted by the medical equivalent of a bolt of lightning: a new, contagious disease was recognized – an atypical pneumonia of unknown aetiology, with frightening impacts also on doctors and nurses. Its name, SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome), reverberated throughout the world via the mass media and became a household word, with instant brand name recognition approaching that of Coca-Cola.

The impacts were profound and far-reaching. SARS not only alerted and mobilized public health authorities the world over; it also shattered the bottom lines of airline balance sheets – indeed, it shook whole national economies. Memories of the Spanish flu were evoked; fear, even panic,

spread. Some *nouveau riche* Chinese businessmen installed themselves in self-imposed but splendid isolation, at luxury hotels – a strategy recalling that of wealthy Florentinians at the time of the bubonic plague, as described in the *Decameron*. (I suspect, however, that the literary impact of SARS is unlikely to be as profound as that of Boccaccio).

On 13 June 2003, WHO lifted its travel advice that people postpone all but essential travel to Chinese provinces, upholding the alert only for Beijing and Taiwan. A week earlier, WHO ceased publishing daily reports on the epidemic, although tables and updates continued to be issued on a daily basis. Although not eradicated, by mid-summer 2003 the epidemic was considered under control, enough not to be deemed, for the moment, a severe and acute threat to world health.

In the aftermath of the epidemic two of the most prominent global institutions for promoting public health and reducing disease – WHO and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) – were attacked for ‘blindly’ publishing the numbers of the infected, and even more for joining with Western media in hyping the danger, with devastating economic consequences. And perhaps the most respected global newspaper – *The International Herald Tribune* – was attacked for having entered into an unholy alliance with the above agencies, recklessly spreading – or even profiting from selling – unwarranted fear (see Hernes, 2003).

The question I would like to raise is why the public reaction has been so different to HIV and AIDS, on the one hand, and to infectious diseases like BSE or SARS on the other.

Clearly a part of the explanation is found in the *nature of the threat*. BSE and, even more so, SARS are transmitted by what could be called ‘dumb viruses’. A dumb virus kills its victim – it highlights the immediate and deadly consequences of its infection. Its effects can be spotted quickly and are easy to recognize, for example, as a variant of pneumonia. Hence it scares people into using barriers to stop its propagation – whether these take the form of wearing masks, cancelling flights, or prohibiting imports. Several of these measures are *collective decisions* binding on or with consequences for everyone. Political interventions in such cases

have a high degree of legitimacy even if the consequences are severe, such as the slaughtering of more than 4 million cows in Britain.<sup>11</sup>

The SARS virus was a ‘dumb virus’. It attacked young and old alike. It spread rapidly from country to country, and both authorities and the public were quickly alarmed. Altogether 9,000 people were infected, of whom 900 died. It scared the whole world, and caused enormous losses to airlines and hotels.

SARS was highly infectious, by everyday person-to-person contact, and it spread involuntarily (e.g. through sneezing, talking, touching, or drinking from same glass). It could, so to speak, spread by stealth and without the exposed being aware of any risk. One could inadvertently expose oneself to the threat of contamination. The incubation period for SARS was short (eight days). It was easy to detect (fever, headaches, shortness of breath). Fear of SARS triggered rapid – and drastic – reactions. Consequently, people were quick to ‘cover-up’ with masks, which created a ‘new look’ in China, so as not to take the chance of being contaminated. In short, the virus was too virulent and alarming for its own success.

By any measure HIV is a very successful virus – and it is not stupid. Whereas SARS killed several hundreds, AIDS has killed more than 20 million. It has conquered the world and is now found in all countries. There are 6,500 new infections *each day* – not far from the *total* of 9,000 infected by SARS. HIV is *not particularly contagious* – as mentioned previously, you have to (generally) *do something* to get it and *simple precautions can avoid infection*. The *incubation period from infection to AIDS is long* – 8 to 10 years. Its *effects are not visible or recognizable* in any simple way for a long time. And the smartest thing of all: HIV infects, hides, and multiplies in the body’s *defence cells*, which so far has made it impossible to develop a vaccine.

But there are social reasons as well. The main mode of transmission is through sexual intercourse, which is an act associated with passion and

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11. There are exceptions. During the SARS epidemic, Mel Lastman, Mayor of Toronto, railed against the WHO warning, saying he was ‘shocked’ at its advice against travel to Toronto: ‘They [WHO] have never issued an advisory like this in their history’, Toronto’s mayor sputtered at a press conference, adding, ‘I have never been so angry in my life’. ‘The facts of the matter do not warrant this decision at this time’, added Sheela Basrur, Toronto’s medical officer of health (CBC News, 24 April 2003). This criticism from authorities in Toronto only subsided when a new travel alert for Toronto was reinstated a month later, on 23 May after a new cluster of possible SARS cases was reported (Hernes, 2003).

lust. Indeed, if you want to base your policies on the premise that people are rational, sex is perhaps the last place you should start. To give but one example: on 27 April 2007, Randall Tobias, President George W. Bush's Director of USAID charged with distributing US\$15 billion allocated to his AIDS programme PEPFAR (the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief), announced that he was resigning from his post after his name was found on Jeanne Palfrey's list of clients for her Washington prostitution ring.<sup>12</sup> His behaviour was not exactly rational. Sex is associated with sin and with shame; therefore, even if one is practising it, one does not like to talk honestly and openly about it. To put it another way, the best allies of the virus are prejudice, hypocrisy, and political correctness, because they lead to a conspiracy of silence and to stigma and discrimination against the infected. Yet the basic principles of prevention are simple: use condoms and do not share needles.

There is another difference as well: whereas SARS and BSE were stopped by *collective action*, stopping HIV depends on changing *individual behaviour*. Stopping HIV is less like stopping a flu epidemic than stopping the obesity epidemic. We all know we should not eat that extra piece of chocolate cake, especially if it is *à la mode*, yet it is hard to resist, the resolve hard to keep, and the commitment is easily postponed.

When we do not want to do something, we also tend to *select the information that underpins that attitude*, for example, by convincing ourselves that 'it cannot happen here', that HIV is not the cause of AIDS, that HIV testing is unreliable, that showering after intercourse will prevent infection, and so on. Rather than being realistic and changing our behaviour, we are comfortable in being opportunistic so as not to change our behaviour. Holding on to a belief that having sex with a virgin will cure AIDS or HIV is surely a self-serving theory for sugar daddies.

Such misconceptions may also lie at the heart of policies, of course. 'Abstinence only' programmes work well, but only in theory, and hence are self-serving for their political supporters. Or put differently, 'abstinence only' works, but in elections. So let us not forget this: the secret, the forbidden, the occult, and the *sub rosa* parts of sex are part of the fun. This is why some seek the risk that many education programmes

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12. See [www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/04/27/AR2007042702497.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/04/27/AR2007042702497.html) and [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Randall\\_L.\\_Tobias](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Randall_L._Tobias).

tell us to avoid. But it must be addressed squarely if we are to act effectively.<sup>13</sup>

A different approach is put forward by Ariely and Pisani. Economist Ariely shows how decisions are taken very differently when people are aroused from when they are ‘cold’ – arousal not only make people less rational and more likely to disregard cautionary information, it also makes people less predictable to themselves. This is why, Ariely argues, ‘Just say no’ campaigns do not work. He therefore argues for widespread availability of condoms, greater preparation for how one decides in different emotional states, and to avoid particular *situations* rather than focusing on general admonitions (Ariely, 2008). Senator Mechai could probably add: ‘I told you so!’ British epidemiologist Pisani (2008) presents a similar approach.

Working on the assumption that people behave as rational actors may therefore be an irrational or at least unreasonable assumption. It

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13. A report summarizing the present situation in Botswana is a case in point. Outside of PMTCT [preventing mother to child transmission], Botswana has little to show for its prevention interventions. When prevention efforts work, new infection rates should drop. The scant evidence here suggests that at best, says MOH’s Seipone, incidence has stabilized and may have dropped in pregnant women between 2005 and 2007. But prevalence remains astonishingly high among pregnant women: Reports from antenatal clinics show a prevalence of 33.7 per cent in 2007. One of the key reasons for the failure of prevention efforts, says former Health Minister Phumaphi, ‘is we are not addressing the drivers of the epidemics’, by which she primarily means heterosexual behaviours. She worries, too, that the success with ART has increased complacency about becoming infected.

Botswana set the goal of ‘zero new infections by 2016’ and in December 2007 issued an intensified prevention plan. At the top of the list is reducing concurrent sexual partnerships. In Botswana tradition, men have a large house for their main wives and small houses for their mistresses. Women often also have more than one partner, who some jokingly refer to as their ministers of cell phone, rent, food, or jewellery. Many Botswanans have highly mobile lifestyles: cars are abundant, and on weekends, urban workers – say, miners in Selebi-Phikwe or professionals in Gaborone – often return to their rural villages, without their city partners.

The prevention plan also urges Botswana to better communicate the dangers of young women having sex with older men (of which there is a high prevalence), heavy alcohol use, stigma, and inconsistent condom use. And it faults the country for having ‘often ignored’ the role of sex workers, who do a busy trade in mining towns and on major transport routes. Fewer than 20 per cent of men in Botswana are circumcised, and many expect that the government will soon endorse this proven prevention option.

Precisely how Botswana will scale up these efforts remains an unknown. Phumaphi urges her country to rely on evidence-based strategies. ‘We have to be much more methodical’, she says. Daniel Motsatsing, Head of the Botswana Network of AIDS Service Organizations (BONASO), thinks prevention efforts should rely more heavily on community-based organizations. Botswana’s generally strong government, he contends, gives people things ‘on a silver platter’, unintentionally squelching grass-roots efforts. He also faults the government for losing more than half of a US\$18.6 million grant from the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria that would have supported prevention work done by some of BONASO’s 160 members. The fund ended the grant because the government’s National AIDS Coordinating Agency (NACA) failed to file a required report (see Cohen, 2008).

may work in cases such as the SARS epidemic, but not in cases where individual decisions are taken in various states of arousal and often in social settings and under influences that reduce rationality.

## **Bad news – good news?**

Is there any way in which fear, such as in the case of infections like SARS, might start to work for the prevention of HIV?

Below is a story reported about Senator Mechai:

Instead of lecturing Thais about the needless fear of day-to-day contact with AIDS victims, Mr. Mechai appeared before reporters and photographers last fall and had them watch as he picked up the cup of water from which a woman infected with the AIDS virus had been sipping, and began to drink. It was a headline-grabbing act that, for many Thais, finally made clear that AIDS cannot be transmitted by a water glass or other casual contact (Shenon, 1992).

Through this simple act Senator Mechai contributed to openness and inclusiveness in relation to the infected – a great humanitarian change. This was good news.

Then the bad news. We all know that AIDS and tuberculosis (TB) are caused by different microbes, yet they often reside in the same person. As HIV weakens the immune system, a patient becomes more exposed to TB. Indeed, TB is the most significant complication associated with HIV and the most common culprit of all AIDS-related deaths in Africa. Hence they can be considered as co-epidemics – and they must be addressed together. ‘HIV increases the risk of developing TB, and TB accelerates HIV. A third of all people living with HIV are also infected with TB.’<sup>14</sup>

Yet there is a difference between the two infections. You have (generally) to *do something* to become infected by HIV, whereas TB is something you can *catch* – or that can catch you. It is an airborne disease. And now a drug-resistant version of *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* is spreading. This may have dire consequences, not least because health care workers are particularly vulnerable to TB infection and disease.<sup>15</sup> As is stated in a recent report:

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14. ‘Letter from President Jorge Sampaio, UN Special Envoy to Stop TB’. *HIV/TB Global Leaders’ Forum*, 9 June 2008.

15. See [www.hivforum.org/uploads/TB/HIV\\_TB\\_Fact%20Sheet.pdf](http://www.hivforum.org/uploads/TB/HIV_TB_Fact%20Sheet.pdf)

In addition, the officials said, because of the continued spread of drug-resistant tuberculosis, health workers may become increasingly reluctant to care for HIV-infected patients.

Dr. Kevin M. DeCock, Director of the HIV Department of the World Health Organization, a United Nations agency, said that health workers might accept the modest risk of becoming HIV-infected through needles and blood. But, he added, 'it is quite another thing if you are at risk by sharing air with patients with HIV disease' who have tuberculosis that is resistant to standard and second-line drugs.

That, he said, 'has the potential to change how health care workers look at the issue of AIDS care.'

All forms of tuberculosis can be transmitted to anyone, whether HIV-infected or not, and can spread locally, regionally and elsewhere by air travel, Dr. DeCock said. ...

Treatment of drug-resistant tuberculosis is difficult and costly. Some patients can be treated successfully by manipulating combinations of drugs after extensive laboratory tests of the bacteria that infected them. But such tests are generally available only in rich countries (Altman, 2008).

In other words, Senator Mechai might be quite willing to share a cup of water with an AIDS patient, but would probably be less inclined to do so if that patient was simultaneously infected with TB.

So the interaction between HIV-infected persons and the broader community may change. And the whole cost equation of AIDS treatment might also change dramatically as the co-epidemic with drug-resistant TB expands.

Hence we may be only at the beginning of the troubled co-existence of HIV and humans. There is not just one version of the virus, there is not just one epidemic, and there is more to come.

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## 7. Non-formal education and poverty alleviation

*R. Govinda*

The last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first saw unprecedented levels of attention given to the basic education sector worldwide. Within this context, the Framework of Action adopted at the World Education Forum in Dakar in 2000 reaffirmed a commitment to the goal of Education for All (EFA). Furthermore, the Millennium Development Goals placed basic education alongside the goal of poverty reduction as a focus for concerted action in the years to come. The situation, therefore, calls for an assurance that actions in the education sector will be strategically designed to impact the economic life of people in general, and the poor and disadvantaged in particular.

The poor, deprived of their basic education rights, do not constitute a small minority. Over 2.8 billion people, or close to half of the world's population, live on less than the equivalent of US\$2 a day. Over 1.2 billion people, or about 20 per cent of the world population, live on less than the equivalent of US\$1 a day. South Asia has the largest number of poor people, 522 million of whom live on less than the equivalent of US\$1 a day.<sup>16</sup>

The situation is somewhat paradoxical. The world has progressed in terms of economic prosperity, but this has not contributed adequately to the elimination of poverty. As the UNESCO World Commission on Culture and Development (1996: 66) pointed out:

In spite of four decades of development efforts, poverty remains high ... All development efforts aim at eradicating [involuntary poverty and exclusion] and enabling all people to develop their full potential. Yet, all too often in the process of development, it is the poor who shoulder the heaviest burden.

The link between education and poverty has to be viewed within this evolving situation with respect to global poverty and the spread of basic education. Not only are basic levels of health and education a right of all, they also play an important role in accelerating poverty reduction, as they

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16. *United Nations Briefing*, [www.un.org/Pubs/CyberSchoolBus/briefing/education/index.htm](http://www.un.org/Pubs/CyberSchoolBus/briefing/education/index.htm)

allow the poor to take advantage of the opportunities created by economic growth. But in many countries the poor have less physical and economic access to education and health services than the non-poor, resulting in lower rates of utilization and hence worse health and literacy outcomes. There is thus a vicious circle of poverty leading to ill health, malnutrition, and illiteracy, which in turn perpetuate poverty (Deolalikar *et al.*, 2002: 74).

This chapter examines some dynamics of the relationship between non-formal education (NFE) programmes that focus particularly on income-generating activities and poverty alleviation strategies in Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand. The case studies analyse two kinds of NFE programmes: ones that link literacy and non-formal education with organizing people to participate in micro-finance operations, and ones that have structured programmes of skill building which are supposed, directly or indirectly, to influence the economic lives of the participants.

## **Poverty and non-formal education**

In the past, international assessments depended heavily on income levels as the basic measure of poverty. However, there is now general agreement that dimensions of poverty far transcend this traditional definition.<sup>17</sup> This broadening of concepts has come about in the context of the new vision of development as improvement in human well-being. Poverty in this context becomes lack of capability to access sources that improve human well-being, which include several less tangible aspects such as educational status and empowerment for participation in decision-making. As noted by the Asian Development Bank (2002: 5):

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17. In line with such an understanding, the Asian Development Bank, which is the major financial institution supporting poverty alleviation programmes in many countries of the Asia-Pacific region, defines poverty as: 'a deprivation of essential assets and opportunities to which every human is entitled. Everyone should have access to basic education and primary health services. Poor households have the right to sustain themselves by their labor and be reasonably rewarded, as well as having some protection from external shocks. Beyond income and basic services, individuals and societies are also poor – and tend to remain so – if they are not empowered to participate in making the decisions that shape their lives (Asian Development Bank, 2002: 5). Also, as stated in the World development report, "To be poor is to be hungry, to lack shelter and clothing, to be sick and not cared for, to be illiterate and not schooled. But for poor people, living in poverty is more than this. Poor people are particularly vulnerable to adverse events outside their control. They are often treated badly by the institutions of state and society and excluded from voice and power in these institutions' (World Bank, 2001: 15).

Poverty is thus better measured in terms of basic education; health care; nutrition; water and sanitation; as well as income, employment, and wages. Such measures must also serve as a proxy for other important intangibles such as feelings of powerlessness and lack of freedom to participate. In practice, the most broadly used standard for measuring poverty will continue to be the adequate consumption of food and other essentials. This yardstick [the poverty line] varies from country to country, depending on income and cultural values.

Poverty alleviation poses the challenge of transforming the physical and social context in which the poor live. The primary responsibility for implementing policies and strategies to achieve this transformation lies with national governments. It requires consistent political will to transfer and build essential physical, social, and human capital for the poor. The society also has to create sustainable institutional mechanisms that facilitate this transformation. It is from this angle that building capabilities among the poor to self-direct their lives through NFE programmes demands serious attention.

Non-formal education has been a significant component of education policies and programmes in developing countries since the 1980s. The concept of lifelong education provides a framework for grouping NFE programmes, but in practice activities under the NFE banner have remained loosely interlinked. They include literacy and basic education for adults and young people, programmes for school drop-outs, political and trade union education, and various kinds of educational work linked with development initiatives, including agricultural extension, training programmes, and health education. They also often include occupational skill-building programmes sponsored by governmental and non-governmental agencies. Thus, in terms of its potential, NFE spans a wide range of age groups, target populations, and areas of content and skills. Yet the programmes mainly address the learning needs of adults, and focus on acquisition of basic literacy skills, enhancement of capacity to be more independent and effective in daily personal and social life, and increase in economic productivity through functional skill-building.

Irrespective of the conceptual and ideological underpinnings, the main concern of NFE appears to be the education of the disadvantaged. How exactly this goal is being pursued in different countries, and the actual relationship between the educational inputs and processes offered through NFE to reduce the burden of poverty among marginalized groups,

are matters to be explored and understood within particular contexts and specific objectives.

## **Asian case studies and lessons learned**

The case studies presented below from Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand embrace a variety of programmes pursued in the form of income-generating activities.<sup>18</sup> Although one cannot generalize with the limited evidence presented by the case studies, important lessons can be drawn and applied in the field of NFE, particularly in the ongoing efforts in many countries to utilize NFE as an effective instrument for reaching basic Education for All and for contributing to poverty alleviation. Some observations emerging from an analysis of the six case studies are highlighted in this section.

First, the six case studies together present the profiles of a number of NFE programmes, all of which illustrate income-generating programmes (IGPs). Even a cursory analysis of the cases reveals that they represent a wide spectrum of activities substantially differing in structure, course contents, timeframes, and operational features. For example, the Vigyan Ashram Programme in India and the Centre for Mass Education in Science (CMES) in Bangladesh offer long-term structured programmes, whereas most others are short-term, skill-building initiatives. A common feature of all the programmes is the long association that the organizations maintain with their participants and the institutional support they offer in the post-training period. For instance, the Women in Enterprise Development Programme in the Philippines offers four kinds of follow-up support to the trainees: (a) financial assistance in the form of credit; (b) marketing assistance through product-display facilities and technical assistance in packaging; (c) cooperative formation assistance encouraging former trainees to come together under the umbrella of multi-purpose cooperatives; and (d) technical assistance and consultancy on a continued basis for further development. Similar continued support beyond the period of training is typical of all the NFE programmes reviewed. This feature is perceived by the organizers and the participants as an important source of mutual strength.

Second, the skills covered by the NFE programmes range from cattle rearing and fish farming to computer assembly. The overall

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18. The case studies were conducted by members of the APPEAL Resource and Training Consortium (ARTC) member institutions with coordination and support from UNESCO, Bangkok.

process of human development and the emphasis on entrepreneurship training seem to be the central characteristics adding value to all the NFE programmes. Development of a culture of entrepreneurship also seems to be a common feature of most of the programmes. Furthermore, the development of such non-tangible characteristics as self-confidence among the participants is a remarkable feature that comes out clearly in the self-portraits drawn by some participants.

Third, NFE programmes that focus on income-generation are traditionally viewed as compensatory programmes for disadvantaged adults to reduce the economic misery they perpetually face in their lives. But the IGP case studies presented from the six countries completely change this image. The age groups covered range from young adolescents to older adults. Some of the programmes, such as the Adolescent Girls Programme of the CMES in Bangladesh and the NFE programmes in India, including the Vigyan Ashram Programme, are specifically geared towards building earning potential among young adolescent boys and girls. In contrast, the Chinese NFE programme considers male youth and adults in the rural labour force as the major priority group to be addressed through NFE programmes. This variety also depends on the nature of the programmes being provided. While programmes geared towards young people focus on long-term effects and have courses of longer duration, those geared towards adults are directly linked to the occupations they are already engaged in and are invariably short in duration.

Fourth, another traditional image of NFE programmes associates them with low literacy levels and low technical competence building. In fact, these are considered to be the factors that distinguish formal education programmes offered through school and colleges from the NFE programmes through relatively flexible institutional arrangements. However, the case studies present an altogether different picture. Many of the programmes illustrated by the case studies lay significant emphasis on building practical knowledge of science and technology among the participants in a context-specific manner.

For example, providing science and technological understanding to rural farmers to upgrade their agricultural production capabilities is one of the main thrusts of NFE in China. The continuing education programmes offered by the Rural Technology Centre in Bangladesh or the Vigyan Ashram in India underscore the importance of appropriate technology, and build their courses around modern science and technology. They

also espouse the aim of promoting innovative use of technology in rural contexts, but in a practical way contributing to the entrepreneurial drive of the individuals concerned.

Fifth, though not specifically stated in all the programmes, emphasis on reaching basic literacy and enhancement of earning capabilities among women is a priority concern of all the NFE programmes documented in the studies. In fact, some of them, such as Women in Enterprise Development (WED) in the Philippines and the J.P. Naik Centre for Education and Development of Rural Women (CEDRW) in India, exclusively focus on imparting NFE to women. Has this special emphasis on women's development helped break the stereotyped image of women and discriminatory practices based on gender considerations? It is difficult to give a categorical answer to this question. It has to be noted that many of these discriminatory practices are culture-bound and mere enhancement in earning capacity of a few women may not significantly change the larger reality that defines the contours of the male-female relationship. However, the case studies definitely demonstrate the potential of properly designed NFE involving income-generating programmes for women to change the situation.

Sixth, almost all the case studies show that mere acquisition of skills alone is insufficient. Access to financial institutions and availability of credit is critical to eradicating poverty. NFE programmes that combine skill-building with facilitating access to credit seem to stand out as successful efforts. Many of them emphasize the need for organizing the poor into self-help groups, with micro-financing as a critical component. This is not, of course, a new finding. Many studies of the Grameen Bank programme of micro-credit to women in Bangladesh and similar efforts in other parts of the world have demonstrated the value of such efforts in improving the economic status and overall quality of life of the people. The case studies demonstrate the value of combining three important factors as almost a standard recipe for success in implementing IGPs: imparting entrepreneurship/business development skills; facilitating access to credit facilities, either through regular financial institutions or through the organization of self-help groups; and encouragement for self-employment.

The emphasis on self-employment in the form of small and micro-enterprises is a significant phenomenon. As the Indian case study shows, many young men and women in rural areas who are literate

(including the neo-literates) are willing to learn new skills and can become self-employed. The number of such persons has steadily grown over the last two to three decades, and they cannot be gainfully employed in the traditional family occupations. Fragmentation of land holdings, influx of factory-produced goods to rural areas, and increasing use of labour-saving devices like modern tools, equipment, and machinery in rural vocations and professions have resulted in massive unemployment and frustration among the rural youth. The strategy to deal with the situation essentially lies in enhancing self-employment opportunities.

Another feature of the NFE programmes documented in the case studies is that income-generating activities are not conducted as isolated skill-building programmes. They are integrated into a broader framework of continuing education. Inputs for the programmes are decided depending on the educational and economic profiles of the learners. For instance, in rural areas of China, India and Bangladesh, literacy continues to be a major component of NFE programmes, but not an exclusive element. In fact, experience has demonstrated that combining literacy programmes with programmes related to the economic/personal lives of the learners significantly enhances the motivation of the learners.

Finally, some of the important questions to be examined in the context of linking IGP with poverty alleviation are:

- Who attends NFE involving IGP?
- Who requires such programmes?
- Do the poor really benefit from these programmes?

From the information provided in the case studies, it is difficult to determine clearly the economic status of the individuals attending these programmes. Detailed analysis of learner profiles has been undertaken only in the Indonesian case study. However, from the qualitative profiles of the beneficiaries, one can infer that the programmes have been geared mainly towards the rural poor. It is again difficult to determine conclusively the impact of these programmes on the poverty level of the participants, though the cases indicate that at least some of the learners from very poor households have been able to significantly benefit from the training and other support facilities, such as credit, that they received through the NFE programmes.

The goals and objectives of NFE programmes have invariably distinguished them from their community-centred framework as

opposed to formal programmes, which essentially focus on individual progress. What do we find from reviews of the case studies discussed? Are the goals of these programmes anchored in individual monetary gains or in enhancing community prosperity? Does the emphasis on entrepreneurship training and adjustment to the forces of the free market economy undermine concerns of social equity and community development? In fact, most of the studies highlight social equity concerns as fundamental to the design of the programmes. However, almost all the programmes seem to underscore the positive outcomes of IGP only in terms of individual gains and improvement of the economic status at personal/family level. It is difficult to provide a conclusive response to this issue. This would perhaps need more detailed analysis of the contextual variables that link personal progress with the prosperity of the community to which the individual belongs. It may also be noted that income-generating programmes constitute only one component of a larger portfolio of programmes implemented by the various organizations concerned. A more holistic analysis of the total activities of the organizations could perhaps bring out the linkages integrally established between income-generating activities and the benefits that accrue from them to the larger community in which they are promoted.

## **Conclusions**

The fact that a large number of children drop out without completing even the primary cycle of schooling underlines the need for attention to programmes for out-of-school youth and adults (Rogers, 2004; Hoppers, 2006). In fact, even when people complete the basic school cycle there is no guarantee that it will help them to improve the quality of their lives. This is the unequivocal message emerging from the case studies reviewed here, as well as of the cumulative literature on the subject. The low level of literacy and life skills is a major factor contributing to the perpetuation of poverty in an inter-generational framework. The functioning of NFE programmes has been uneven and their potential impact on household poverty has not been fully explored. However, mere expansion of NFE may also not suffice. The difference seems to lie in the nature of the programmes offered.

Programmes that integrate literacy skills with aspects that directly impinge on the economic lives of the people hold a greater potential to succeed than those with limited scope that focus on illiteracy removal as the main goal. In such programmes, literacy acquisition by adults has

invariably followed their involvement in skill-acquisition programmes directly related to their lives. One of the main outcomes of such programmes impinging on their quality of life is the creation of durable economic assets. For example, the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh along with the Bangladesh Rural Advance Committee and the Self Employed Women's Association of Ahmedabad in India are shining examples of economic empowerment and education going hand in hand. Similar efforts have been made in many other countries, although on a smaller scale. In recent years such activities have also been initiated as part of the government-sponsored programme of continuing education. The massive increase in self-help groups essentially as part of literacy and NFE programmes effectively illustrates this point.

An important dimension of such life-oriented adult education programmes should not be lost from sight. With no production assets, credit is a fundamental instrument for escape from poverty for the working poor. Therefore, many of these successful experiences have focused on making the credit market work for the poor. This also indicates that mere basic education through schooling may not fully meet the requirements of the poor, even if primary education is completed. It is necessary to reclaim more active space for adult education, which seems to have become a low priority area in many countries during recent years. But adult education programmes have to go beyond basic literacy classes and be linked with credit facilities as a critical component of the development compact. A common feature of successful experiences is also their emphasis on creating local neighbourhood networks. The value of such networks, commonly referred to as community-based organizations, goes beyond the economic advantages that accrue. The basic principle is that utilization of local information and local networks can be a more effective substitute for state agencies in the delivery of services including credit and education (Bardhan, 2001). For many of the poor, the life cycle begins and ends, one generation after another, in a small world of debt and servitude. Although not explicitly stated in the case studies, the main thrust of NFE programmes for the poor has been on breaking this vicious cycle and halting the inter-generational spiral of poverty.

## **Dealing with social exclusion and poverty**

Efforts to strengthen the human resources of the poor through NFE must recognize that, unlike the non-poor, the absolute poor are trapped in a situation in which economic growth and social development are

interdependent. The strong interrelationship between economic growth and social development highlights the vicious cycle wherein low growth spawns low growth and poverty breeds poverty. Poor parents cannot provide their children with the opportunities for better health and education needed to improve their lot. Because the poor lack the economic capabilities and social characteristics necessary to emerge from poverty, the legacy of poverty is often passed from one generation to the next (United Nations, 1997: 84). Social exclusion and economic poverty are critically interlinked, and efforts to alleviate poverty without tackling the problems of social exclusion will not take us very far.

Undoubtedly, education has a critical role in dismantling this discriminatory legacy transfer from one generation to the other under the guise of traditions and culture. But, for this, basic education has to move beyond the realms of formal training and act directly at the community level. It is in this context that transcending concerns for increasing individual income levels and adequately addressing issues of community progress become critical if income-generating programmes are to make a sustainable impact on the life of the poor. Moreover, reducing poverty has to be a multi-sector phenomenon. Isolated action in the education sector to impact on poverty without sufficiently addressing issues in other core social service sectors may not prove effective. This was evocatively illustrated by a letter from one participant in the ANTEP FL programme in the Philippines (Cruz, 2000):

Now, I can stand and speak before you even if I am a little nervous. One of us has mustered enough courage to apply for a job because she can now read and compute. We no longer shy away from community meetings because we can now sign our names and express our opinions.

Sainath (1996) has elaborated on such cases with reference to India:

They can strive to overcome poverty only if they survive. Illiteracy kills ... Premnagar has the lowest literacy rate for any block in Madhya Pradesh – just 4 per cent. Its female literacy rate is 1.04 per cent ... ‘Illiteracy is the biggest killer disease,’ says one doctor. ‘Even if medicines do reach these villagers, the dosages are a mystery to them. The village health workers themselves can barely read or write. Sometimes, people have swallowed chlorine tablets given for their *matkas*. In many cases, relatives of patients have not pressed them to take vital tablets’.

But tackling poverty through the issue of social exclusion will not be a smooth process of undertaking public advocacy; rather it is tantamount to unleashing a struggle against discriminatory practices in the existing social order. If one views social exclusion within a broad framework as ‘the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live’, exclusion can affect the economic life of the poor in a variety of ways. As Wagle (2002) pointed out:

While it is true that one’s vigorous strength in terms of any one of these aspects – for example, income – does play a significant part in achieving a higher level of well-being, the process of achieving such well being is immensely nullified by the lack of other aspects – for example, capability or conducive social order. To provide a concrete example, women, female-headed households, and minorities in general tend to possess low levels of human well-being in today’s predominantly patriarchal societies with intense racial and ethnic conflicts not because they lack incomes but because they lack capability and, even more importantly, because they tend to be socially excluded.

Therefore the issue has to be tackled through the instrumentality of education, but on a larger platform of social integration and empowerment. Women’s empowerment programmes, like the Mahila Samakhya programme implemented in selected states of India, have demonstrated significant impacts on the lives of the poor. Learning from the experience of the EFA Programme in Rajasthan in India, better known as Lok Jumbish, it demonstrated the value of creating training centres for young women and residential training camps for young adolescent girls. The case studies reviewed here also highlighted the potential for linking such empowerment processes to NFE programmes.

## **The critical role of people’s participation**

There is an increased move in developing countries towards ensuring people’s participation in decision-making processes, in recognition of the importance of political processes in fighting exclusion and poverty. This is important as changing the political culture at the village level gives a greater voice to the poor and makes the poor themselves stakeholders in the system, encouraging them to take an interest in a system from which they were formerly excluded (Bardhan, 2001). However, in a developing economy where the majority of employment lies in the unorganized/

informal sector, employers may fail to act as pressure groups. Even the users of education remain voiceless when the education they receive fails to be potent enough to empower them. While there has been much written on the issue of empowerment, very little genuine attention has been paid either to formulating curricula or to framing the delivery of education goods and services. This has only added to the unfairness of education provision.

### **Creating a pro-poor public service culture**

Finally, merely working with the poor and building their capabilities will not guarantee poverty alleviation, even with the best IGPs. Creating access to public institutions that serve the interests of the people is critical. This is particularly true of providing access to sources of credit and financing. But creating such a positive mindset among those who manage such institutions cannot be a one-way process. The success of operations involving support from financial institutions is often dependent on mobilizing and organizing the poor, so that they can develop sufficient confidence to save, borrow, and invest. On the positive side, investment in social preparation yields long-term benefits in terms of social and human capacity-building. The formation and operation of savings and borrower groups likewise builds confidence, trust, and social capital. Similarly, involving borrowers in entrepreneurial activities directly builds their skills and indirectly contributes to improved health and reduced risks (Asian Development Bank, 2002). Group-based methodologies that allow the poor to use their social capital as a collateralizable asset reduce both risks and transaction costs to the finance institutions and enable poor people to overcome their lack of material collateral and engage in shared learning. That is why community-centred action has been given a place of prime importance in NFE. Furthermore, poor people need access to finances not only for direct income-generation, but also for unexpected expenses and to safeguard personal and household well-being (Narayan, 2002).

Whatever its definition, poverty alleviation is a global commitment to be pursued through appropriate public policy and action in every context. Efforts to link education with poverty alleviation constitute one of the important components of this initiative. Viewed from the angle of human well-being, this is what development is essentially about – creating an environment where people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accordance with their needs and interests (UNDP, 2001).

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## 8. Education and employment

*Bikas C. Sanyal*

IIEP's interest in the relationship between education and employment developed soon after the establishment of the Institute. IIEP held its first symposium in 1966 on three broad topics: employment opportunities for the educated, the role of education in rural and agricultural development, and the implementation of educational and manpower plans (IIEP, 1968). The symposium organizers wished to examine how educational planners could enhance the positive effects of educational development on employment. The principal themes discussed in the symposium were:

- relationships between education, manpower, and economic growth;
- employment opportunities and their implications for educational planning;
- modernization of the rural sector and its implications for educational planning; and
- implementation of educational and manpower plans.

The symposium was chaired by IIEP's founding director, Philip H. Coombs, and was attended by experts of international repute including V.K.R.V. Rao from India; René Dumont, Raymond Poinant, Michel Debeauvais, Sylvain Lourié, and Jacques Hallak from France; Frederick Harbison from the USA; Richard Jolly from the United Kingdom; and R. Diez-Hochleitner from Spain. Interestingly, four of them were later to become Directors of the Institute.

Subsequently, the Institute set up two large projects and one small one on the links between education and employment. These projects, which were implemented during the 1970s and 1980s, are described in this chapter. The commentary then turns to wider issues in the evolving relationships between education and employment, noting directions and remarking on implications for capacity development, policies, and planning.

### **IIEP's research on education and employment**

Taking a cue from the 1966 symposium, IIEP's first project on education and employment was entitled Graduate Employment and Admission Policy, and was approved by the Governing Board in 1972 (Sanyal, 1972).

Keeping in view the severe problem of graduate unemployment and underemployment, the project addressed on the one hand the discrepancies between output of graduates in different specializations and the absorptive capacity of the labour market, and on the other hand the inadequacy of the content and performance of systems of higher education in meeting the changing needs of societies. As a pilot project, three case studies were conducted and findings discussed in an international seminar to check on their usefulness for strategy-making in higher education.

The preliminary success of the pilot project resulted in a number of requests from Member States to elaborate further. The revised project on Higher Education and Employment started in 1976 and undertook a conceptual framework analysis based on different viewpoints. It focused on the formal system of higher education and the formal sector of employment. Its short-term aims were to:

- identify the role of education systems in general and higher education in particular in socioeconomic development, and conversely the influence of social, cultural, and economic factors on the development of education systems;
- identify quantitative and qualitative imbalances that had developed in education systems, and suggest measures to rectify them;
- shed light on the main variables to be considered in formulating intake policies for different disciplines and institutions;
- identify factors that hinder the implementation of such policies, and suggest ways to minimize their effects;
- develop indicators to be used for decision-making by national policy-makers, university administrators, potential employers, and students; and
- create a database on employment for researchers in educational planning.

The project analysed the interface of macro characteristics at the national level and micro characteristics at the institutional (employer) and individual (student and graduate) levels. Data at the national level were collected from various reports, and at the institutional and individual levels through questionnaires. Studies were conducted in 21 countries (Sanyal, 1987). Prior to publication, most of the studies were the focus of critical review workshops at the national level, involving stakeholders of higher education and employment. The graduate surveys were the most important element of the project. According to Teichler (1995: 13),

this was ‘the largest project on higher education and employment ever undertaken’.

Based on the case studies of Egypt, the Philippines, Sudan, Tanzania, and Zambia, the following questions were addressed in a cross-national framework (Psacharopoulos and Sanyal, 1981):

- How does wage structure vary between sectors of employment and between specializations?
- What is the extent of mismatch between expectations and realities in respect of the reward system of the labour market?
- What roles do credentials play in finding jobs?
- What factors control the demand for education?
- To what extent do the institutions of education help students to find jobs?

A related synthesis on the social stratification process in higher education was prepared from selected case studies of the same project (Husén, 1987). The synthesis addressed the role of home background in determining access, survival, and outcomes of higher education. It also commented on the conditions that result in the curvilinear relationship between social background and educational attainment observed in societies in various levels of development; and it remarked on the roles of competition, selectivity, and meritocratic reward systems in social stratification. Among the many outcomes of the research, the most useful and interesting was the demonstration with empirical evidence as early as 1978 of the failures of central planning in matching education with employment (Sanyal and Jozefowicz, 1978). Other interesting findings, in the form of ‘hints for educational planners’, included the following:

- A better match between the supply of graduates from the education system and demand in the employment market could be achieved through inclusion in the analysis of the individual socioeconomic characteristics of students. In addition, articulation could be sought between entry policies for different levels of education and for the employment sector.
- Incorporation of work experience in formal education programmes was the arrangement preferred by students, graduates, and employers. Out-of-school education could not replace formal in-school programmes, but did supplement them.

- The content and delivery of instruction of all levels and types of education should emphasize subject matter competence as much as marketable skills.
- If conditions allow, employers prefer to employ people with lower academic qualifications and then train them on the job. The implication for educational planners is that students should receive general education with the development of affective skills including adaptability, flexibility, communication, independent learning, and entrepreneurial skills, leaving specialization components to be learned on the job along with cognitive skills.
- For better relationships between education and employment, the education system, especially at the higher level, should provide career guidance and placement services for potential graduates.
- Interaction between enterprises and educational institutions should be institutionalized through partnerships.
- Improvement of relationships between education and employment should remain a priority issue and follow an iterative procedure from experiences gained through tracer studies of graduates and follow-up surveys of students. Once policy measures for improvement have been formulated, countries should have to pass legislation to adopt measures formally. Implementation then should be followed up through built-in monitoring systems.

### **IIEP's research on education, employment, and work**

In 1975, another project was launched to provide insights on measurement of correlations between education and work, and thereby to improve the methods for planning human resources. Again, it noted complexities. Hallak and Caillods (1980: 9) concluded that the correlations were 'neither *stable* in time, nor *independent* of conditions in the labour market, nor *limited* solely to the worker's educational background and that we need to know more about the nature of this correlation'. The inadequacy of the methods in planning human resources suggested a need to develop new methodological frameworks or to adapt existing ones.

The research had two components. The first component attempted to meet these needs, while the second component tapped the considerable accumulated research in this field to provide a 'knowledge bank'. Four case studies followed three methods of research. The first method – a survey of employers – was applied in Indonesia and Panama. The second method – analysis of data in government department records – was

applied in Kenya. The third method – study of specific firms and teaching establishments – was applied to the engineering industry in southern France.

The research findings focused on two types of analysis: employment patterns and recruitment policies. In respect of employment patterns, the studies showed wide differences between industry sectors reflecting different systems of production and levels of technology. Variations within individual sectors prevented the calculation of reliable and significant utilization coefficients for each sector for a given category of worker. The conclusion was that, contrary to the postulations of traditional methods of human resource planning, technical coefficients per sector should not be used in calculating future human resource requirements. The analysis went on to suggest (Hallak and Caillods, 1980: 13) that:

In order to be able to estimate the trend in the employment of human resources, one would need at least (i) to have different employment pattern factors per sector and per type of firm; (ii) to make assumptions concerning future trends in the structure of the economy and type of firm; and (iii) to assess the effects of these trends on the trends in employment patterns.

In respect of the analysis of recruitment policies, the findings suggested that:

employers have standard profiles for the various job categories – profiles which are composed of cognitive, ascriptive and affective elements. The cognitive and ascriptive variables serve to filter those candidates who are the most ‘suited’ to the various jobs, but the final selection and decision to hire are based on performance data, or rather on the opinion the employer forms of the candidate’s qualities .... These profiles will vary from one job category to another (Hallak and Caillods, 1980: 16).

The findings went further on precision:

The employer is looking for maximum efficiency for a given function and this will be related to standard of education and experience in the case of management and technical staff, to length of service in the case of (lower level) foremen, and to the state of health, age and police record in the case of unskilled operatives (Hallak and Caillods, 1980: 17).

The document concluded that:

even when we have gained a more thorough knowledge of the social context, and in particular, of the interaction between education and employment, even when the objectives of the educational and productive systems have been fixed, and even when society's needs for skilled manpower have been estimated with the greatest possible precision, we will still have to accept discontinuities between future projections and real events (Hallak and Caillods, 1980: 25).

The findings end with a hint for the educational planner that one should maximize the choices and the individual's occupational mobility by emphasizing general training, which should enable the individual to move freely from one activity to another (Hallak and Caillods, 1980: 25).

The second component of the research mentioned above constituted three studies under the joint direction of Hallak and Caillods, based on analysis of the functioning of the labour market in different settings. The first study, by Carnoy (1980), was based on varied experiences in Brazil, Cameroon, Mexico, Peru, Singapore, and the USA. The study concluded that different educational policy suggestions related to growth, income, income distribution, and employment were intimately connected to the interpretation of the development problem. Under segmented labour market theory, investing in more schooling would not necessarily lead to higher incomes for those who were getting the schooling if the development strategy would not allow them to retain the gains of their higher productivity.

The second study, by Levin (1980), focused on social relations in the workplace, in other words, greater democracy and worker participation, and tried to trace their implications for education systems and planning. Levin reviewed a number of types of educational reforms with implications for workplace democracy.

The third study, by King (1980), addressed the issue of self-employment to help readers understand the complexity of relationships between education and work. It was based on studies in Guinea, Kenya, Liberia, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Zambia. King concluded that:

as the educational planner comes to realize that his field can only very artificially be limited by the confines of the formal education system, he has a new opportunity to identify and work with local initiatives in learning. Such grass-roots initiatives in determining education and employment needs are becoming important in many parts of the world,

and as many of them are direct responses to inflexibilities in the formal education system, it is crucial for the educational planner to be in a position sensitively to acknowledge the role of such alternative approaches. The struggle for new knowledge and skill amongst groups of the self-employed is therefore just one example of this expanded educational constituency to which planning might now relate (King, 1980: 283).

IIEP research on education and employment went on to contribute to the knowledge on another under-explored field, namely the role of education in employment in the traditional sector. The self-employment sector discussed above constitutes part of this sector. Early in the 1980s a shift of emphasis was observed in development priorities resulting in more emphasis on the traditional sector which, it was assumed, had increased job opportunities. It was also assumed that educational policies and reforms could be designed to facilitate access to the traditional sector. Hallak and Caillods (1981) analysed research in Africa, Asia, and Latin America to draw the profile of a 'standard worker' in the sector, and examined the role of formal education and informal and non-formal apprenticeship in the development of the sector. They emphasized the continuum of situations starting from the marginal and residual jobs on the one hand, and going up to the direct wage employment in big administrations and enterprises on the other. They proposed a typology in several sub-sectors, each with its own characteristics and evolution prospects, and drew some tentative conclusions on the relationship between education and employment in the traditional sector as follows (Hallak and Caillods, 1981: 120–124).

- Any proposal to develop education streams oriented towards the traditional sector must aim at a thorough overhaul of methods of student guidance and selection, criteria for selection of teachers, and training methods of the entire education system.
- General education, above a certain basic threshold, permits a real increase in the entrepreneur's productivity.
- The educational requirements of the traditional sector vary greatly, depending on the sub-sector concerned, the employment status, type of activity, and size and development of the firm.
- In spite of its deficiencies, apprenticeship is the chief means of access to the traditional sector in many countries.

- In the short term, educational planners should work on facilitating the students' transition from school to work and the school-leavers' integration into the world of work.
- In the long term, educational planners should aim at developing and improving universal basic education for as long as possible: teaching to read, write, and count; providing economic and social training to help students become organized and acquire information to locate a job; and developing the spirit of enterprise through more open training methods, participative teaching, etc.

### **The project on forecasting skilled manpower needs**

In 1978, in response to the growing desire of developing countries to tailor the growth of their technical-secondary and higher education to the needs of the economy and the labour market's capacity to absorb the education system's output, the IIEP Governing Board approved another project to bridge the methodological and disciplinary gaps in the two earlier projects (see above). The objective of the project 'was to ex-post evaluate forecasts actually made in different countries over a certain number of years, by comparing them with observed patterns of educational and occupational structures as given in recent censuses and specific manpower studies' (Youdi and Hinchliffe, 1985: 18). Eleven countries were studied, and the results published for international dissemination. The important conclusion of the project as given by the authors was as follows:

Despite the problems and inaccuracies of manpower forecasting readily acknowledged in several of the case studies, none of the authors [of the 11 case studies] concludes that the activity should be totally rejected. What most of the studies show, however, is that forecasts below the levels of sectoral employment need to be regarded with much scepticism. This growing recognition suggests that greater attempt should now be made to move away from a single planning methodology and to widen the types of information and analysis on which employment and educational policies are made (Youdi and Hinchliffe, 1985: 259).

### **Continued IIEP interest in the field**

Although IIEP's programme of research on education and employment was discontinued in the mid-1980s, interest in the subject continued through sponsorship of studies by external researchers and through training by IIEP staff. For example, a case study of India (Varghese, 1988) analysed

the changing nature of education–employment relations in the public and private sectors based on selected occupational categories. It showed that educational requirements for jobs in general had increased since the 1960s and 1970s. The escalation was especially pronounced in jobs requiring general education and in the private sector.

In connection with its twenty-fifth anniversary, IIEP published a collection of three contributions on the relationship between education and employment. The first dealt with the problem of educated unemployment and employment prospects in developing countries; the second advocated technological policies directed towards the creation of endogenous development capacity and employment; and the third addressed the experience of a particular country (Poland) in educational planning for employment in the context of important economic changes (Sanyal, Gomez, and Jozefowicz, 1989).

Several years later, a review of the traditional methods and new procedures of planning human resources combining prospective studies and qualitative analysis was prepared and published in the *Fundamentals of Educational Planning series* (Bertrand, 1992). The review was designed for persons engaged in educational and human resource planning in the relevant ministries in both developing and developed countries. It considered the probable evolution of the economy in the medium and long terms, the functioning of the labour market, and transition of students from school to work. An updated version of the booklet was published 12 years later (Bertrand, 2004), taking account of developments in the field as a result of the collapse of centrally planned socialist economies.

Another review in the same series (McIntosh, 2008) focused on members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and particularly on low-qualified workers in the context of skill-biased technological development. It considered the issue of fall in demand, unemployment, and the labour market position of low-qualified workers resulting from the growing role of new technologies in production and services. It also addressed outsourcing of the low-skill elements of OECD firms' activity to low-labour-cost countries. Direct actions to move the bottom of the skill distribution toward the middle was recommended. The author argued that the analytical approach was also applicable to developing countries in the context of emerging knowledge societies.

## **IIEP capacity building to relate education and employment**

The main purpose of IIEP's research is to provide insights for capacity-building in educational planning and management through training. IIEP's Advanced Training Programme (ATP), which dates from 1965, is one avenue, and the intensive short-term training programmes are another. The ATP has included a module on education and employment, and the Institute has conducted multiple intensive courses on the topic in various parts of the world. The first course on Education and Human Resource Planning was held in Syria in 1978. This series led to the thirteenth course entitled Labour Market Transformation and the Reform of Technical and Vocational Education and Training in Moldova in 2005. During these courses, participants brought their specific contexts and experiences to share with one other.

The complexity of the relationship between education and employment has increased significantly because of:

- changes in the geopolitical order that have liberalized the economy;
- the revolution in information and communication technology, which makes old knowledge obsolete quickly while helping create new disciplines;
- globalization, which requires education systems to respond to cross-border needs for skills;
- global warming, which calls for green technologies and alternative sources of energy;
- food and water scarcity, which requires new types of graduates;
- the Education for All (EFA) programme, which requires education systems to provide the necessary human resources; and
- the emergence of the knowledge society and greater benefits of higher education increasing social demand for higher education.

Moreover, the global economic crisis that commenced at the end of 2008 raised unemployment to unprecedented levels (ILO, 2009; OECD, 2009).

With increased uncertainties in the economy, the needs for skills have changed and diversified. One approach to match education systems with employment is to explore where the jobs are. One good example is the Rural Shores company, which has created jobs in the rural areas of India where 70 per cent of the population live. Having found a

significant talent pool in rural areas, the company is currently providing training to high-school graduates in three centres, and aims to open a further 500 centres across India in the next five years to provide training in IT-related activities outsourced from urban centres like Bangalore (Polgreen, 2009). In some settings, traditional economic sectors are shrinking, but new jobs will be available in infrastructure development, especially in developing countries. It will be useful to examine the implications of this for education. The roles of education at different levels may be specified as follows.

*Early childhood care and education.* The first goal of the EFA programme within the Dakar Framework for Action is to improve early childhood care and education (UNESCO, 2000). The gross enrolment ratio in pre-primary education had a weighted average of 41 per cent in 2006, ranging from 14 per cent in sub-Saharan Africa to 81 per cent in North America and Western Europe (UNESCO, 2008: 51). The foundation of the EFA agenda at this level of education has remained neglected. It needs an enormous number of educational and health workers, which the education system should and could supply to achieve a better match between education and employment.

*Primary education.* The second EFA goal is to provide universal primary education by 2015. In 2006, 75 million children of primary school age were not in school (UNESCO, 2008: 9). According to one estimate, 18 million additional teachers would be needed by 2015 to achieve the goal. Given the high rate of return expected from investment in this area, resources could be attracted and the education system could contribute to reducing unemployment among the educated.

*Lifelong learning and literacy.* While the third EFA goal is concerned with ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and lifeskills, the fourth goal is concerned with improving literacy by 50 per cent by 2015. In 2006, 776 million adults – 16 per cent of the world's adult population aged 15 and over – were illiterate (UNESCO, 2008: 11). Education systems might explore the possibility of a role in programmes like 'micro-credit' systems, which have helped to eradicate poverty and empower women through self-employment and earning.

## **Operating in fast-changing environments**

### ***Employment for the low-qualified***

In economic crises, the low-qualified generally have higher risks of unemployment. McIntosh (2008: 86–87) recommended upgrading skills through vocational training and/or on-the-job training within firms. Quick obsolescence of knowledge and skills and changing needs of jobs have obliged European countries to make vocational training in the workplace during working hours an essential aspect of lifelong learning.

Atchoarena (2007) presented a list of strategies to facilitate the transition of youth from school to work in a range of contexts. The list included improved coordination between different ministries and other public providers, expanded and improved private providers of vocational education, and new funding methods with competitive tendering. Other strategies included voucher programmes to increase competition among providers and expand choice for students, promotion of dual forms of training (in school and on the job), formulation of lifelong learning policies, and non-formal education policies. Educational institutions may note these observations and incorporate relevant parts into their learning programmes, especially the provision of retraining facilities for laid-off workers in partnership with enterprises.

The French Research Institute, Centre d'étude et de recherche sur les qualifications (CEREQ), conducted a survey to assess the output of the education system and the occupational qualifications delivered by the French Ministry of Employment, and suggested possible lines on which to orient the Occupational Institutes founded by the Association ouvrière des compagnons du devoir de tour de France (AOCDTF). This allowed better coordination between the ministries of education and employment to face the challenges of the evolving needs of the employment market (CEREQ, 2008). Such models may have applicability elsewhere.

### ***Employment for the highly qualified***

Despite the observation above that, in general, workers with low skills are the most vulnerable, the economic crisis that commenced at the end of 2008 also hit high-level professionals. Ways to address this situation include the following (Sanyal, 2008).

### ***Development of new fields***

Employment opportunities may be generated through the development of new fields. Such fields could include green technologies, renewable and alternative energy development (solar and wind), de-desertification, desalinization of sea water, water management, and communications. In addition, moral and ethical education has become essential in this consumerist world. It is widely felt that the economic crisis that developed at the end of 2008 was due in major part to shortcomings in the morals and ethics of industrial executives and financial institutions.

Genomics is another new discipline that promotes understanding of the structure, function, and evolution of genomes and the application of genome sciences and technologies in facing challenging problems in biology and medicine. According to Venter (2008), genomics can reduce the magnitude of problems like global warming, disease, and shortage of food and water. Enterprising universities around the world may envisage programmes of research and training in these areas.

### ***Reinforcement of existing disciplines***

Reinforcement of disciplines such as management (including negotiating, moral and ethical skills), English language, computer science, life sciences, biotechnology, and environmental science may also assist with economic development and the generation of employment. Other avenues include engineering and agricultural specialties, and pedagogical training to meet the demand for teachers. The open courseware available free of charge from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology may be used in the relevant instructional programmes.

### ***Self-teaching techniques***

Institutions of higher education cannot prepare industry-ready graduates. Knowledge is exploding, and industry requirements are changing fast. Institutions can help link higher education to labour markets by promoting self-teaching in their programmes. One step is to require students to look for study materials using the internet and library searches, introducing case studies and problem-solving projects. Students may be given problems to solve by themselves through research. As in other domains, of course, the faculty may themselves need some orientation and support.

### ***Entrepreneurial education in the curriculum***

Entrepreneurship is defined more broadly than business management because it includes creativity, risk-taking, and innovation, which are not always found in traditional business education. Entrepreneurial education is a collection of formalized teaching that informs, trains, and educates anyone interested in business creation or development. It is also defined in terms of creativity and innovation applied to social, governmental, and business arenas. The University of Tasmania, Australia, has a noteworthy curriculum (Jones, 2007) that emphasizes the following:

- *Personal-development objectives*: concepts of entrepreneurship, characteristics of an entrepreneur, values of entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation skills, entrepreneurial and ethical self-assessment, networking, negotiating, and deal-making.
- *Enterprise-development objectives*: identifying and evaluating opportunities, commercializing a concept, developing entry strategies, constructing a business plan, finding capital, initiating the business, growing the business, and harvesting strategies.

Of course the context of any programme influences the way that it is administered.

### **Higher education and industry partnerships**

Among the many forms of partnership is integration of work-experience in initial training. For example, the Birla Institute of Technology and Science (BITS) in India has established practice schools in a number of enterprises that agree to collaborate with BITS on a regular basis. All BITS students are required to work on real-life problems in industrial workplaces and to be supervised jointly by BITS and the enterprise staff. The work of the students is regularly monitored and evaluated by the resident faculty, and is integrated into the degree programme. The practice can be extended to all disciplines, even the arts and human sciences.

A second form of partnership involves continuous professional development. Institutions of higher education are increasingly involved in such development of professionals in industry. The programmes in Turkey's Bogaziçi University and the BITS human resource development programme through distance education are two examples. The programmes help to generate income for the institutions of higher education. A third form focuses on collaborative research and

development. Institutions of higher education have research facilities that can be used to develop solutions to meet industry's needs. For example, the Aluminium Company of Egypt and the University of Cairo have worked jointly for over two decades to improve the quality of products and achieve economic efficiency. Similar collaboration is common elsewhere.

A fourth form of enterprise support and development is relatively new, especially in developing countries. In Yemen, small enterprises have been found to be less effective in generating employment, but the international experience shows that they can be engines for growth. The Union of Small Industries in the State of São Paulo in Brazil approached the University of São Paulo (USP) to create a user-friendly interface in order to facilitate access of small companies and entrepreneurs to USP's body of knowledge. The Uganda Gatsby Trust, a non-governmental organization established in the Faculty of Technology in Makerere University, assists in developing the technological base of the small enterprise sector of Uganda and helps the sector's growth (Martin, 2000).

Finally, industry may be involved in higher education programmes through participation in curriculum design and teaching. Industrialists may also sit on boards of trustees to advise on improving links between higher education and the labour market, and can advise on the placement of graduates.

## **Data needs**

One valuable tool is a higher education–labour market (HELM) information system for periodic monitoring and evaluation of the links between higher education and labour markets (Sanyal, 1987). A good HELM system includes data from regular tracer studies of students and school leavers. Data on the expectations and attitudes of students, and feedback from employers about the performance of higher education systems are also important. Tracer studies enable analysts to know to what extent 'natural selection' works in relating education with employment. It has also been observed that in a period of unemployment crisis, school leavers end up with whatever job is available with suitable wages and ignore its relevance to the qualification acquired. The training in flexibility stressed above facilitates quick adaptation to unfamiliar jobs. Similarly, when there is a shortage of qualified graduates or the provider education system is weak, enterprises may recruit any graduate with appropriate

affective skills such as good communication, curiosity, and general intellect of mind, and may then make them good performers.

## **Enterprises transformed into ‘surrogate universities’**

In a dynamic environment, roles are likely to evolve. Wadhwa, Kim de Vitton, and Gereffi (2008) have noted ways in which enterprises have become ‘surrogate universities’ in some parts of the world. From their examination of 24 Indian companies in emerging sectors, Wadhwa *et al.* remarked that ‘necessity is the mother of invention’ and that:

[i]n the 90s, India’s Information Technology (IT) industry learned to compensate for the country’s weak infrastructure and developed competencies that helped it become a top global player. Now several industries, including IT, have learned to overcome another major deficiency: India’s education system. They have adapted and perfected western practices in workforce training and development, and now take workers with poor education and weak technical skills and turn them into highly productive technical specialists and managers able to compete on the world stage (Wadhwa *et al.*, 2008: 1).

Wadhwa *et al.* added a comparison with the USA where, they noted (2008: 30), companies operating in regions with an absence of research universities function as ‘surrogate universities’ to create specialized labour pools and high-tech knowledge. In a similar way, leading companies in India are helping to create skilled labour pools and knowledge for a variety of industries. These enterprises, Wadhwa *et al.* remark, ‘have created a surrogate education system’ (2008: 30). The authors added:

The US companies have long played the guru, developing management and workforce practices and watching their widespread adoption. Perhaps the time has come for the guru to learn from a disciple: India.

As workforce development has become a critical way to survive in this competitive world, partnership of the education sector with the employment sector has become essential to secure a close match between education and employment.

## **Conclusion**

Beginning with efforts on the part of IIEP, I have attempted to provide here a brief overview of the evolution of attempts to improve the relationship between education and employment – a relationship that has become highly complicated because of the following factors:

- changes in the geopolitical order that have liberalized the economy;
- the ongoing revolution in information and communication technology, which makes old knowledge rapidly obsolete, while helping to create new disciplines;
- globalization, which requires education systems to respond to cross-border needs for skills;
- global warming, which calls for green technologies and alternative sources of energy;
- food and water scarcity, which requires new types of graduates;
- the EFA programme, which requires that education systems provide the necessary human resources;
- the emergence of the knowledge society and greater benefits of higher education, increasing social demand for higher education; and
- the recent global economic crisis, which commenced at the end of 2008 and raised unemployment to unprecedented levels.

However, the following conclusions for strategies can be drawn from the above overview.

- Following an iterative procedure of linking education to employment, a better match could be obtained by carrying out tracer studies of graduates (involving employers as well) and follow-up surveys of students. Attempts should be made to move away from a single planning methodology (e.g. manpower forecasting) and to widen the types of information and analysis based on which employment and educational policies are made.
- Emphasizing general training would enable the individual to move freely from one activity to another and enhance employability.
- Integrating formal education with non-formal and informal education and training within the framework of life-long learning would help students to acquire skills more relevant for employment.
- Upgrading skills through vocational training and/or on-the-job training within firms would reduce the vulnerability of low-qualified workers.
- Employment opportunities for high-level graduates could be enhanced through the development of new disciplines (water management, environmental education, bioinformatics, genomics, etc.), reinforcement of existing disciplines (IT, pedagogical skills for teachers, etc.), and the introduction of self-learning techniques and entrepreneurship education in the system.

- Jobs can be taken to populated, rural areas of developing countries, following the example of Rural Shores in the text, and people trained through formal and non-formal education programmes.
- Another important way to improve education–employment relationships is through the establishment of higher education–industry partnerships to formulate and implement education and employment policies and programmes.
- Improvement of relationships between education and employment should remain a priority issue. Once policy measures for improvement have been formulated, countries have to pass legislation to adopt measures formally. Implementation then has to be followed up through built-in monitoring systems.

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## 9. Training strategies for disadvantaged youth

*Claudia Jacinto*

### **The context**

In the 1990s and early 2000s, Françoise Caillods launched two IIEP research projects in Latin America related to strategies to improve educational opportunities: ‘Alternative Education Strategies for Disadvantaged Groups’ and ‘Strategies for Expanding Secondary Education’. The projects produced systematic information on trends and innovative programmes. Taking the outcomes of these projects as a baseline, this chapter presents further studies and discusses trends in vocational training programmes aimed at increasing employment opportunities for disadvantaged youth. It highlights many unsolved challenges and some innovative ways of responding to the complex situation of disadvantaged youth and the inequalities they experience in Latin America.

Differences in educational and employment opportunities as well as unbalanced income distribution are recognized structural phenomena in Latin America. Inequality is not only greater than in other world regions, but also remained unchanged throughout the 1990s and took a turn for the worse at the start of the current decade.

Between 1990 and 2003, economic growth in Latin America was low and average productivity stagnant, resulting in growing unemployment. In 2003, the proportion of the informal sector in the urban job market was 46.7 per cent. The difference in average income between the formal and informal sectors had increased from 59 per cent to 72 per cent (CEPAL, 2005). Since 2003, although poverty and unemployment have decreased in some countries, socioeconomic inequity remains very high. One of the most affected groups has been young, first-time job seekers, especially from poor households. In recent years, improvements in distribution have been achieved by several countries (CEPAL, 2006). The period 2003–2006 saw Latin America’s best performance in terms of social indicators for 25 years. For the first time, the poverty rate fell below the figure for 1980, when 40.5 per cent of the population was classified as poor. By 2010, despite the global financial crisis, Latin America and the

Caribbean, together with the emerging economies of Asia, was one of the most dynamic regions in the world (CEPAL, 2010).

But in today's highly segmented and polarized regional job market, opportunities to access the most productive sectors are increasingly reserved for those with higher levels of education. It is becoming more and more difficult to obtain a quality job without completing secondary school (SITEAL, 2006). Unskilled young people and adults constitute the largest group among the unemployed and/or those excluded from the formal sector (in a region where almost half of the employment opportunities are found in the informal sector).

Although secondary education has expanded, the expansion is highly unequal. The difference between enrolment rates in high-income and low-income sectors is approximately 20 per cent (SITEAL, 2005). There are also wide disparities between rural and urban areas, and between populations of different ethnicities. Furthermore, the education systems suffer from low quality and high repetition and drop-out rates (Jacinto, 2002). Many pathways have been developed to improve the job opportunities and socioeconomic status of unskilled youth. Most of these concern vocational training, the challenges and innovations of which are discussed in the next point.

## **Pathways for training disadvantaged youth**

There are three main models of vocational training accessible to disadvantaged young people in Latin America. They are institution-based training in traditional national institutions, ad hoc demand-driven programmes, and ad hoc subsidy-based programmes. The last two began during the 1990s, when vocational training began to be placed under the umbrella of national action plans for employment and/or social affairs. These are each examined in turn.

### ***Institution-based training in traditional national institutions***

Traditionally, the main avenues for vocational training for young people have been through vocational training institutes (VTIs), the majority of which were created in the 1950s. Most such institutions are supervised by the ministry of labour or equivalent, and they commonly have governing bodies representing the public sector, private firms, and unions. One remarkable feature of vocational training is the development of the role of entrepreneurial associations, as in Brazil ('S' System), Colombia

(Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje [SENA]), and Costa Rica (Instituto Nacional de Aprendizaje [INA]). Para-fiscal contributions are common, and taxes are levied specifically for this purpose. The taxes are calculated as a percentage of the workers' payrolls.

The apprenticeship programmes were the first instance of public policy for training and employment to target young people (Casanova, 2004), but they were oriented mostly towards the formal sector and learners who potentially had the skills to join the formal economy (and therefore not really disadvantaged).

Aside from these programmes, VTIs have provided the disadvantaged workforce with vocational training, counselling, and sometimes loans to start micro-enterprises (Gallart, 2004). The training schedules are commonly flexible, and the training programmes are adapted to the perceived needs. Many training centres maintain close relationships with community associations and NGOs offering parallel services. Within the participating population, young people receive training to start work in specific jobs (generally in traditional occupations) under self-employment conditions or, in some cases, as entrepreneurs.

Some VTI programmes include internships in companies that provide places in exchange for tax credits. One such initiative, the renowned Brazilian First Job Incentive Programme, is oriented towards the formal employment market. Unlike traditional apprenticeship programmes, it focuses on youths from low-income families and with limited education. Special attention is given to gender, ethnicity, and special needs. There have also been recent attempts to promote the apprenticeship system again. For example, in 2003 the Colombian government established a minimum quota of apprenticeships per company which, if unfilled, brought fines. However, many companies preferred to pay the fines than to hire interns (Finnegan, 2006).

### *Ad hoc demand-driven programmes*

During the 1990s, there was widespread consensus on the need to modify the state's orientation to organizing training programmes from the 'supply' model towards a market orientation. So, ad hoc programmes were created, commonly delegating training to diverse institutional agents, including NGOs and private training institutes. They were oriented towards vocational training for disadvantaged youth normally not found in institutions of formal training. Many of these programmes were designed

by the state, mainly by the ministry of labour or equivalent, with financial support from international agencies and multilateral banks. They adopted an 'open market' model, and outsourced courses to private institutions and a few public institutions through a bidding process. The mechanism was first implemented in the Chile Joven programme with the participation of the International Labour Organization (ILO), and was later replicated throughout Latin America.

The institutions supplied flexible training oriented to the formal labour market including internships in companies. They were responsible for course design and finding placements for the young people. Under this model, courses in various occupations were subcontracted to a wide range of institutions and organizations, both public and private, including labour unions, NGOs, and private training centres. All programmes provided a stipend to participants. As an incentive, extra payments were made to training centres for the effective job placement of trainees.

These programmes are examples of short, demand-driven training, combined with training through internships (de Moura Castro and Verdisco, 2002). In some cases, they have achieved good results in terms of labour market integration, slightly superior to those of traditional vocational supply, because their courses were more oriented towards concrete opportunities and provided access to decent jobs. However, their positive impact was closely correlated with the general buoyancy of the labour market and the individual size and design of the programme. In addition, an estimated 20–30 per cent of the youngsters trained returned to formal education upon completion of these courses (Pieck, 2001, 2005).

However, this model also revealed several weaknesses. Many links with regular vocational training from a lifelong learning perspective were missed, and providers tended to be weak and unsustainable. Many of the training centres participating in these short-term programmes have operated with greater flexibility than traditional institutions, but have been short-lived. Consequently, these programmes generally implied poor contributions to the enhancement of training institutions. The intention to develop an alternative model to the traditional institution-based training, capable of overcoming bureaucracy and avoiding repetition of training courses not related to the actual demands of the labour market, seems to have affected the sustainability of institutional learning (de Moura Castro and Verdisco, 2002). Furthermore, the programmes did not incorporate

the institutional, political, and in some cases even technical strengths of regular national vocational training institutions.

Another weakness is that the certificates issued by these ad hoc programmes are little recognized due to lack of equivalents between formal education and regular vocational training.

### ***Ad hoc subsidy-based programmes***

Another model has been developed within the framework of ministries of social affairs or equivalent, and financed by multilateral agencies. NGOs, foundations, churches, national training institutions, and other bodies receive subsidies from the state to develop the training programmes. The training is geared towards the informal sector, self-employment, and/or the creation of micro-enterprises. Commonly, these programmes are framed by ‘struggle against poverty’ policies.

In many cases these programmes develop integrated approaches to training, and combine the learning of technical skills with cultural activities and social competences (also in the broad sense, for example, training for citizenship). These social programmes usually promote alliances between different public organizations, including health services, education and training institutions, and private agencies enhancing social well-being, such as banks awarding micro-credits and youth centres.

So-called pre-occupational training is another type of programme that falls within this category. It focuses on creating the personal, behavioural, and cognitive conditions for marginal youths through individual tutoring, which sometimes has a social assistance component. This type of programme is intended to tackle deep-rooted challenges such as armed conflict, violence, drugs, and family exclusion from the formal labour market over several decades. Not only have the target group been socially marginalized, but they have also lost any expectation of ever integrating into society. They are a priority group because they are not interested in training for work programmes, and hence need other strategies (Jacinto and Lasida, 2008).

Another type of programme is those that promote self-employment and the creation of micro-enterprises. Self-employment programmes are more complex and demanding, and have frequently excluded the poorest due to admissions criteria that require that applicants own a business and/or hold a secondary qualification (Jaramillo Baanante, 2004).

This prerequisite is based on evidence that a certain level of skills and experience is essential if young people are to be successful in business initiatives (Lasida, 2004). Disadvantaged youth tend to start their own businesses more often due to lack of employment opportunities than to their entrepreneurial prospects, which in the long run leads to failure. Successful entrepreneurs that seek business opportunities often come from higher income jobs and have higher education levels. Moreover, they have more resources and stronger social networks that enable them to support and consolidate their projects, partly because they have better opportunities than youth from poor backgrounds (Jacinto, 2008).

In general, most of the programmes are based on a simplistic view of youth inclusion in the labour market, providing specific and/or low-quality training. They have disregarded the importance of diplomas and an enlarged skills-development approach. Moreover, they have not taken into account the scarcity of quality jobs and lack of information and social capital on the part of the target group. They have also ignored the fact that in a globally constrained job market, poorly educated youth tend to be displaced by better educated youths, even for jobs that do not require high technical skills. This has resulted in low impact in terms of access to formal jobs, only introducing slight improvements for some subgroups (Jacinto, 2008).

Although the initiatives targeted disadvantaged youth, evaluation of such programmes showed that it is the best-educated youths who are selected by training centres and enterprises (Caillods, 1998). Training centres receive an incentive of additional payment if their trainees remain in the enterprise following their period of attachment. This is a reason why training centres may reject the most disadvantaged youth.

Projects promoting links with other local and sectoral development programmes as well as youth work inclusion have commonly been restricted in scope (Jacinto, 1999).

Political orientations have changed during the 2000s. Several countries that chose to outsource training to private institutions during the 1990s later focused on strengthening public vocational training centres. More second-chance education programmes have been developed, combining vocational training and basic generic skills. An increase in the level of employment gives more chances to youngsters to get a job. But the informal sector has remained the most important source

of employment of undereducated youth. Therefore, learning approaches tend to be built on lessons learnt over more than a decade.

## **Some consensus in learning approaches**

Training by itself has proved insufficient to provide disadvantaged youth with the competences (in terms of both social and cultural capital) needed in the job market. Therefore new strategies have been introduced. These strategies include on-the-job learning; advice and coaching for inexperienced, small entrepreneurs; and job placement services.

### ***On-the-job learning***

Caillods (1998) pointed out that sandwich education is a way to facilitate relevant training. Almost a third of the programmes reviewed in her research on Latin America integrated internships with pertinent training. This strategy helped young people in their transition to work, as some of the youths ended up working for those companies (Lasida and Rodríguez, 2006). Pedagogical material for orientation has been developed, including curricula containing techniques to identify the companies' demands, training design, and the description of tutors' roles, both for teachers at the training centres and for employees in companies (CINTERFOR, 2003; Pasman, 2006).

As openings for internships in companies are relatively scarce, these practices are difficult to extend to large populations. Nevertheless, some programmes have included internships in NGOs or even public institutions, and the governments of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, and Uruguay have developed laws and regulations to favour internships. Notwithstanding, policies promoting internships might become a drawback by worsening competition for job opportunities, especially in cases where young people must compete with higher education graduates for internship positions.

The resourcefulness of an internship depends essentially on the networking strategies between the education and employment sectors. From the outside, internships mainly look like subsidies for private employment and may encourage the substitution of regular salaried employees by interns. Another objection is the lack of supervision and training plans from the training centres involved (Jacinto, 2006). As noted by Niemeyer (2006: 102), 'a true learning context is based – amongst other elements – on its resemblance to the real job market; however it is

also the job market and its dynamics that make access difficult for these youngsters, who have a different learning rhythm’.

### ***Advice and coaching for inexperienced, small entrepreneurs***

Programmes oriented to youth entrepreneurial projects are not a universal solution for youth unemployment. Their design might include much more than providing entrepreneurial skills, and may also demand both knowledge and business skills. The most innovative experiences include technical assistance, coaching in business plans, and help with the implementation of entrepreneurial projects. They may also provide links with micro-credit, since disadvantaged youth may be ineligible for bank loans.

In general, the strategies are oriented more to support the initial development of projects than the development of permanent policies intended to create formal micro-enterprises. Furthermore, integrated approaches state the need for legal frameworks and networking with development strategies, in order to bring them closer to the formal market (Tokman, 2003). The programmes require micro-entrepreneurial projects to be integrated in ‘value chains’ to support their feasibility.

### ***Job placement services***

Job placement services in programmes that train for employment are becoming increasingly integrated into programme designs. In training and employment programmes that introduce these services, each youth receives support for 6 to 12 months after training. Job placement activities are the responsibility of the training centres. These services provide contacts to youth who are searching for jobs, and help to match enterprise demands with youth profiles. Often during the selection process the job-placement personnel advise both the enterprises and the youths.

These services also intervene at the initial stages of inserting young people in work. Youngsters sometimes lose their jobs because they ignore the codes, rules, and routines of their workplaces and are therefore disappointed with, or disappointing to, their employers. In the event that trainees lose their jobs, the training centres provide assistance in finding new jobs. They may provide feedback from the previous employer to the new employer. The training centres’ assistance may include additional training to develop skills, knowledge, and attitudes, which will facilitate the trainees’ search for new jobs and help them to keep those jobs.

The uncertainty of the labour market and the unequal distribution of information make the coaching and related strategies a ‘bridge’ to employment, without which most disadvantaged youths could not find decent work. For youth who develop their own self-employment initiatives, job placement services provide support for their business plans, which often include visits to other businesses resembling the one they would like to start, accompanied by a mentor. Once their project is approved, they can get access to credit with technical assistance for the period of the loan to guide and consolidate their enterprise.

### **Combining technical, social, and personal skills in general curricula**

Disadvantaged youth who begin vocational training programmes without having completed their secondary education often lack basic ‘transferable’ skills that can be applied to a variety of situations. This can be because they dropped out at a certain level, and/or that their schools did not provide adequate education and training. Faced with this situation, many vocational training courses include basic skills together with technical skills. Once the basic skills required in the workplace have been identified, educational strategies are designed and developed to teach them.

One IIEP study focused on innovative training experiments in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay (Jacinto, 2006). In these experiments, modules on Livelihood and Social Skills were intended to develop skills on interaction and work-related practices (Kaplun, 1997). They usually consisted of workshops to develop abilities such as job interview techniques, strategies for job seeking, résumé preparation, and self-esteem. The modules also provided information about labour rights and profitability in different professions (Silveira, 2005). Follow-up studies of graduates demonstrated the importance of these modules. The broader skills often played a stronger role in getting jobs than the specific technical skills (Abdala, Jacinto, and Solla, 2005; Lasida and Rodríguez, 2006).

Other examples of integrated learning approaches combine artistic disciplines with everyday skills beyond working environments. This is the case of the Centro de Educación Integral (CEI) in Brazil, the courses of which cover a range of subjects, such as instruction in driving, music, mechanics, and physical education (Singh, 2005).

Concerning the technical component, one of the most important recent innovations is the implementation of a skill-based rather than content-based approach. Learning becomes a permanent process to develop skills that are personal, technical, organizational, and even entrepreneurial. Both instructors from the training institutions and employees from the companies participate in workshops to learn how best to implement this approach. Some programmes supported by international cooperation have oriented and organized their actions towards national systems that involve different actors in the work and training fields, and including skills-based training, certification, validation, and evaluation (Vargas Zúñiga, 2004). However, only a few countries have been able to develop national skills-certification systems. Very few youth-training programmes have developed skill-based curricula, notable exceptions being Colombia Joven, Projovent in Uruguay, and Chile Califica. Even in these exceptional cases, the certification and validation of non-formal and informal skills are incipient processes. One interesting example is a programme developed by the NGO Hospitalidade in Brazil, based on national standards for the Brazilian hospitality, tourism, and entertainment sectors.

More recently, several programmes have combined second-chance education (to obtain primary and secondary diplomas) with vocational training.

## **Conclusion**

Promoting the social inclusion of young disadvantaged people is a major challenge in the context of inequalities. Many initiatives have been developed to provide basic vocational qualifications and pathways to work. IIEP studies show some interesting strategies that seem to improve the impact of training.

A holistic approach, combining training and social services, general education, on-the-job training, job placement services, and career guidance seems to be very important. Bridges between and within different educational paths and learning environments need to be developed and reinforced. This demands relevance to the certification of already-acquired knowledge. It is also important to establish close bonds with local NGOs, especially those already oriented towards local youth. Networking helps to support different programmes and other types of

complementary interventions, as well as assistance in obtaining private and public support, and national incentives (Leonardos, 1999).

Taking into account the vast heterogeneity, it is necessary to identify the varying requirements in order to target training programmes to specifically selected categories of young people and adjust them to the specific requirements of the economy. Personal tutoring and strong links between youths and adults are also important. Young people dropping out of school face increasingly disadvantaged situations in which secondary education is essential for the labour market. There is a need to reinforce incentives for young people to remain in school and to promote the re-integration of drop-outs into the education system. In order to do so, successful initiatives in the vocational training field, including some flexible institutional and pedagogical approaches that take into account the complexity of living conditions of disadvantaged youth, may be transferred to mainstream education.

There is a need to analyse non-formal education from an integration perspective. Non-formal education could be considered a laboratory for alternative forms of cultural transmission and vocational training, and therefore an arena filled with the tensions around educational reform. Non-formal programmes contribute to diversity and promote alternative forms of education. However, such diversity may only be politically accepted if it stays respectful of fair distribution of resources in a context of expanding education and a curriculum that facilitates common outcomes (Hoppers, 2006).

It should be recognized that employment opportunities are increasingly reserved for those with higher qualifications. The minimum to obtain a quality job is completion of secondary school. Those with incomplete basic education constitute the largest group among people unable to get employment in the formal sector (SITEAL, 2006). Therefore, vocational training needs to be linked with second-chance educational programmes that enable people to obtain a secondary diploma.

Better links between formal, non-formal, and informal education, and employment opportunities are needed not only to increase efficacy and efficiency; they also drive the broader field of equity, prefiguring in this way wider education opportunities, more able to cope with social, cultural, economic, and technical changes, and offering access to diverse pathways for lifelong learning.

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**Part III**  
**Tools and approaches**

## 10. School mapping and geographical information systems

*Steven J. Hite*

According to available accounts, school mapping originated in France in 1963 (Caillods, 1983; Dias da Graça, 1998). It is a well accepted and longstanding approach to the planning of school locations, and is also used to investigate and ensure the efficient and equitable distribution of resources within and between school systems when large-scale reform or significant expansion of an education system takes place.

Along with school mapping, geographical information systems (GIS) and public participation GIS (PPGIS) function at an interesting and often paradoxical social and geopolitical position. As planning approaches, technologies and/or exercises, school mapping, GIS, and PPGIS operate at the confluence of decentralization efforts and centralized resources and mandates. Specifically, school mapping, GIS, and PPGIS can be valuable in decentralized educational planning, but they often (perhaps nearly always) depend on some significant level of centralized expertise, resources, and/or decision-making for their implementation.

The discourse in school mapping, GIS, and PPGIS, in the context of interplay between decentralized and centralized domains, often confronts the question of whether these three approaches are simply map-based ways of facilitating planning, or whether they are focused on creating and supporting decentralized participatory democracy (Schlossberg and Shuford, 2005). It would be useful for advocates of educational planning to consider more seriously the fact that school mapping, GIS, and PPGIS processes occur in complex social and geopolitical ‘spaces of dependence’, containing localized relations and place-specific conditions, and that, in the words of Ghose (2007: 1961), ‘securing this space leads to the creation of “spaces of engagement” at multiple scales’. The complexity of spaces of dependence and engagement is often overlooked, and consequently efforts at democratic decentralized planning using school mapping, GIS, and PPGIS often face challenges that would not exist if educational planners more directly accounted for these complex social and geopolitical conditions.

In these social and geopolitical spaces of dependence and engagement, there is commonly a tension between decentralized control of planning and centralized expertise, resources, and policy mandates:

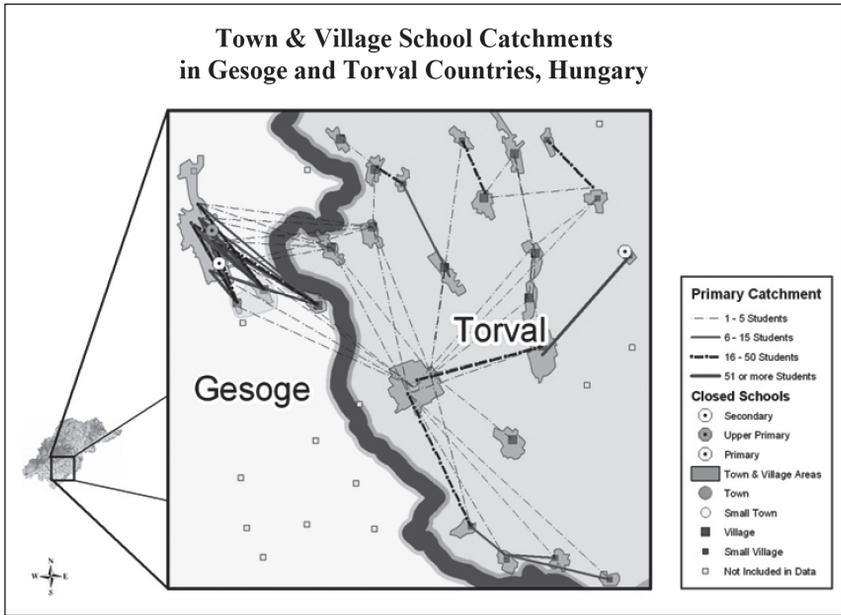
- At just what point does, or should, the balance tip in favour of one level of operation and responsibility over the other?
- When does or should a decentralized planning project with centralized support become a centralized planning exercise with local input?
- Who decides whether a particular planning project should emphasize one sphere of operation over another?
- To what degree is this tension between the local and national unavoidable, and perhaps even vital in asserting the needs of participants at both decentralized and centralized levels in educational planning processes?
- How are school mapping, GIS, and PPGIS similar in their impact on the balances and tensions between macro- and micro-planning levels?
- What are the geopolitical realities and implications of these questions in educational planning?

Such questions form a common core of themes at the centre of any discussion of school mapping, GIS, and/or PPGIS that attempts an honest inclusion of significant decentralized participation. This chapter will review the origins and principles of school mapping, discuss the influence and potential of GIS and PPGIS, and propose some possibilities for future trends with special consideration of legal, ethical, and social issues.

## **Origins and principles of school mapping**

School mapping as a technical exercise has become a relatively normalized and institutionalized practice in educational planning. Its function in offering technical input into any educational planning effort is self-evident. School mapping (a process) is not the same as a school map (one typical product of the school mapping process, see *Figure 1*). More than simply being a tabular, graphical, or cartographical representation of a particular space or place, school mapping involves the consideration and incorporation of various forms of technical data that impact and ‘populate’ the physical and social context of analysis. As a process that produces specific functional products, school mapping is fundamentally an educational planning effort focused on increasing school resource efficiency and equity (Caillods, 1983; Varghese, 1997).

**Figure 1. School map of Gesoge and Torval counties, Hungary**



Source: Hite, 2006.

The origins of school mapping in France were described by Caillods (1983: 6–7) as follows:

In 1963 the Government [of France] decided to extend the period of compulsory schooling to the age of 16, which required the establishment of a large number of new schools. It quickly became apparent that the Ministry of Education could not itself plan the location of all the new schools, nor did the regional offices have the methodological means to decide what types of schools were needed and where. A collection of circulars, regulations, standards and procedures were prepared at that time and given the name ‘the school map’.

School mapping (particularly in developing countries) is most often used to facilitate one or more of six functions:

1. to create the necessary conditions for achieving universal primary and secondary education;
2. to increase access for females and other under-represented socioeconomic groups;

3. to promote the equitable distribution of educational benefits within and between different regions and populations;
4. to improve the quality of education;
5. to optimize the use of capital, human, and financial resources; and
6. to organize, coordinate, and rationalize efforts at technical, vocational, and post-secondary education.

A typical method for implementing the school mapping process would include steps and considerations such as the following (Caillods, 1983: 15–18; Varghese, 1997: 12):

1. Selection of a unit of analysis for the school-mapping exercise;
2. Diagnosis of the educational situation in the base year:
  - a. Existing inequalities in access by impacted area(s) and group(s)
  - b. Efficiency issues such as repetition and drop-out rates (wastage)
  - c. Disparities in elements impacting quality such as facilities, teachers, equipment, and supplies;
3. Detailed projection of enrolment, including definitions of optimal catchment area(s) for the school(s);
4. Estimation of numbers and identification of locations where schools are to be opened (and perhaps closed):
  - a. Teacher transfers and distribution
  - b. School calendar modifications to increase student participation
  - c. Measures to encourage attendance, such as school meals and free school book programmes;
5. Estimation of facilities, resources, and supplies to be provided in schools; and
6. Estimation of costs.

Since school mapping is typically defined as a micro-planning exercise, the usual expectation is that it should operate at the sub-national level. In the normal application of school-mapping processes, lower-level participants and organizations must necessarily work and (it is hoped) cooperate with centralized data and decision-support services. Caillods (1983: 13) described an iterative school mapping process:

Adoption of the school map implies acceptance of a type of planning which does not result in one-way communication from the centre to the peripheries, or *vice versa*, but in a series of successive loops and iterations which make possible the progressive revision of proposals as well as the preparation of final decisions.

Optimally this iterative process between decentralized and centralized units leads to creative cooperation while preserving the necessary responsibilities at all levels. In practice, however, there can be serious tension and sometimes even co-optation between decentralized and centralized players. When difficulties occur in maintaining influence and control at either level, the negative results may more often accrue at the decentralized level. This introduces one of the most common functional challenges with school mapping as a micro-level or decentralized process – the apparently unavoidable reliance of participants at decentralized levels on centralized policy expertise, resources, and/or decision-making. This condition of dependence can disable significant decision-making and influence at the decentralized level.

### **GIS in planning**

An obvious question is whether GIS is simply a better, more precise, and flexible spatial analysis tool for representing schools and their physical, social, and geopolitical contexts, or whether GIS provides a different way to understand and plan those contexts geospatially. Another relevant consideration is whether GIS, which is clearly financially and technically costly, might create a larger and more challenging set of problems in the tensions between decentralized and centralized levels than has been experienced in school mapping.

### **Brief history of GIS**

The mapping of physical and social space to consider and represent complex human-environmental systems perhaps finds its first recorded modern manifestation in Dr. John Snow's 1855 map of the Soho, London cholera outbreak of 1854 (*Figure 2*). Most contemporary efforts at mapping social and physical space, including GIS applications, acknowledge Snow's work as seminal.

**Figure 2. Gilbert's version of John Snow's 1855 Soho cholera map**



*Source:* Gilbert, 1958.

While the actual origins of GIS are somewhat in dispute, most commentators assert that the Canada Geographic Information System (CGIS) of circa 1965 was the first. Most early efforts at GIS were seen as cost-effective technical solutions to relatively mundane administrative problems, such as planning of urban transportation routes. In the 1970s, the potential of digital computers to facilitate the analysis of geographic information emerged (Goodchild, 2006). The technology revolution of the mid-1970s facilitated the explosive emergence of sophisticated GIS solutions by virtue of the rapid development of relational database management systems (RDMS) and the precipitous fall in cost of computing power with the introduction of mini- and micro-computers (Maguire, Goodchild, and Rhind, 1991; Forseman, 1998).

Early implementations of GIS were clearly oriented at 'GIS as a tool' mechanical operations – specifically at faster and more complex administrative computations. Since national, military, and intelligence community applications of GIS bloomed quickly in the 1980s, a socio-political critique of GIS emerged by the late 1980s that generated notions of GIS well beyond mechanical and computational performance.

This critique and its repercussions created a wave of analysis, some positive and some negative, around the potential of GIS as much more than a tool (Pickles, 1995). One major outcome of this socio-political debate was the emergence of the study of democratically oriented GIS use in community-based decision-making. This movement to include the public in GIS-related democratic discourse gave rise to the field of PPGIS, which, in the future, could have significant impact on how GIS is viewed and used in educational planning efforts.

Compared with disciplines such as quantitative geography and business marketing, the field of educational policy and planning has been a somewhat reluctant latecomer to the use of GIS. A number of important works in this area have been produced by IIEP (e.g. Mendelsohn, 1996; Attfeld, Tamiru, Parolin, and De Grauwe, 2002). However, consideration and inclusion of GIS did not emerge as a consistent or normative approach in educational policy and planning. That emergence is not likely to occur unless either GIS can be shown to be an extremely cost-effective and useful tool, or new ways of GIS-facilitated thinking in educational planning emerge as clearly superior to current alternatives.

### **GIS as a tool**

GIS is typically used in most application fields as an advanced and technologically elegant tool. Even if GIS is considered as simply a ‘better’ tool, the progress in presentation, representation, and flexibility seems to justify considering as significant the benefits that GIS provides to planning. De Grauwe (2002: 10–12) identifies the following possibilities for GIS to improve educational planning:

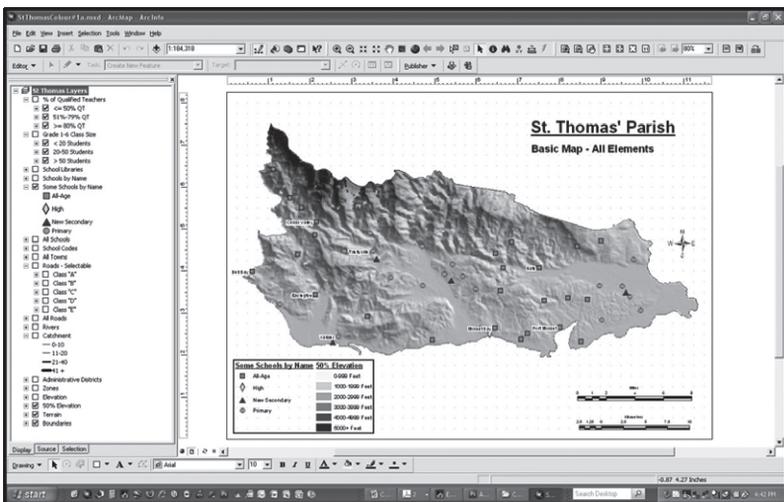
- GIS helps to make the presentation of data more attractive than traditional static maps.
- Projecting tabular data onto maps helps in recognizing unanticipated situations which, when noticed, call for closer examination.
- Through considering geographical (spatial) factors, the analysis becomes finer and more precise, increasing the likelihood that ensuing strategies will be more pertinent.
- More flexible assistance can be provided in prospective planning at multiple levels or units of analysis: national, regional, provincial/district, and local.

To this list the following might be added for consideration (Hite and Hite, 2004: 23):

- expanded holistic representation and exploration of the contexts of schooling, which are otherwise very difficult to contemplate in educational planning and management through the direct and dynamic use of multiple sources of influential data, such as those found in census, transportation, utilities, health care, land use, and agricultural databases.
- increased public appeal and utility;
- extensive control of scale of complexity, and flexibility in how much data are displayed or explored at a given time, with changes in unit of analysis virtually limitless and immediate; and
- dynamic ability to facilitate ‘what if’ analysis, exploratory inquiry, and creation of planning and management scenarios.

The case for introducing GIS solutions to Françoise Caillods’ school-mapping exercises provides one example of the improvement that GIS can make as a tool in educational planning. Until a few years ago, Françoise used typical static maps of St. Thomas’ Parish for her school catchment examples and exercises. As can be seen in *Figure 3* (a screen shot of a panel using ESRI’s ArcMap software), the GIS solution prepared for her included basic satellite imagery and colour relief, rendering a more realistic representation of not only the parish, but also potential spatial barriers (i.e. mountains, ravines, and rivers) that influence the plausibility of actual and potential catchment areas for certain schools.

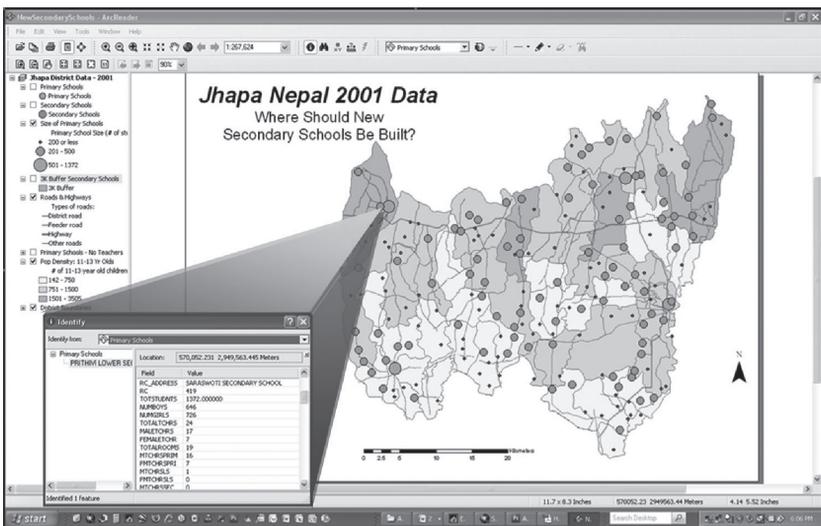
**Figure 3. GIS solution for St. Thomas’ Parish School mapping exercises**



Close inspection of the control panel on the left side of *Figure 3* shows that the examples and training exercises are potentially enhanced by the GIS-as-tool solution, which allows user-controlled selective inclusion and exploration of elements such as percentage of qualified teachers, grade 1–6 class size, and school libraries, along with types of roads and rivers in creating and simulating different conditions existing in the parish, as well as implications for particular observed patterns or possible planning decisions. In scenario building and exploration, the presenter or participant can have complete control of what scenarios are interactively chosen, and of the scale or area of focus, rather than relying on numerous static maps produced prior to the session.

In addition, all school-level data can be made instantly available for use in a course or workshop session. As shown in *Figure 4*, any data associated with a particular school (or any other element on the map that has site-relevant data) can be accessed directly during the interactive session. The ecological impact of these types of user-controlled scenario building and data access and exploration certainly establish the power and utility of GIS in school mapping and planning exercises – even if only considered as a technologically enabled and enhanced tool.

**Figure 4. Site-relevant road data access in planning the location of new secondary schools in Jhapa District, Nepal**



The advanced tool functions of GIS may come at a steep price, however. As the cost and sophistication of a planning tool or approach increases, so does the reliance of participants at decentralized levels on more centralized resources. Consequently, while GIS has the potential to increase the ability of local participants to model and build scenarios according to their own local experience, they are also likely to become more dependent on centralized offices and experts to provide the GIS materials necessary to accomplish their tasks. This tends to drive GIS-supported solutions toward centralization and away from decentralized control – certainly a challenging tension in planning efforts that could be accelerated by expensive and complex tools such as GIS.

This decentralization/centralization tension became obvious in an IIEP capacity-development project conducted in Nepal from 2002 through 2004. The project, entitled Improving Decentralized Management and District Planning through Strengthening Education management information systems (EMIS) and School Mapping was directed by Anton De Grauwe. One component included the use of GIS in school planning and mapping workshops. A GIS was created through cooperative efforts in the collection and compilation of GPS/GIS data. Participants included government-employed staff of the District Education Office (DEO) and school-based resource persons, and brought together all of the local GPS school-location data in Jhapa District (eastern Nepal). Central office staff from the Nepali Statistics Unit participated in compiling various national and district level data.

While this collaboration created a GIS (see *Figure 4*) that was used in several productive workshops, the ability of the district-level staff to use the GIS materials produced for them was limited. Indeed, even the central-level participants were challenged to keep up on the sophisticated requirements for supporting the GIS. The problems were exacerbated by instability in the Ministry of Education regarding assignment of GIS and EMIS responsibilities and functions. One lesson was that the ultimate division of labour between central and local levels for designing and implementing the GIS should be carefully considered in terms of three different implementation models: centralized, decentralized, or decentralized-centralized (De Grauwe, 2002, 2003; Hite and Hite, 2004). Each of these models creates a very different structure and environment for the roles, involvement, and prominence of participants at decentralized and centralized levels. In these models the critical roles that must be divided between these levels and carefully clarified revolve

around design of the GIS; collection of data used in the GIS; design, control, and delivery of the GIS map products; and use of GIS map products.

In the case of the IIEP Nepal capacity-development programme, the decentralized-centralized model was recommended. Thus the particularly technical aspects of data collection and manipulation would be located in the centralized agencies, and the GIS materials produced by the centralized agencies would be specific map layers requested by the decentralized district education offices. These materials would be designed to be given to the district education office in a form that could be totally functional without requiring high levels of technical expertise and training. Fortunately, software such as ESRI's ArcGIS can easily generate maps that are fully functional in terms of selecting layers, accessing school level data, 'zooming in' to specific locations, and so on. These ArcReader maps, which use free downloadable software from ESRI, have all the technical functionality of the more complex and expensive software except the ability to enter or manipulate the base data. Control of scenario building and school planning is consequently facilitated at the local level through GIS products that require little technical expertise other than clicking on boxes indicating different map components or layers, and far lower costs than those experienced at the product-producing central level.

The IIEP Nepal project demonstrated that a number of the tensions typical between the local-level and central-level participants can be substantially mitigated. This outcome gives cause for optimism for the use of GIS as a tool without necessarily exacerbating potential tensions between levels. GIS-enabled planning exercises should carefully explore how to moderate and capitalize on the nature of interactions between participants at different levels.

## **GIS as more than a tool**

GIS clearly has the potential to impact educational planning exercises in ways that extend well beyond the function of a high-end mapping tool. If GIS is to become more than a tool for planning, its use will likely be in areas where cartographical representations are only end-products of geospatial analyses, not the actual analytical tool *per se*.

One practical example of how GIS has been used for much more than producing maps is found in an investigation of the impact of space and place

on education outcomes in northern England (Fotheringham, Charlton, and Brunson, 2001). While the investigators utilized GIS-generated maps in their presentation, the primary focus of the study was on geographically weighted analyses of the impact of spatial conditions on the 'key stage' performance of 3,687 schools. For example, using GIS the investigators were able to account for the spaces and places where conditions creating socioeconomic status actually influence education performance, rather than just analysing numbers intended as proxies for those conditions. While the geo-statistical analyses in Fotheringham *et al.* (2001) were unusual according to typical non-geospatial procedures, they were not any more difficult to implement. The specialized geo-sensitive analysis (statistical or otherwise) demonstrated the potential for GIS to be used as more than a tool. ESRI's *Spatial Analyst* and *Geo-Statistical Analyst* plug-ins are examples of the emerging potential in this domain.

Another example of GIS as more than a tool is presented in *Figures 5, 6, and 7*. These figures illustrate work in Uganda with the Ministry of Education in which distance was conceptualized, explored, and accounted for in much more realistic ways than would have been possible without GIS (Hite *et al.*, 2007; Hite *et al.*, 2010). In this research the social network of secondary school head teachers was investigated to determine how non-financial resources were being exchanged or shared between schools, and to investigate the impact of physical distance on the existence and types of these exchange relationships. In *Figure 5*, the GIS represents the locations of all of the secondary schools in the Mukono District of Uganda. *Figure 6* represents straight-line (Euclidean) distance between the schools. In *Figure 7*, the power of GIS as more than a tool begins to emerge, as six examples of the actual distances that school administrators would have to travel between locations to exchange or share resources is shown, contrasted with the Euclidean distances between the same schools. Furthermore, the GIS can account for differential travel speed and times resulting from different types and qualities of roads, as well as factors that add difficulty such as crossing rivers and negotiating dramatic changes in elevation. All of these real-life time/distance factors can be computed by the GIS and then directly accounted for in geo-statistical analyses.

In school mapping, then, a GIS component could be employed to do much more than simply draw Euclidean distances between schools to calculate catchment ranges in the traditional way. Many more environmental factors that influence the ability of students to move from

one location to another (or account for some situations in which students cannot move from one place to another) can be conceptualized, directly accounted for, and analysed to advance planning in ways not otherwise possible.

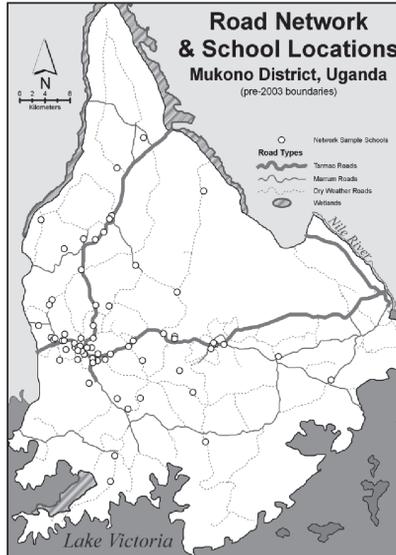
Another example of how a GIS can change the way in which planning issues are conceptualized, analysed, and used to impact policy is illustrated in *Figures 8 and 9* (Wawro *et al.*, 2008). In exploring equitable access to schooling for girls in Uganda, these two figures demonstrate that boys and girls have different access characteristics at two schools, depending on the location (urban/rural) and quality (high/typical) of the school.

*Figure 8* demonstrates that boys travel much further from their native town or village to attend a high-quality urban school than girls, which indicates greater access for boys than girls. Yet in the typical-quality rural school shown in *Figure 9*, access of boys and girls, as expressed in distances from home, is relatively equal.

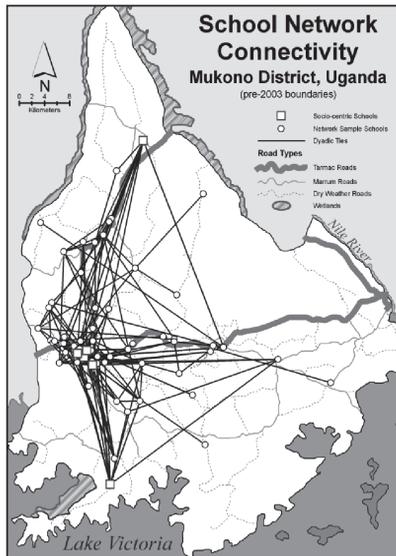
The GIS representations of distance in *Figures 8 and 9* are much more than the simple mean distance measures used in regular planning exercises. Rather, these figures represent the ‘standard distances’ shown by circles that are not actually centred on the schools (as are mean distance measures). Standard distances in GIS centre on the actual geographic centre of the homes of the students. Consequently, *Figure 8* demonstrates that not only is the girls’ standard distance smaller than the boys’, but that the population of girls draws more heavily from towns and villages west of the school, while the boys come from more eastward locations. This type of information would be useful in policy formation in determining not only where students reside, but also where newer schools would best be located. This type of analysis is extremely difficult, if not impossible, without a GIS.

Much of what is very briefly presented in Fotheringham *et al.* (2001), Hite *et al.* (2006, 2007, 2010), and Wawro *et al.* (2008) as showing the potential of GIS could be considered simply to be advanced tool functions. However, the ability to directly conceptualize, account for, and analyse geospatial realities – not previously considered possible – could create and facilitate new geospatially sensitive ways of thinking about the truly complex spaces and places of education. Thus new horizons and visions facilitated by GIS ‘space and place’ possibilities can move practitioners beyond GIS-as-a-tool approaches to new ways of conceptualizing and implementing planning exercises.

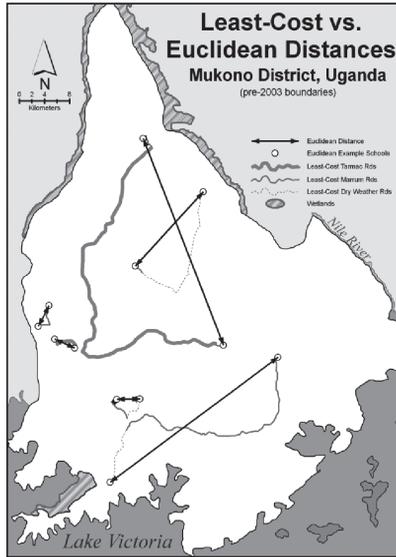
**Figure 5. Location of all secondary schools in Mukono District, Uganda**



**Figure 6. Euclidean distances between resource-sharing secondary schools**

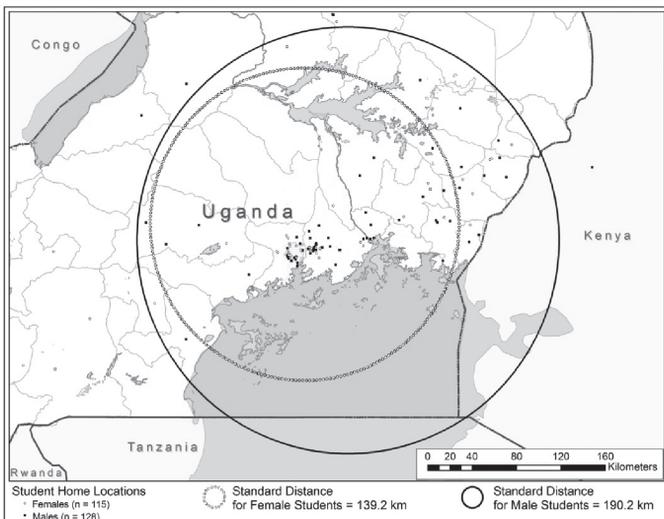


**Figure 7. Actual ('real') distance between resource-sharing secondary schools**



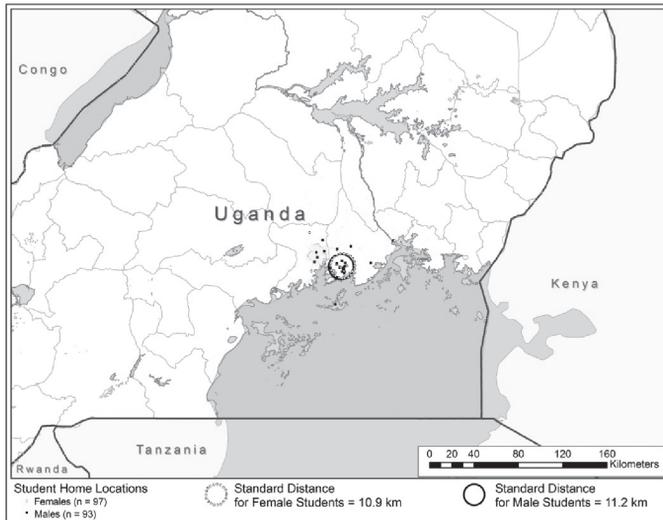
Source: Maps created by Dr Patrick Wawro.

**Figure 8. Standard distances for boys and girls attending a high-quality urban secondary school in Mukono, Uganda**



Source: Map created by Dr Patrick Wawro.

**Figure 9. Standard distances for boys and girls attending a typical rural secondary school in Mukono, Uganda**



Source: Map created by Dr Patrick Wawro.

## PPGIS implications for educational planning

PPGIS, which attempts to create and facilitate democratically oriented GIS use in community-based decision-making, has the potential to influence educational planning positively in a number of ways. Among other benefits, PPGIS provides the lens through which the substantial challenge of the decentralized-centralized interplay in planning can be more effectively conceptualized and facilitated. PPGIS emerged in the late 1980s as a result of democratically oriented socio-political concerns that the early adopters of GIS were national ministries, military operations, and intelligence contexts (Pickles, 1995; Goodchild, 2006). Since PPGIS evolved as an effort to enable democratic participation in creating and using GIS, the definitions of *public* and *participation* have been central to its vision (Schlossberg and Shuford, 2005; Elwood, 2006, 2008; Ghose, 2007). Consequently, significant effort has been made to develop textured and creative ways of conceptualizing, thinking about, and identifying what specific *public* should be included, and at what particular levels of *participation*. Educational planning can benefit from a serious review and evaluation of these PPGIS efforts.

For example, in much planning literature and forms of implementation, the conceptualization of *micro* and *macro* – or *decentralized* and *centralized* – are presented as dualistic conditions. In reality a continuum exists, with many variations between the extremes, which strongly influences how planning exercises should be conceptualized and implemented. *Table 2* presents one way of delineating levels of decentralization and varying intended levels of decentralized participation. It should be obvious that it matters whether the participants at decentralized levels are the general community surrounding a specific school, the parents of children who actually attend the school, or staff at the District Education Office. Yet much planning literature devotes little attention to the textured realities and challenges created by *who* or *what* is actually represented by the label of *decentralized*. Certainly this is a significant issue in the eventual success and impact of any planning endeavour.

For educational planning to fulfil its promise, the variety of potential participants at decentralized levels must be considered as different from each other in important ways. Issues of closeness to the actual implementation, personal and family impact of decisions, amount of local experience and knowledge, legal and legislative obligations and limitations, and so on, must all become more relevant as decentralized planning efforts are conceptualized, implemented, and evaluated.

In identifying participants at decentralized levels, the nature of intended decentralized participant involvement must be considered. If a planning effort intends simply to inform the participants at decentralized levels, then the degree of decentralized inclusion is quite straightforward. Alternatively, if the effort is intended to create local control of planning, then the complexity is much greater. Often planning efforts remain vague on the definitions, roles, goals, and intentions for participants at both decentralized and centralized levels, and PPGIS perspectives would attribute much of the ineffectiveness of educational planning efforts to this lack of clarity. Consequently, participants in educational planning efforts should seek to locate clearly at what point along the two dimensions they intend to operate.

**Table 1. Levels of decentralization and intended level of decentralized participation**

|   |         | Level of decentralization      |                           |                         |              |   |                             |
|---|---------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|---|-----------------------------|
|   |         | Central .....local>            |                           |                         |              |   |                             |
|   |         | National ministry of education | District education office | County education office | School board | Parents of school-age children in community | General public in community |
| Intended level of decentralized participation | simple> | Inform                         |                           |                         |              |   |                             |
|   |         | Educate                        |                           |                         |              |   |                             |
|   |         | Consult/cooperate              |                           | IIEP Nepal              |              |   |                             |
|   |         | Define issues                  |                           |                         |              |   |                             |
|   |         | Joint planning                 |                           |                         |              |   |                             |
|   |         | Partnership                    |                           |                         |              |   |                             |
|   | Complex | Local control                  |                           |                         |              |   |                             |

Source: Adapted from Schlossberg and Shuford, 2005.

As an illustration of a PPGIS-based framework, such as that presented in *Table 1*, the IIEP Nepal project mentioned earlier serves well. The centralized actor in the programme was the Nepali Statistics Unit, while the decentralized actor was the District Education Office. Since this IIEP capacity-development programme intended only consultation and cooperation between the participants at the different levels, complexity was relatively modest. Additionally, since decentralization extended only to the District Education Office (with school-based resource persons and district education supervisors participating under DEO direction), the effort could count on a significantly higher degree of technical capability than would have been realistic had the target group been, for example, general members of the rural communities in the Jhapa District. The eventual solution of the centralized unit creating DEO-manipulable materials in a limited GIS format (ArcReader maps) was made possible

by virtue of who the participants at the decentralized level were, and the degree of participation intended and implemented.

PPGIS has a number of other potentially important lenses and systems that would help increase impact and efficiency of educational planning. This chapter has focused on the benefits of better defining the participants at decentralized levels and the intended extent of their involvement. The emerging literature base and growing experience with PPGIS provide many additional insights into its potential contributions for the conceptualization, implementation, and effectiveness of educational planning.

## **Future trends and issues**

Social geographers claim that nearly 80 per cent of our thinking and public discourse involves some form of geospatial thinking. However, this geospatial way of making sense of the world seldom exerts a significant impact on educational policy and planning. Among the reasons is that we lack ways of formally representing, or even jointly acknowledged ways of presenting and discussing, the geospatial characteristics of our physical and social world – even though so much of our awareness references and indexes space and place. Despite this lack of formalization, we cannot escape the necessity of understanding and defining ourselves geospatially. Geospatial awareness, as observed by Sack (1997: 1), ‘increases the effectiveness of our actions ... [and] helps us see more clearly our world and our place in it’. In terms of future trends and issues, there are two major arenas to consider: the technical future, and the future of the interaction between GIS as a technology and its legal, ethical, and social context.

## **The technical future of GIS**

In considering school mapping, GIS, and PPGIS, it is important to contemplate the fact that interactive user-controlled visual displays of reality, such as those facilitated by Google Earth 2 on the internet, are becoming ubiquitous. These visual representations are increasing expectations for a move in educational planning efforts toward more visually conceptualized and oriented planning. In this regard, it is reasonable to expect that GIS and other user-controlled visualization techniques and solutions will become more prominent in educational planning efforts.

These efforts, however, must represent more than simply high-tech versions of static cartographical representations and visualizations of complex physical, social, and geopolitical contexts. New ways of thinking about those contexts will certainly emerge – a more recursive geo- and politico-spatial paradigm for thinking in multiple physical and social layers. Movements toward global awareness, as well as more physical- and cyber-space-mobile populations and contexts, will lead to different ways of viewing, thinking, and interfacing in planning approaches. These approaches will help facilitate more relevant and effective educational planning in a fast-changing ‘flattening’ world (Friedman, 2007).

School mapping, GIS, and PPGIS certainly can, and perhaps should, have significant roles in the future of educational planning. In this visually oriented and geo-spatially aware future, a well-designed and implemented GIS can draw upon the technical expertise of central-level staff, while preserving, using, and enhancing the context-rich knowledge and ability of locally situated administrators, teachers, and community members (Hite and Hite, 2004: 61). Nonetheless, tension between the capacities and imperatives of centralized and decentralized participants and agencies will remain. School mapping, GIS, and PPGIS can, and most likely will, increasingly support the careful conceptualization and implementation of educational planning required to leverage the emerging global expectation of interactive user-controlled visualization.

## **The legal, ethical, and social context of GIS**

We live in a time in which we are either already interacting with the world largely through the use of computers or trying to individually or collectively develop the ability to do so. This increasing prominence of and dependence on computers raises significant concerns regarding the widespread collection and dissemination of data and information, particularly in realms occupying a *private* and *public* intersection (Nissenbaum, 1997; Sui, 2004).

In this environment, given that GIS applications allow easy access to vast amounts of demographic and performance data, potential social and ethical challenges are unavoidable. These challenges are particularly relevant in education-related GIS applications in which the data are linked directly with particular schools in specific geographic locations (and by extension to the associated students and families). In providing GIS-based, nearly comprehensive, increasingly accurate, and more

easily accessible data and information to governments, organizations, and individuals, we run the risk of losing track of the ‘important social and ethical concerns in the relationship between geographic information technologies and society’ (Poore and Chrisman, 2006: 508).

The extent of the legal, ethical, and social issues raised by computer and internet-enabled geographical information technologies and data sets is enormous (Sheppard *et al.*, 1999). One of the most vexing issues in developing educational and social activities in cyberspace is privacy (Regan, 2002). Most of our current reflection about computer-based and online privacy is shaped by the late twentieth-century transition from a paper-and-pencil lifestyle to a computerized environment. At the time of this transition, privacy was largely constructed in Western European social, religious, and legal traditions. Today’s more complex range of global contexts and traditions raises the need to confront new privacy and information challenges. Simply put, privacy and information protection strategies from earlier periods of time are insufficient for the more complex and ever-changing needs of today and tomorrow.

Examples of areas in which technologies such as GIS may be moving much faster than our legal and social structures can support them include, among others (Sheppard *et al.*, 1999; Engelhardt, 2000):

- private versus government versus corporate rights and control of information flows;
- access rights of citizens to publicly held information;
- liability in the use and distribution of GIS data and products;
- freedom from unwanted observation or collection of information; and
- protection against disclosure of personal information without one’s consent.

Among the many possible concerns when considering the potential legal, ethical, and social impact of GIS and other information technologies, privacy is of particular importance, as it is of value not only to the individual but also to society in general in at least three respects (Regan, 2002: 399). Privacy is a *common value* in that all individuals value some degree of privacy and share some common perceptions about it. Privacy is also a *public value* in that it has value not just to the individual as an individual or to all individuals in common, but also to the viability of democratic systems. And privacy is rapidly becoming a *collective value* in a global reality where technology and markets are

making it hard for any one person to have privacy without all persons having a similar minimum level of privacy.

Historically, short-term technical solutions have shown a consistent tendency to create larger long-term problems. Technologies without accompanying and sufficiently powerful legal, ethical, and social accommodations, adaptations, and systems never seem to solve problems without creating newer, larger ones. This is potentially true of GIS at the present time, when ‘the boundaries between the computational, spatial, social, and environmental dimensions are increasingly blurred’ (Sui, 2004: 67).

Does consideration of these issues indicate that GIS solutions should be avoided in favour of lowering the real risks to privacy and other important concerns? The answer is likely a resounding *no*. However, as with any significant technological endeavour, a GIS should be developed and implemented with carefully considered and structured legal, ethical, and social checks and balances in order to ensure the protection of the groups (often traditionally disadvantaged groups) that are the target of vital policy efforts. GIS can and most likely will succeed in the future, but definitely not in a legal, ethical, and social vacuum.

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# 11. Key issues in educational agendas, new perspectives for planning in Latin America

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The features and processes of educational planning naturally have different emphases in different world regions. This chapter chiefly focuses on Latin America. Even within this region there is of course significant diversity; but unifying characteristics may also be identified. The starting point for the chapter is one of the ideas presented by Françoise Caillods (1991), namely that planning should adapt to specific contexts and their challenges in order to direct decision-making processes at a range of levels.

## **Educational planning: The beginnings in Latin America**

As per the recommendations of the Inter-American conference of Ministers of Education held in Lima in 1956, an Inter-American seminar on Overall Planning of Education was organized in Washington in 1958. This conference, in a sense, marked the beginning of educational planning in Latin America. The technical discussion of the seminar was based on the Colombian experience and focused on the improvement of primary education in the region. This was followed by another conference in Santiago, Chile, in 1962, which produced the Santiago Declaration (UNESCO, 1970). The Santiago Declaration announced an expected increase in the proportion of national income earmarked for educational investments to 4 per cent by 1965. This conference was followed by another conference in Buenos Aires in 1966, which focused attention on curriculum, contents, and evaluations in education. All these conferences were supported by UNESCO and underlined the importance of educational planning.

IIEP organized a seminar on the theme in 1964, focusing on Latin American primary education in recognition of the region's advances in the practice of educational planning (Lyons, 1965). Unlike other regions, most of the Latin American countries had set up educational planning services, and governments were willing to extend support to the planning process. Educational expenditure was on the increase in Latin America during this period, which also boasted favourable conditions for

education expansion and registered a surge in enrolment. However, the initiatives needed clearer policies and priorities (Carrere, 1965).

Over four decades passed and critical periods of questioning and change with relation to educational planning approaches have evolved in the region. Educational contexts have also been modified in this period, stemming from interaction with socio-political and economic processes. Nevertheless, there are some issues that still remain relevant, such as capacity development to undertake planning responsibilities, and the political and technical complexity involved in any of the main problems which must be addressed when planning educational policies. The question is then: which directions and strategies should educational planning adopt in the region? An overview of some frames of reference and emerging perspectives will contribute to this topic.

## **Planning in Latin American ministries of education**

A useful starting point may be an examination of the offices responsible for educational planning. Analysis of formal organization charts during the first decade of the twenty-first century shows wide diversity in the positions and roles of such offices. For example, in Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, and Mexico, the departments fall under the minister or the minister's executive secretariat. In countries such as Argentina, Chile, and Honduras, they fall under the secretariats or under-secretariats of education.

The organization charts show a less clear relationship between these planning departments and the different offices in which they are incorporated. Variations are also evident in their relationships with the units responsible for particular levels of education and with substantive areas such as administration and budgeting. Planning departments in Brazil and Costa Rica hold a hierarchical position over these areas, but this is unusual. More commonly, the departments fall under the secretariats or equivalent offices, and, as in Argentina and Mexico, are incorporated in substantive areas. In other cases, such as Chile, they are more closely related to the administration and budget offices.

A close analysis of activities carried out by the planning departments shows that they are mainly responsible for statistical information and for the monitoring and evaluation of programmes and policies. In some countries, the departments are also responsible for research and budgeting, especially with respect to school infrastructure. Almost all

ministries have some sort of office with an explicit orientation towards planning. Nevertheless, there is no agreement on the most appropriate location for planning departments in ministries of education. Much depends on decisions about relationships with other areas, and on the roles assigned to the departments in defining and developing educational policies.

During the 1990s, some educational planning departments were dominated by technocratic approaches. Technocracy reduced planning to a mere instrumental or operative function. Although discourses sometimes claimed to have assigned a more strategic role to educational planning departments, in practice they were reduced to operational units engaged in routine activities (Matus, 2007).

However, it can be argued that planning is both a technical and a political process, and that these two functions cannot be meaningfully separated. Planning is a political task, but it requires technical competencies to identify key issues and suggest strategies to solve problems, to secure more efficient and better ways to achieve goals, and to identify appropriate management structures and processes. Educational planners undertake such roles more than political ones. Ministers, on the other hand, take on more political roles.

## **Some key issues in educational planning**

### *Developing the educational policy agenda*

Matus (1998) argued that planning should be a key instrument for managing education systems. The way in which this role is achieved depends on the context, which in turn shapes the functions that may be assigned to planning authorities. Some themes are more obviously part of public agendas than others (Aguilar Villanueva, 2000).

In Latin America, the educational priorities of the last few decades, starting from the 1960s, have included expansion of school education. The region has made significant progress, particularly at primary and lower secondary levels. However, the policies have not resolved challenges of social and educational inequalities. These inequalities are more noticeable at the secondary than at the primary level. In some parts of the region, significant numbers of children and youth drop out of school before the end of secondary education, and imbalances in the quality of education remain glaring. Indicators still show a clear disadvantage for students from poor households, native groups, and rural areas.

Another major challenge is the quality of education at both primary and secondary levels. This has been addressed in political discourses, but little progress has been made beyond the dissemination of evaluation experiences through national systems and/or regional and international studies. Very often the problems are not specified properly, or not accorded social importance or political significance. It is necessary to address the problems at multiple levels in the administrative hierarchy and to prioritize strategic interventions.

### ***Planning in decentralized education systems***

Many education policies in Latin America have introduced changes in the traditional structures of educational management. Interventions resulting in decentralization or deconcentration have been especially significant, and in some cases have modified financing strategies for the sector (Caillods, 2003). In decentralization initiatives, central authorities have transferred responsibilities to sub-national levels of government, while perhaps taking on themselves new roles, such as pedagogic innovation, technical assistance, evaluation, production of knowledge, definition of curricular policies, and equity policies. Even in the systems that in the strict sense remain centralized, sub-national units in regions, departments, or municipalities have been made responsible for various functions. In many cases, this has required the creation of specialist units for educational planning at sub-national levels.

These trends have made systems of educational management increasingly polycentric. Educational bureaucracies have ceased to be bureaucratic in the rationalist and Weberian sense of the word. In many cases, they have turned into diminished and merely formal bureaucracies, unable to orient schools towards democratically agreed national objectives. Consequently, characteristics of centralized planning (Caillods, 1991) have been strongly questioned. There is a need to reinforce the role of the state at different levels and to strengthen professionalization, exploit technology, and improve access information at different layers of the planning hierarchy.

Examples of policy coordination agencies in decentralized systems include the Education Federal Council in Argentina, the National Council of Education Secretaries (CONSED) in Brazil, and the National Union of Municipal Education Leaders (UNDIME), also in Brazil. These bodies bring together government officials responsible for specific

levels to discuss, and sometimes agree, on aspects of educational policy. In Mexico, a National Agreement for the Modernization of Basic and Normal Education (ANMEB) was signed in 1992, which defines the strategy upon which three fundamental actors of the educational policy of that country – the Public Education Secretariat (SEP), state governments through their corresponding secretariats, and the teachers' union – agree to significant guidelines of educational policy that are fulfilled through different legal bases and government programmes. To some extent, this agreement was updated by the Alliance for Education Quality, approved by the Mexican Government and the national teacher union in 2008, which aimed to transform Mexico's national education system into a key tool for promoting social advancement.

### **Time frames**

According to classical conceptions, planning requires the establishment of objectives, specification, or targets based on a systematic and sound sector analysis, anticipation of future scenarios, and actions. This sequencing implies a linear rationality in which temporal steps can be separated. Rarely, however, is this possible in practice, even if official documents and subsequent evaluations demonstrate different phases (Aguilar Villanueva, 2000).

One of the most urgent tasks and immediate preoccupations of planning departments is the resolution of day-to-day matters. This is typical of any management system. Planners have little time to consider the long-term goals on which policies are based. Hargreaves (1994) distinguished between monochronic and polychronic concepts of time. The latter is particularly important for policies, and is characterized by simultaneity, sensitivity to context, and orientation not only towards procedures but also towards relationships among people. Monochronic concepts of time underpin traditional planning models, but polychronic concepts are more suited to the understanding of the socio-political dimension of change. Complexity, density, and simultaneity are typical elements of this dimension, and also help actors to be realistic in their claims about the extent to which the future can be foreseen.

One factor that significantly shapes patterns is the frequency with which ministers of education change. PREAL (2002) stated that the average duration of service of ministers of education in Latin America during the period 1991–2000 was 2.81 years. This might seem a short

period, but is in fact longer than the period between 1969 and 1990, when the average period of service was just 2.45 years. This trend seems to have changed in recent years. Even so, the turnover of ministers is not just a political matter, since in many systems it also has implications for professional and technical staff. Latin America in general suffers from weaknesses in the career paths of state employees. Efforts have been made in various countries to strengthen capacity by offering training to government officials, but these have not always been systematized and are subject to the ups and downs of each government context. Mexico, for example, provides an exception to this trend, in which long-term programmes for public officers at different levels have been sustained.

## **Old and new problems in Latin America**

The significant issues of contemporary educational policies are not greatly different from those of earlier decades. They remain on the agenda for two major reasons. One reflects failure or partial failure to solve problems in previous eras, while the second reflects new manifestations in contemporary times. These matters may be understood with reference to a few selected themes.

### ***Social and educational inequality***

With the exception of the primary level, which is practically universalized, coverage in the pre-school, secondary, and tertiary levels is directly related to the incomes of families and to social capital. Furthermore, the probability of pupils entering, remaining in, and learning at school is significantly higher in urban than in rural areas.

In a context of extreme social inequalities, higher attendance at secondary education is closely associated with the stratification of education systems. While traditional or modern elites send their children to full-time schools with bilingual curricula (in general, Spanish and English) that provide better content, ordinary families send their children to institutions with deficiencies in infrastructure and curricula (Tenti Fanfani, 2003). In some settings, fragmentation and hierarchization has attained such significance that it is difficult to think about a homogeneous 'system' of schooling with consistent functions and objectives.

Even though it has been said many times that effective action to reduce social and educational gaps calls for comprehensive intersectoral policies, such approaches require much effort. Nevertheless, persistence

is needed. Moreover, access to knowledge is closely related to issues of quality.

### ***Educational quality***

The dominant notions of quality advocated during the 1980s and 1990s tended to oversimplify matters. UNESCO's Regional Office for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (OREALC) has stressed that 'educational quality, as a fundamental right, apart from being effective and efficient, must respect the rights of everybody, and be relevant, pertinent and equal' (OREALC, 2007: 7). Exercise of the right to education, OREALC added, requires development of the personality and achievement of other rights. This idea suggests a wider and more complex conception of quality. It includes relevance, which itself incorporates different aspects, including the development of knowledge and competences necessary to participate in different areas of social life and build projects in connection with others.

The concern for aspects wider than those traditionally considered in the conception of educational quality, namely effectiveness and efficiency, requires a basic reconsideration of policies. Despite the presence of educational quality on the agenda over the last two decades, it has adopted in recent years a complexity that calls for not only different evaluation strategies, but basically a more comprehensive approach.

Learning quality is always the result of a combination of school and social factors. In addition to social and family conditions, fundamental learning conditions are associated with interest in learning, which is also reinforced by good school practices. Systemic factors are also important, including buildings, school equipment, teaching conditions, curricular designs, and strategies to follow up school processes regarding children with learning difficulties. Educational quality, in terms of this wider conception, has been strengthened on government agendas in the region as a whole.

### ***Financing of education***

Latin American countries allocated an average of approximately 5.0 per cent of their gross domestic product to education in the first decade of the present century. As a region, it was ranked second after North America and Western Europe, which assigned an average of 5.7 per cent per annum. Investment in education grew during the 1990s, but in many

cases offset under-investment during the previous decade (Morduchowicz and Duro, 2007).

Financial efforts, however, remain uneven. It is also important to overcome reductionism that limits the discussion to only the most efficient use of resources, especially because such approaches have resulted in controversies. In this sense, regardless of the fact that ineffectiveness in the use of available resources must be reduced, it is necessary to increase investment in the sector. Countries in the region are already developing strategies, such as new financing laws and/or laws providing for a different allocation of sector resources. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Colombia provide clear examples. These regulations require further planning tasks to make those goals effective and feasible.

### ***Early childhood education***

In general, government policies in the region assert that early childhood education deserves higher priority than in the past. However, there are significant differences in approaches among countries. Children from disadvantaged families and living in rural areas have fewer opportunities for early childhood education even though they need it as much as other groups.

Early childhood education receives particular attention in policies characterized by a comprehensive framework for education (López, 2007). In this sense, not only does childhood education involve the formal education system, it also poses a challenge beyond the education sector because it calls for coordination with the health sector, family welfare, and community development. It is perhaps the ultimate example where no equity policy may be guaranteed without comprehensive, joint, and coordinated action from different government sectors.

### ***Extending access and improving upper secondary school graduation***

Government policies stress the importance of universal secondary education (ISCED 2 and 3),<sup>19</sup> and in some cases make it compulsory (Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay). However, enrolment rates came to a standstill or even declined during the last decade (SITEAL, 2006; 2007).

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19. ISCED: International Standard Classification of Education (UNESCO-UIS, *Global Education Digest 2004*).

This raises questions about the limits of upper secondary education expansion.

Lower secondary expansion inevitably brings pressures on upper-secondary and post-secondary levels. This requires efforts not only to expand the offer (infrastructure, learning equipment, teacher training, etc.), but to reshape the dominant learning models. Secondary education will have to innovate both in its organizational structure and in its learning strategies and procedures to ensure the development of knowledge and attitudes that qualify for jobs and for active citizenship.

### ***Youth and adult education***

Adult education was traditionally limited to people who had not had the opportunity to receive a basic education, such as the command of a written language and basic mathematics. For this purpose, specific offers have been organized to provide initial literacy and numeracy.

Notwithstanding the above (which in turn is characterized by significant differences among the countries of the region), there is strong evidence that secondary education among adults is increasingly including youngsters who accessed secondary education but were unable to stay and, least of all, graduate. This tendency is confirmed when analysing the data of 20–25 year olds, and the percentage of youths lacking a complete secondary education is proof of this (SITEAL, 2007). Therefore, it is expected that demand for this type of education offer will increase considerably, which would enable a significant part of the population to access knowledge and certification of secondary studies. This question raises an important challenge for the educational agendas of countries of the region: to design programmes and offers for youngsters and adults that consider the new dimensions of this problem.

Finally, most of the subjects mentioned in this chapter form part of the National Educational Plans of the respective ministries of Latin American countries, and are also present in national laws passed since the turn of the new century (López, 2007). As such, the regulations and plans, as well as reports prepared in line with international agreements and commitments including Education for All, all constitute issues now present on the political agendas of countries in the region.

Faced with these new education scenarios, it is important that planning in the region update traditional tools and create new strategies, bearing in mind that even formerly successful policies do not necessarily

match current challenges. This outline, appropriate for considering the place and role of planning in ministries, also invites IIEP, as a UNESCO institute specialized in the subject, to promote and develop research and to collaborate in designing new educational policy strategies.

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## 12. Looking back to see the future: Four decades of development in educational planning

*Keith M. Lewin*

Françoise Caillods and I have been both observers and participants in many of the changes that have shaped educational planning over the last four decades. Françoise has written widely on many aspects of education and development, and her contributions have been influential and widely disseminated. Countless trainees have passed through the IIEP programmes with which she has been associated. She has contributed a lasting body of work to the literature on educational planning that will stand the test of time.

The first section of this chapter reflects on some of the changes that have shaped educational planning since the 1960s. The second section introduces two domains in which I worked directly with Françoise and which were built around research programmes that would not have happened without her enthusiastic commitment, contributions, and support. The final section highlights some trends and issues that are likely to influence educational planning in the next decade.

### **A short and partial history of educational planning**

Françoise Caillods joined IIEP in 1969. At this time, at least in the United Kingdom (UK) where I was myself based, educational planning in relation to developing countries was seen as a largely technocratic exercise of ‘getting the numbers right’ and matching post-colonial aspirations with the resources to bring about desired outcomes. British colonial educational planning in the 1950s and 1960s had been preoccupied with the implications of decolonization that flowed from Prime Minister Harold Macmillan’s 1960 ‘winds of change’ speech in Cape Town, South Africa (Myers, 2000). This set the scene for the rapid deconstruction of empire. Educational planning was mostly concerned with anticipating independence and addressing its implications, including replacing expatriates through managed expansion of access to secondary and higher education for the minority destined for modern-sector jobs and the civil service.

After independence, many countries embraced populist politics and embarked on rapid educational expansion, often with the ambition to universalize access to primary education. This was promoted by the UNESCO conferences of 1959, 1960, and 1961 in Karachi, Addis Ababa, and Santiago (Fredriksen, 1981). International efforts to promote universal primary education (UPE) have a long history which continues to this day, sometimes repeating itself. At the University of Sussex, UK, I currently direct the Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions, and Equity (CREATE). This programme of research explores how both the political economy of Education for All (EFA) and the dynamics of system change have interacted to generate sustained success with UPE in some countries, and cycles of progress and regress in others going back to the first post-independence efforts to universalize primary education in the 1960s.

Sometime in the 1960s, development planning began to come of age. In the 1950s, at least in the Anglophone world, development orthodoxy held that a central problem of development was a shortage of capital that inhibited ‘take off’ towards sustained growth (Rostow, 1960). Ideas began to place investment in human capital at centre-stage, not least because of the obvious sense in which injections of capital without the capability to translate it into higher levels of productivity created bottlenecks. Work by Marshall (1961), Denison (1962), Becker (1963), Vaizey (1972), Harbison and Myers (1964) and others located the causes of economic growth partly in investment in education and training and the knowledge and skills they engendered. Indices of human resource development correlated with wealth and growth, and it was argued that the relationships were causal. The development of one strand of the economics of education by Blaug (1972) placed the accumulation of knowledge and skills at the heart of development, and investment in education was seen as a key driver of change. The ‘residual’, that is, that part of growth not explained by changes in land, labour, and capital, was considered tangible and in large part to represent a return on investment in knowledge and skill. Calculations of the rates of return on investment in education began to shape some domains of educational planning.

Around this time educational planners, especially manpower planners,<sup>20</sup> devoted much time to matrices of supply and demand for

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20. In the 1960s what is now called ‘human resource planning’ was usually called ‘manpower planning’, reflecting a lack of gender awareness.

categories of labour with different levels of education. Schedules of correspondence were invented to link the output of education systems to the kinds of jobs that were likely to become available. The ‘basic arithmetic of youth unemployment’ began to inform perspectives on education and labour market links, so that the supply of educated youth could run ahead – but not too far ahead – of demand in the modern-sector labour markets of the dual economies of poor countries.

Some governments tried to decide on sectors in which to be internationally competitive and then to invest in the education and training necessary to create capacity in these sectors. The governments of several East Asian states seem to have been relatively successful at this (Morris and Sweeting, 1995). More generally, planning was based on the idea that projections could be used to anticipate likely and desirable changes in educational demand, and that incremental reforms should be adopted to balance educational outputs with future labour force needs.

A more rigid version of workforce planning, so-called indicative planning, was adopted wholeheartedly by centralized socialist states. For example, as late as the 1980s China maintained a planning system that attempted to match the educational histories and work opportunities of over 20 million students graduating from the school system each year. The system had some success, but it came at the price of great complexity and inefficiency. The ‘iron rice bowl’ and the fiction of full employment that surrounded it may have been ideologically attractive, but it failed to generate economic growth or increase low productivity. As more orthodox internal labour markets began to develop, the benefits of freer movement of labour became apparent. China’s ‘open door’ introduced more competition, and the indicative centralized planning system became unworkable.

History has been harsh on indicative planning, which no longer finds many acolytes although some politicians still have a sneaking admiration for its certainties. The key role that modernizing elites played in the successful East Asian cases is perhaps underestimated. It really does matter if elites are modernizing, as well as if they are autocratic. The quality of advice they receive from educational planners also matters, at least some of the time.

A third kind of planning that developed alongside workforce planning and indicative planning is best described as social-demand planning. Its key principle is to provide enough capacity for all those

qualified and willing to take advantage of education and training to have the opportunity to enrol. This approach was little used in development planning in the 1960s and 1970s, but was used to plan higher education in the UK. A major report (Robbins, 1963), which confirmed the momentum of the considerable post-war expansion of the university system that began in the 1950s, explicitly described the principle of social demand as a basis for growth, albeit accompanied by an undercurrent of investment in knowledge and skills to underpin Prime Minister Wilson's 'white heat of the technological revolution' that his labour government sought to promote in the 1960s (Pearce and Stewart, 1992: 485).

Through the 1970s and 1980s, educational planning in most developing countries was grounded on the core set of propositions about the relationships between knowledge, skills, productivity, growth, and economic development known as 'human capital theory'. This provided a powerful, if often-criticized, framework for analysis and a basis for rational choices between investment options. There was much debate around types of investment in human capital through education and training, and their impact on productivity, earnings, income distribution, and other externalities related to development (e.g. reduced fertility, improved child health and nutrition, better governance, and less crime). Relationships were often different across countries and in different sectors. Labour markets in some developing countries sometimes seemed so far from satisfying the assumptions on which human capital theory was based that some argued that the theory had limited utility. Nevertheless, human capital theory remained the dominant set of assumptions underlying planning in most developing economies (Lewin, 1995).

Increasingly, human capital theory had company. Through the 1970s and into the early 1980s, much development thinking made distribution and equity part of the definition of development as well as a desirable outcome (Chenery, Bowan, and Svikhart, 1974; Seers, 1977). The related development of the 'basic needs' approaches reinforced a sense that rights and entitlements were becoming an essential part of any sustainable vision of development. Educational planners, it was said, would have to recognize this and extend their concerns beyond balancing supply and demand to engage with broader development agendas. The economic recession of the 1980s, and the structural adjustment that it precipitated in many poor countries, hastened the process of challenging planners to devise adjustment 'with a human face' (Cornia, Jolly, and

Stewart, 1987), make a reality of safety nets for the poorest, and conceive of human-development approaches that reached beyond economic well-being. Capabilities approaches (Sen, 1999) extended the range to include freedoms and rights, including the right to access to education enshrined in the United Nations charter.

But human capital theory and its sister, rates-of-return analysis, remained influential. In the late 1980s rates-of-return analysis was widely used to justify a new emphasis on investment in primary schooling in poor countries. Arguably, social rates of return to investment in primary education were higher than at other levels of education in poor countries (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985), although much of the analysis that suggested this was later criticized as based on partial and incomplete data with fragile assumptions. Moreover, the developmental externalities of primary schooling were thought to be substantial (greater agricultural productivity, lower infant mortality, etc.). It was also believed by some that economic growth (and just possibly improved income distribution, political stability, and better governance) would follow from raising the average educational level of the poor through universal access to primary schooling.

The 1990 Jomtien World Conference on Education for All confirmed a shift of emphasis, at least among development partners, away from support for higher-level skill development (technical and vocational education, secondary education in science and technology, higher education) towards basic education as a vector for development that could be externally supported. Although this shift took some time to materialize, and was not met with enthusiasm by all governments of poor countries, it gathered momentum through the decade. Human capital theory, rates of return, and rights- and needs-based approaches to development and planning came together to push in what appeared to be the same direction as far as educational investment was concerned.

The events that led to Jomtien were underpinned by a kind of ‘Washington consensus’ (perhaps more a consensus in Washington than elsewhere, and more among some development agencies than national governments). This argued not only that development could be accelerated through investments in human capital, but also that the best way forward lay in greater liberalization of approaches to the delivery of public services and more emphasis on markets, whether in education or other sectors. Thatcherism in the UK exported neo-liberalism and the

language of competition, sub-contracting, privatization, target setting, and performativity as applied to public services. This presented planners with new challenges around how and in what ways markets could be managed, how services could be marketized, and how non-government providers could be regulated and facilitated. For some this was contradictory, since neo-liberalism implied less rather than more planning in favour of the invisible hands of well-behaved markets that were assumed to exist. One consequence of this change may have been that planning more frequently crossed the thresholds from technocratic analysis towards the politics of change and reform, and planners became actors in policy dialogue with ideology as well as providers of analysis to inform debate. Planning began to become more politicized as it was linked to international as well as national concerns (Haddad and Demsky, 1995).

By the time the Dakar Goals for Education for All were agreed (World Education Forum, 2000), a set of priorities and processes had emerged that shaped much planning in poor countries for the years to come. Rights-based approaches to universalizing basic education were given more prominence in the debates than were human capital theory, rates of return, and neo-liberalism. Equitable access to reasonable quality education remained unavailable to large proportions of the populations of many poor countries. This was judged unacceptable, and the obligations of both governments and development partners to deliver on commitments were stressed. The assumptions of social demand planning were prominent, at least for the UPE and EFA agendas.

At Dakar, a pledge was also made that no country seriously committed to Education for All would be thwarted by a lack of resources. The existence of a credible plan was advanced as one indicator of commitment, and a prerequisite for external funding. Who was to judge credibility, and on what criteria, was not spelled out. Different agencies had different priorities, and this was seen, at least by some, as ‘a handicap for the effective dialogue needed at country level’ (UNESCO, 2002: 21), although it was not entirely clear why.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) promulgated later in 2000 reinforced a restricted agenda for educational development – essentially UPE and (quantitative) gender equity – that seemed only fit for a limited set of developmental purposes. Planning for economic growth, a necessary condition for sustained delivery of rights to education, increased well-being, and reduced dependence on development partners,

was visible but not prominent as the new millennium dawned. New growth theory began to offer some alternative insights into drivers of change and wealth generation. Accelerating aspects of globalization began to redraw maps of comparative advantage and viable development strategies, not least because of the geopolitical realignments that followed the collapse of the USSR, rapid growth in East Asia, the emergence of the Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (BRICS) group, the consequences of the Gulf wars, the terrorist attack on New York's World Trade Center on 11 September 2001, and new concerns for global warming. Economic growth never disappeared from development thinking, but for a period it seemed to recede into the background of educational planners' concerns.

## **Two continuing challenges for planners**

Against this backdrop of the evolution of educational planning, Françoise and I collaborated on two major books (Lewin and Caillods, 2001; Caillods, Göttelmann-Duret, and Lewin, 1997). Both highlighted educational planning and development issues that remain current and invite much more work.

## **Financing expanded secondary schooling**

After the Jomtien conference it was clear that, although UPE – and more generally EFA – was indeed a priority in those countries farthest from its realization, development required a balanced pattern of educational investment across educational levels. The increasing emphasis on planning shaped by rights to basic education risked several outcomes. Most obviously, rapid growth in access to primary schooling would generate demand for post-primary schooling. Analyses suggested that without balanced growth in access to secondary education, transition rates into secondary school would fall to levels that discouraged primary completion, constrained the supply of secondary school leavers likely to train as primary teachers, and fall short of demand in the labour market for greater numbers with abstract thinking skills. Moreover, secondary schooling in poor countries was generally costly to governments and unaffordable for poor households, and often unsuited in curriculum and pedagogy to meet the needs of students drawn from a much wider range of social and economic backgrounds with new capabilities and needs. Secondary schooling was not prioritized (indeed it was barely recognized) in EFA policy dialogue and forward planning with development partners.

Something else was missing. Though the rights-based case to deliver EFA was unassailable as a principle, it assumed that sufficient resources would be available (indefinitely), that growing aid dependence was not a serious concern, and that growth linked to increased knowledge and skill would occur. But in countries where less than 10 per cent of the labour force had completed secondary schooling successfully, it was never clear where such economic growth would come from, what aspects of national educational investment strategy would support increased value added in knowledge-intensive sectors of the economy, and what the opportunity costs would be of privileging the completion of the last year of primary schooling over investment at higher levels. Economic growth would not depend on the enrolments of the most marginalized and most excluded children in primary education. Poverty reduction linked to growth as well as redistribution seemed to require more equitable access to and participation in post-primary education. ‘Who goes to secondary school’ was becoming the key issue determining life futures, and there was at least some indirect evidence (the growth of private primary schooling, achievement outcomes strongly skewed by household income) that social polarization might increase rather than reduce with expanded access to primary schooling in which quality was compromised by rapid growth.

Françoise and I shared the view that a two-pronged approach was needed that did indeed prioritize access to primary education in countries where large numbers were excluded, but which also recognized that post-primary provision would have to grow – and do so at affordable costs. Extensive experience with attempts to massify technical and vocational education at post-primary level in poor countries had generally led to disappointing results. Costs were commonly very high, effective demand was weak, and labour market signals of employability less than convincing. Ways had to be found to make secondary schooling more accessible, more affordable, more relevant, more knowledge- and skill-based, and more attractive. It remained the case that secondary school graduates were more likely to enjoy greater rewards in labour markets (even if their relative advantage fell over time), that various externalities of secondary schooling were developmentally beneficial (better health status, lower fertility, lower HIV infection rates), and that international competitiveness to attract foreign direct investment and add value in manufacturing and service sector employment almost certainly depended on more rather than fewer secondary school graduates.

This work analysed the magnitude of growth needed in different countries to reach threshold levels of participation in secondary schooling, and identified the likely costs with and without reforms. Case studies of English-speaking and French-speaking countries provided insights into the dynamics of expansion, and helped to answer the question why secondary schooling is so expensive in many poor countries that it cannot be universalized. Policy options were identified for more affordable access in the context of demographic challenges and structural constraints. Yet many questions remained for further research, including:

- What can be learned from EFA and UPE for the expansion of secondary schooling, and will the same mistakes be repeated?
- To what extent has expanded secondary schooling improved equity and contributed to poverty reduction in poor households?
- Why has some expanded secondary schooling been ineffective in supporting students to reach levels of achievement reflected in national norms?
- Since who goes to which secondary school is becoming one of the most important determinants of life futures in many poor countries, how can access be provided more equitably?
- Why do those who attend secondary schooling have a lower risk of contracting HIV?

The research was undertaken as a multi-country study and a draft was made available for the 2000 World Education Forum in Dakar. The session entitled *After Primary Education, What?* (World Education Forum, 2000: 31) showcased the research, and raised the profile of the issues it analysed. The World Bank, together with the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), initiated the Secondary Education in Africa (SEIA) project in 2002. Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda announced ambitious plans to expand and universalize secondary schooling, and drew on ideas from the research. The 2008 ADEA biennale in Maputo chose post-primary schooling as its central theme and considered a sequel to earlier analysis (Lewin, 2008). Most development partners now recognize the need to rebalance external assistance to include secondary and other post-primary investment, and to link investment to growth as well as the delivery of rights.

## **Knowledge, skills, science education, and development**

The second collaboration resulted from a shared passion to highlight the role of science and technology in development. The 1960s and 1970s had seen much activity to promote new science curricula first in the countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which had been stimulated to take action following the 1957 launch of the Sputnik satellite by the Soviet Union, and then in newly independent ex-colonies. UNESCO supported the development of curriculum centres throughout the developing world, and most prioritized science and technology. There was considerable energy behind new ways to teach science and technology using more guided discovery, simple but intellectually challenging practical work, and content related to context and likely life futures. Investments in technical and vocational education and training (TVET) had proved disappointing at secondary school level and often unattractive to the more capable students. At the same time, the role of science and technology in development was manifest. Especially in East Asia, a strong base of knowledge and skill in science and technology was at the core of the growth of new industries and products with high knowledge content and value added. Economies that built on the ability of science and technology to improve productivity, innovate process and products, and systematically accumulate capability seemed to fare better than those that did not, at least in cases where growth was driven by manufactured exports and capturing more value from natural resources.

However, various studies (e.g. Postlethwaite and Wiley, 1992) had begun to show large gaps in science achievement between rich and poor countries. In most poor countries, access to post-primary science education remained the preserve of elites. Primary science was becoming more common in the curriculum, but difficult to roll out effectively across poorly resourced school systems. Complaints backed by analyses continued to highlight teaching and learning that was dominated by recall and memory despite years of curriculum development. High-cost laboratory-based methods of teaching at secondary level persisted despite little evidence that they provided value for money or convincing achievement gains consonant with costs.

With this in mind, Françoise and I felt that it was time to develop a strand of work to revitalize the policy and planning debates around investment in science education, and to revisit and build on earlier work in UNESCO that had lost momentum. The result was a set of studies

across a dozen countries coordinated from IIEP. The research identified key issues, including policy and practice on specialization, recruitment and option choices, curriculum reform, the role of practical activity, assessment, language issues, and teacher training. It also analysed costs in relation to strategies of tracking and specialization, laboratory provision, training, and equipment. It developed an inventory of planning data and methods, and mapped policy-relevant conclusions to inform national planning. The work also raised questions for further research, including:

- How can a better match be achieved between the outputs of schools systems of qualified science graduates at different levels and the labour market?
- To what extent can including technological thinking skills in science education be a more cost-effective option than specialized TVET at secondary level?
- Why is science education expensive, and does it have to be?
- Is laboratory-based secondary science value for money?
- Why is it so difficult to move science education away from recall-based didactic teaching?
- How can assessment and examinations best be used to lever curriculum change?

Various workshops and seminars were organized during the mid-1990s to examine the findings, including a regional event in South Africa. The findings were disseminated through IIEP events and to trainees in the Advanced Training Programme. Extensions of the work were used by the World Bank Institute in international workshops in 2000.

## **Whither educational planning?**

Planners seek to foresee the future, so here are some glimpses into a crystal ball. Factors that will influence educational planning over the next decades include the following.

First, globalization in its many forms has become a pervasive reality. It has many ramifications for national education systems, from the need to respond to internationalized qualifications systems and labour markets to the increased visibility of rights-based advocacy groups calling for greater monitoring and transparency and access to data. Global agendas from Jomtien to Dakar and the MDGs, have been promoted by powerful multilateral agencies, development partners, and non-governmental

organizations. A common language has developed around EFA. National planning systems with limited capacity have been heavily skewed towards the EFA goals and MDG-related activities. Sub-sectors not within EFA have been neglected, and data-collection systems have been allowed to degrade in non-EFA areas (e.g. on secondary schooling, private schools, higher and further education, non-formal education). New balances need to be struck that reflect the demands and pressures that globalization generates.

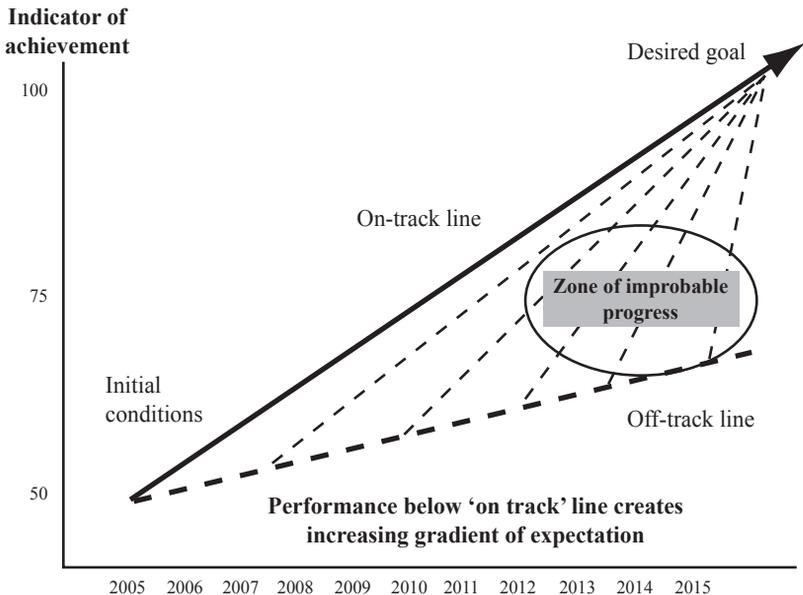
Second, external assistance programmes are becoming more homogeneous. This is partly the result of movement towards sector approaches that coordinate the resources of several development partners. Various benchmarks and indicative frameworks generate convergent forms of planning, at least at national level. They include the requirements for poverty-reduction strategy papers (PRSPs) and for ‘credible plans’ as a precondition for external financing and the Fast Track Initiative (Caillods and Hallak, 2004), and the development of sector-wide programme support modalities (Buchert, 2000). Conditions placed on external assistance often require verifiable indicators of performance for release of funds. The targets and indicators chosen are usually derived from EFA goals and the MDGs. More often than not, they tend to be normative (based on best practice, selective comparisons with ‘successful countries’, and convenient rules of thumb). They are also formative in that they compress complex system realities into aggregate and homogenizing policy and practice (e.g. by applying benchmark-derived conditionalities on the proportion of the education budget allocated to primary education, suggested proportions of private provision, average pupil–teacher ratios). Procedural requirements commonly have little sensitivity to context. More differentiated approaches to planning are surely needed.

Third, the EFA goals and MDGs are *lists* rather than *recipes*. Achieving all the EFA goals and education-related MDGs may indeed be desirable. However, achieving all the goals is no guarantee that development will take place in an efficient and sustainable way. Nor was it the basis for a strategy followed by any OECD country or the developed Asian economies. Collectively, the MDGs do not provide a recipe for growth on which the sustained delivery of rights almost certainly depends. The coverage of the goals is partial, and the goals chosen might well have looked different if the lists had been generated a decade later. The specification of the goals is blind to interaction, interdependence, and

sequencing, and offers no guidance on the prioritization that all real-world governments have to confront. Critically, the goals are not distributional in character – a major omission if equity is a central concern, poverty is partly the product of wealth and its distribution, and educational access is strongly associated with household income. The challenge for planners is to step outside the straitjacket of EFA and the MDGs, revisit their form and substance with the benefit of some hindsight, and engage with national development strategies that must balance needs for growth with the delivery of rights.

Fourth, EFA and the MDGs have encouraged the growth of aspirational planning (Lewin, 2007). As *Figure 10* illustrates, aspirational planning sets desired goals in the future (e.g. net enrolment rate of 100 per cent, gender parity, 100 per cent primary completion). Projection models are then used to draw back a pathway to the present, which indicates what needs to be achieved each year to stay on track. The pathway is often linear, though the real world rarely is. It defines year-by-year milestones, against which progress can be measured, and in many cases these are used to shape tranche-release conditions for funding.

**Figure 10. Gradients of goal achievement**



Source: Lewin, 2007: 30.

What often happens in practice is that financial constraints (time slippage related to agreeing on plans, signing agreements, disbursing tranches of funding, etc.) and non-financial constraints (lead times on construction, teacher training, agreement to appoint and post new teachers, softening of demand to enrol, etc.) lead to achievement below the on-track line. The gradient of what needs to be achieved then steepens progressively, to the point where the planning and implementation system enters a *zone of improbable progress*. Either the targets and related goals fall into disrepute because they are unachievable and there is no confidence in the modalities of making more and more rapid progress, or the targets and goals are redefined and shifted forward, sometimes with indecent haste, as happened with the gender parity goals for 2005. Target-generating planning may be an alternative (Lewin, 2007). This can be based on estimates of the highest sustainable rate of expansion that does not degrade quality to unacceptable levels. It offers a better basis for operational plans and mobilizing assets efficiently and effectively at a pace that is feasible. It allows different time scales for different starting points and contexts. It depends on forward projections that draw attention to critical limitations of capacity, infrastructure, and finance, and identifies commitments and liabilities generated by present actions.

Fifth, information technology and cheap, portable, and powerful computers continue to transform the technologies of data capture and analysis. New kinds of school mapping have become possible using global positioning systems (GPS) technology. Decentralized access to educational planning data on schools, teachers, and students for local use is feasible. National data sets and projections can be made available to wider audiences. Assessment data allow detailed performance analysis down to the level of individual candidates, and facilitate the generation of school league tables and insights into school effectiveness. New information technology facilitates new forms of micro-planning at the local level. It also makes it much easier to explore data in different ways, including distribution and equity issues. But there are risks. False promises for the capabilities and costs of data-management systems are not uncommon. Such systems may become so complex that only a handful of highly skilled software engineers understand them, and this limits ownership and accessibility. How to take advantage of new technical possibilities yet allow at least some of the architecture of planning and the data on which it depends to be transparent and accessible to stakeholders is a pressing challenge. Paradoxically, as the technology

of data processing has improved, in some countries the quality of the data input has deteriorated. And in some the power that is coupled with easy access to system-wide information has encouraged more secrecy than transparency because of the inconvenient truths it reveals.

Sixth, systems-theory approaches to planning have been unfashionable for some time, but their underlying power means that they should not be ignored. Education systems are indeed *systems* with many constituent parts. Often the best explanations of their behaviour are not those related to particular policy interventions and insights from casual empiricism, but those that are an expression of underlying effective demand and the actions of many independent actors making choices. These can be treated statistically and analysed in a way that often has predictive power. It may be that as these attributes are rediscovered by new generations of planners, the techniques associated with the approach will find new favour.

Seventh, through the 1990s, and partly as a result of the changes indicated above, educational planning has expanded its scope to include non-formal initiatives, growing concerns for quality, examinations and selection, and implementation. Educational planners have begun to engage more directly with what is loosely called policy dialogue, which leads towards planning as a political activity as well as a technical one. Where there is too much distance between planners, policy-makers, politicians, and systems for implementation, risks are high (Little, 2008). Where target setters and target getters live in different worlds, ownership of problems and performance will be weak. Engagement of planners with political systems is rational and desirable, not least to moderate unrealistic political ambitions. However, governments and agencies have learned how to politicize technical advice to support partisan positions. This has been fuelled by increasing numbers of communications professionals, special advisors, and 'spin doctors' whose concerns may be very different from those of educational planners. Exploration of the blurred boundary between planning, policy-making, and politics is a new challenge for educational planners which needs them to resist the temptations of ideologically driven advocacy shaping analysis for political ends. But perhaps that is too idealistic.

## **Conclusion**

Educational planning will continue to evolve both in its techniques and in its applications. It will continue to help identify the room to manoeuvre in policy with due regard to uncertainty, controllability, and locus of control. Planners will need to remain courageous when pressed to produce analysis that suits political preferences, but does violence to underlying realities and causal relationships. Planners should also remember that innovation is needed in education systems that fail to deliver equitably an acceptable quality of service. But innovation is disruptive, resource-consuming, and unevenly implemented. As a result, in the short term, innovation can adversely affect the equitable delivery of a service at an acceptable level of quality. Even planned change may make some things worse before they get better; unplanned change often does this. This ‘planners’ paradox’ (Lewin, 1991) will remain in existence. It is a reminder to support innovations and reform with evidence, and resist temptations to blow with the winds of political fashion to promote tempting but unattainable and unsustainable outcomes.

Planning can be seen as substituting error for risk. Planners and planning can indeed be wrong (flawed technical analysis, unrealistic assumptions, rigid adherence to out-of-date strategies). In another sense, planning is bound to be wrong insofar as any and every plan will be overtaken sooner or later by events that change key assumptions and create the need for iteration and updating. Without planning, there are the much greater problems of the risks associated with judgements and decisions excessively influenced by short-term political events, populist slogans, causal empiricism, and arbitrary preferences. As one colleague puts it, ‘to fail to plan is to plan to fail’.

For those who believe that politics has superseded analysis, Keynes’ defence of economics (1936: 363) is apposite:

Practical men, who believe themselves to be exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler a few years back ... [T]here are not many who are influenced by new theories after they are 25 or 30 years of age ... [S]oon or late, it is ideas, not vested interests, which are dangerous for good or evil.

Françoise Caillods’ long career touched many different aspects of educational planning. Her approach has valued evidence alongside

insight, pragmatism over polemics, and the politics of the possible. Her legacy is secure through the extent to which these attributes are embedded in the traditions of educational planning that IIEP has established.

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## 13. Measuring costs and improving financial management

*Serge Péano*

Over the decades, the objectives of the education sector have become broader and more ambitious, with the principal contemporary challenge being to find the necessary resources to expand and improve the system. Strategic planning has made significant progress during the past two decades. Many countries have planning documents – sometimes even too many – and these documents are more often than not accompanied by quantitative scenarios and financial estimates. The new aid modalities, particularly the general budgetary support, require strong management capacity by national administrators. Therefore the development of national capacity will constitute a major element in planning in the years to come.

The real costs of education systems remain less discussed: for most countries discussions are limited to state spending. The situation has only changed marginally in this regard. The knowledge of costs is the basis of all policies aiming to change the distribution of funds between different sources, different levels of education, and the nature of spending. Beyond the range of possible options for the financing of education, planners still have some vital questions. What are the full costs of education? How can future financial needs be anticipated? How does one define the financing and management mechanisms that will enable an efficient use of resources?

### **Changes and continuities**

The changing context is reflected in increasing economic constraints on public spending at a time when larger numbers of people with greater aspirations are seeking education. The number of actors involved in educational provision has expanded, in part because of decentralization of educational planning and management, changes in aid modalities, and the implementation of budgetary reforms. Major challenges lie in establishing better articulation between aspirations, objectives, expenditures, and results.

The debates during the 1988 seminar which marked IIEP's twenty-fifth anniversary were coloured by the consequences of the

economic crisis of that time. Discussions revolved around how to make better use of the available resources, how to reduce unit costs, and how to share costs between families and communities. In the synthesis report, Françoise Caillods (1989) drew up a list of key issues surrounding the topic of education financing. They included:

- the inadequacy of data concerning spending by families, enterprises, and local institutions;
- improvement in management of existing resources;
- the nature and extent of the role of the state;
- actions to favour the most disadvantaged groups; and
- the roles of private education.

These themes remain central to debates on education today. Many countries in the 1980s and 1990s experienced constraints on public spending and education due to measures adopted during the structural adjustment programmes. These resulted in a degradation of public schooling, even while the focus on basic education to some extent helped to preserve public education systems. The concept of Education for All (EFA) has been extended from primary education to include basic education. This implies that larger numbers of students remain in the education system for longer, and that there is pressure on other levels of education to expand.

Another dimension of change concerns an increasing tendency to adopt decentralized management methods. Even if taxation systems remain for the most part national, local actors have gradually been given greater autonomy.

External aid modalities have also drastically changed from a project approach to a sectoral approach, with the aim of better articulating the efforts of the state with those of their development partners. The number of planning activities required of governments has increased to include strategic poverty reduction frameworks, the Millennium Development Goals, the EFA goals, and various action plans. The necessity to develop medium-term expenditure frameworks and to adopt a general budget has also increased financial planning activities.

Finally, performance measurements have become a concern for state financing processes. Budgets have been developed according to programmes in an effort to link objectives with expenditures. This goes hand in hand with the need to measure the efficiency of public spending,

which also therefore requires linking expenditures with results using performance indicators.

## **Partnerships and development of aid mechanisms**

Partnerships have become a key component in educational discourse. The concept includes parents and communities, public and private sectors, and external relations. The transition from the project approach to budget support mechanisms is laden with problems related to service organization and management. Traditional projects were managed by project offices linked with administrative services, with more qualified and better paid staff, and operational resources that reflected their needs. As the project offices disappeared, it became difficult for ministries to retain project staff qualified to deal with public operations. Meanwhile, budget support also requires of national ministries the ability to anticipate future trends with analytical capacities and follow-up.

Budgetary support should be based on agreed development objectives. It is also essential that the needs of education system development and partner contributions be anticipated, and that at the national level the capacity exist to initiate dialogue, prepare technical documents, and manage the available resources to achieve the development goals. However, the technical processes bound to these new mechanisms have yet to be fully appropriated by individual countries, which remain too dependent on external consultants. For example, the tools needed to establish medium-term frameworks are rarely elaborated or mastered at the national level. This is why the development of budgetary support mechanisms should go hand in hand with an effort on the part of the partners to develop capacities for planning and management, and should not limit itself to mere financial allocation.

Lowering transaction costs linked to these new mechanisms seems to be a complicated issue. And while donors may have such expectations, the situation is less straightforward for ministries, which must ensure a higher level of coordination.

## **Progress in strategic planning**

Education systems and their development have a lot to do with demographic phenomena. In addition to the effects of a fluctuating general population, education systems have to adhere to internal demographic rules concerning student enrolment procedures. The current level of enrolment determines,

to some extent, the patterns for the future: today's first-year pupils will in a few years occupy places in the higher levels of the education system. Therefore pupil composition has a potential for evolution and will influence financing decisions.

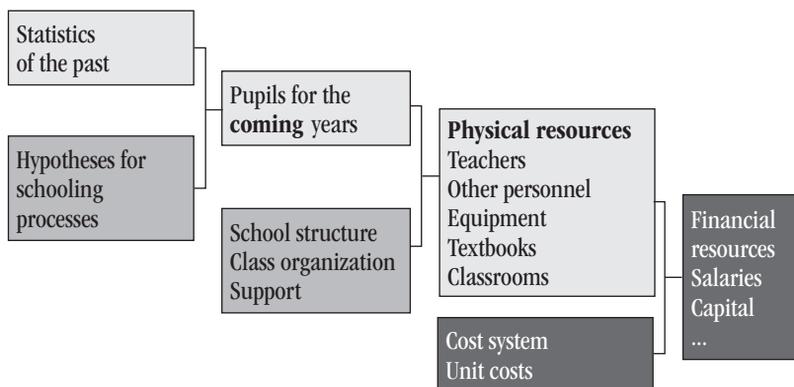
Planning for a desired future situation should also take into account desired development in terms of pedagogical and material conditions: class size and organization, teaching-learning conditions, and material and equipment. Financial estimations must be made on these bases, and they should include cost estimates on the necessary human and physical resources. The projection must also define annual phases to allow transition from the current situation to the desired future situation, and must evaluate foreseen needs from a macro-economic perspective in order to check their financial feasibility.

It is essential to consider the desired future situation when foreseeing future needs. From this point of view a distinction must be made between the long, the medium, and the short term. Long-term planning aims to achieve a desired status quo, and is therefore heavily rooted in an positive and optimistic vision, even if constraining macro-economic factors subsist. Medium-term planning (three to five years) needs to be more realistic, requiring a tighter evaluation of the field. Short- or immediate-term planning has to be pragmatic, taking into account all possible constraints. These varying levels of planning must be articulated in order to place immediate action in a longer-term perspective.

*Figure 11* presents a standard picture of projections in the work of educational planning. The projected needs are not limited to planning preparation needs or to national expenditure frameworks. It is also necessary to make projections at the regional level and even at the local level to contribute to micro-planning activities and school network management.

The task of projecting has changed somewhat over the decades thanks to developments in information technology and the widespread use of spreadsheets. It has now become easy to make multiple calculations – once a fastidious process – which has led to the conception of simulation models. The various considerations mentioned above have long been established, but technology has facilitated the projection process. However, the know-how and the very culture of projections must be enlarged; techniques and tools are well-known, but efforts are necessary to develop the capacity of planners in order to make use of them, in particular to judge their economic potential.

**Figure 11. General method of projecting the needs of education systems**



The notion of a generic simulation model came about from concerns to accommodate several education systems. A generic model must respond to the needs of a large number of countries, and also be adaptable to national contexts. Ministers who do not know how to use projection techniques efficiently need turn-key solutions. The EPSIM model developed by UNESCO's Education Sector is an example of a response to such preoccupations.

IIEP, for its part, has favoured an approach based on national needs and focused on the development of planners' capacity in order to make projections adapted to specific countries. This approach has been developed in certain countries as well as training programmes. In fact, the two approaches do not seem so different from one another. The experience of generic models shows that it is always necessary to adapt the work to the country in question.

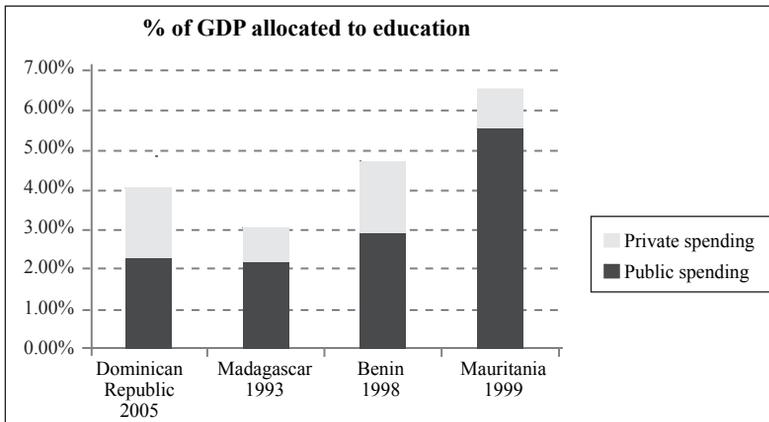
Disseminating know-how and a culture of projecting remains part of IIEP's mission. It requires identification of several successive levels of competence: understanding of techniques to analyse the results of projections, capacity to use an existing model, capacity to modify an existing model, and total autonomy to create a simulation tool.

## The challenge of collecting information on educational finances

Dissemination of information on the real costs of education systems has remained insufficient, and in some countries is limited to state expenditure. Not much has changed in this area, now that cost awareness forms the basis of all policy aiming to distribute funds among different beneficiaries and various education levels.

Analysing education expenditure through state budgetary documents is certainly important, but cannot provide a complete picture. *Figure 12* shows public and private expenditures on education in four countries analysed by IIEP. In one of these countries, private expenditures comprised nearly half of the total. Even in the other countries, private expenditures were considerable.

**Figure 12. Public and private expenditures on education in four countries**

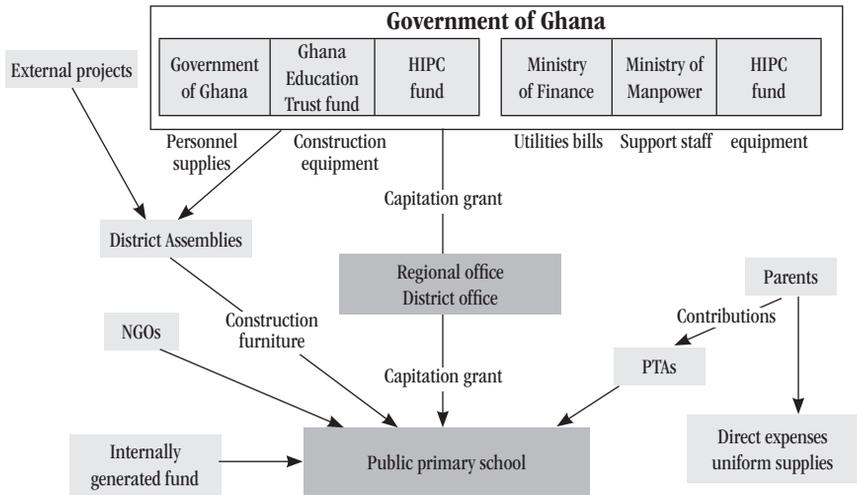


Sources: Dominican Republic (Péano *et al.*, 2007); Madagascar (Péano and Rahaririaka, 1997); Benin (Oulaï and Péano, 2000); Mauritania (Atigh *et al.*, 2002).

*Figure 13* elaborates upon this situation, showing the diverse sources of funding which may contribute to the operation of a primary school in Ghana. Mathematical calculation of the precise amounts derived from each source is a challenging exercise. It requires data from a very large number of actors, not all of whom are equipped to provide the information. Recognition of the need for a perspective on all education-related spending is not a new phenomenon. Indeed, awareness

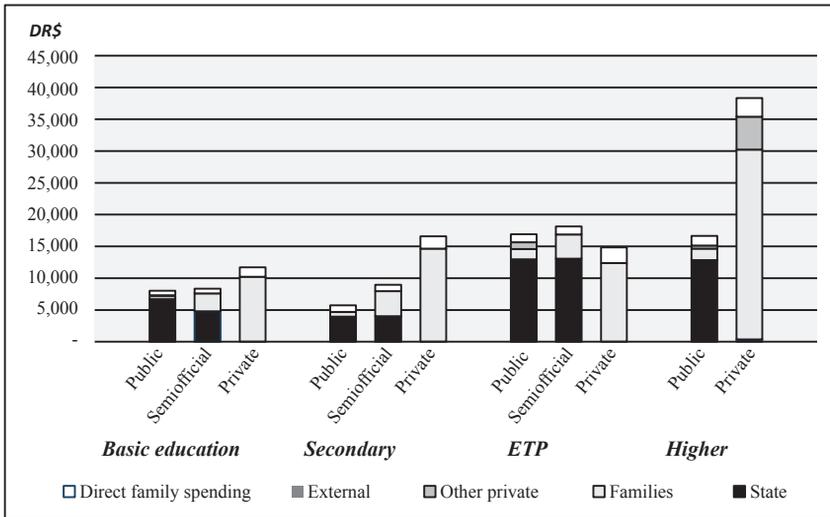
of this need dates back in IIEP's history at least to the study carried out in Senegal by Caillods (1976) in conjunction with Ta Ngoc Châu. However, techniques have become more sophisticated. *Figure 14* shows the ways in which the costs of different types of schools at different levels of education may be presented. For this chart the data have been aggregated to form a national picture, but they can of course be disaggregated by province, district, or institution.

**Figure 13. Financing of a public primary school in Ghana, 2007**



These studies shed light on education financing, aiming to produce a thorough evaluation of expenditures, and to bring together all public and private, national and external funding, for all types of establishments, public and private. This emphasis on thoroughness does have its disadvantages: evaluations can be of varying quality, as data can be estimated using statistical information or as a result of observations of samples of schools or families.

**Figure 14. Average financing per pupil, Dominican Republic, 2005**



Source: Péano *et al.*, 2007.

## The challenge of measuring performance

Education economists have always been keen to identify efficient ways of financing and allocating resources that will help to make more informed decisions and achieve good results at a lower cost. This concern has triggered much research on the performance of education systems, the decentralization of management systems, the autonomy of educational institutions, and the development of mechanisms to give more responsibility to families. Recent trends lie in the direction of using performance indicators linked to budget allocation, often related to state budget reforms and to the increasing importance of results-based budgets.

Linking education costs with the results obtained in order to measure performance has gained importance. The development of budgets by programme has allowed better articulation between objectives and resource allocation. In the logic of these evaluations, the focus now rests on the relationship between the resources used, the activities executed, and the results achieved. A comprehensive evaluation should focus not only on the resources allocated, but also on the activities carried out, the deliverables, the results, and the socioeconomic impact.

Evaluating the effectiveness of an education system using a limited set of indicators is of both theoretical and practical importance. The complexity of the field of education, the difficulty in measuring output, and the interrelations with other collective and private spheres make effectiveness difficult to gauge. On a practical level, the development of these indicators can require an improvement in the education information systems, which are currently more focused on the inputs of education systems. It is becoming common to associate performance indicators with budget allocations. Some countries have started to move in this direction, as can be seen in *Table 2*, which presents a programme adopted by the Ministry of Education of Sri Lanka.

**Table 2. Example of indicators used by an education budget programme – Sri Lanka**

| Programme               | Project                     | Performance indicators  |  |                       |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---|--|-----------------------|
|                         |                             | Results indicators  | Impact indicators  | Efficiency indicators |
| Assistance to education | Well-being programmes       | No. of pupils receiving free school textbooks                 | Participation rate (5-14 years)  | Rate of use of funds  |
|                         |                             | No. of pupils receiving a grant (Grade 5)                     | Achievement rate   |                       |
|                         |                             | Distribution of uniforms                                      | Participation rate of pupils in the schools selected for the project                   |                       |
|                         |                             | School lunches for Grade 1 pupils with low family income      |  |                       |
|                         | General education Project 2 | Number of teachers trained to use information technology (IT) | Enrolment rates in conflict-affected areas   | Rate of use of funds  |
|                         |                             |   | Creation of IT centres   |                       |
|                         |                             |   | Percentage of teachers using computers as a tool for learning                          |                       |
|                         |                             |   | Percentage of pupils using computers during class time                                 |                       |
|                         |                             |   | Percentage of pupils passing the end of secondary English exam and entering university |                       |
|                         |                             |   | Percentage of schools with educational IT materials                                    |                       |

Source: Oulai and da Costa, 2009.

Moving to a different culture of result orientation is not a simple step for institutions used to a bureaucratic style of budget management, and there is a risk that the development of performance indicators will be considered as a supplementary activity. The recognition and appropriation of indicators by all actors is a prerequisite if the gauging

mechanisms used are to have an effect on the allocation and management of resources.

## **Reinforcing capacity to analyse and project financial data**

Collecting information on costs and financing, developing databases, analysing the data, anticipating future needs within a global macro-economic perspective, and linking the resources allocated with the results obtained, require specialized skills. The changes in the aid modalities, and more specifically budget support methods, require good management and the ability to anticipate future needs and track expenditures.

Historically, educational planners have commonly concentrated on issues of school demography and the analysis of physical resources managed by ministries of education, and much less on financial issues. The managers of such services are often selected from among the large body of teachers. These teachers do not possess the required technical capacities to deal with issues related to the planning and financing of education.

Project management units that are separate from regular administrative units are often better equipped with more qualified personnel and resources. Yet even these units have not helped to strengthen planning capacity and management of aid. This lack of national capacity has created a dependence on external consultants to complete the tasks. This dependence decreases the capacity of ministries to carry out thorough examinations of systems and to discuss and negotiate the available financial resources.

Developing and reinforcing capacity to analyse expenditures in ministries of education is essential. Capacity development can be facilitated through training and supervision of professionals throughout the duration of activities. This underpins the ongoing, albeit evolving, agenda for IIEP.

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**Part IV**  
**Conclusions**

## 14. Reflecting on the evolution of educational planning: My years at IIEP

*Françoise Caillods*

### **The first plans in education**

IIEP was created in the 1960s, ‘education’s vintage decade’, (Coombs, 1992: 31) to assist countries that had recently become independent to plan and develop their education systems. Many of these countries had very underdeveloped education systems and suffered from a serious lack of educated manpower. They were looking for specialists to help them develop their education plans. Developing appropriate techniques and training educational planners was, at that time, a priority.

UNESCO had organized a series of ground-breaking regional conferences on education in the early 1960s – in Karachi (1960), Addis Ababa (1961), Santiago (1962), and Tripoli (1966). These conferences recommended/fixed regional targets for universal primary education. For example, the Santiago Conference initially set targets for 1970, which were revised in the Bogota meeting to 1975; the Karachi plan – the first to be developed – argued for seven years of free and compulsory primary education in the Asian countries by 1980. By then the plan already

defined long-term objectives, quantified for each country, with a view to introducing a system of universal, compulsory and free primary education for all by 1980, and estimated the financial and personnel requirements. With its concerted programme for action designed to secure funding from both national budgets and external sources, the Karachi Plan gave a tremendous boost to education in Asia and became a model for other regions.<sup>21</sup>

### **My initiation to educational planning at IIEP**

When I started working at IIEP in 1969, these regional targets were guiding signposts. One of the important concerns at that time was whether different countries would be able to achieve universal primary education by 1980. One of IIEP’s projects, headed by Ta Ngoc Châu, attempted to measure

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21. ‘UNESCO in Asia and the Pacific’. Retrieved 19 July 2011 from: [www.unesco.org/education/educprog/50y/brochure/unintwo/86.htm](http://www.unesco.org/education/educprog/50y/brochure/unintwo/86.htm)

the impact of different assumptions for population growth on increased enrolment, teachers, school facilities, and the resultant financial estimates, with a view to assessing how much of the additional cost would be due to population growth and whether countries would be able to afford it.

Another research project – IIEP’s largest at the time – was headed by then Director Raymond Poignant and focused on education financing. Its objective was to assess whether economic growth would allow the different states to finance their expanding education systems, and how additional resources could be mobilized.

A short time before I joined IIEP, Philip Coombs published his famous book *The world educational crisis: A systems analysis*. Launched in 1967 at an international conference on the World Crisis in Education in Williamsburg (USA), it highlighted many of the problems which would be encountered in the future. IIEP had produced major books and booklets on costs (e.g. Coombs and Hallak, 1972), cost–benefit analysis, and various technical aspects of planning. This focus on cost and finance did not mean that education quality was not considered. IIEP had conducted a major symposium on quality of education, which led to the publication of a seminal book on the qualitative aspects of educational planning, edited by C.E. Beeby (1969). In the early 1970s there were plans to begin a project on curriculum under the management of T. Neville Postlethwaite,<sup>22</sup> but these plans were not implemented for various reasons. Another project concerned university education and methods for planning the creation of universities and university expansion.

Yet, educational planning, as taught in IIEP courses and implemented in many countries by various agencies, was fairly traditional, with a focus on access, system expansion, and inputs, very much adopting a positivistic approach that later came to be called a ‘technical-rational model’. It assumed a fairly linear sequence of steps from diagnosis, review of policy options, decision-making, projection of enrolments, teachers and facilities needed, to costing the plan, its approval, and its implementation.

The majority of planning efforts focused on the preparation of national plans. It was soon recognized that there was a need to pay more attention

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22. T.N. Postlethwaite had been the Executive Director of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).

to sub-national levels. Jacques Hallak developed a research project for IIEP on school location planning, also known as school mapping. The project proposed a method for translating national educational objectives into regional and sub-regional objectives, estimating the potential demand for education at the local level, in every village and locality. This made it possible to estimate the resources required – in terms of teachers and classrooms – to reach national planned educational goals.

The methodology proposed through school-mapping exercises was very much top-down. However, it enabled for the first time a comparison between estimates of resources and facilities, made at central level, and requests emerging from the analysis of local needs. Different stakeholders were meant to be consulted and asked to express their concerns and priorities in different commissions. School mapping as a planning tool became very popular, and other agencies, notably the World Bank, came to rely on it to implement many of their projects. It thus became a common and accepted practice in many countries. Nowadays, most ministries of education have a school-mapping unit.

The method assumed that supply creates its own demand: in other words, if educational provisions such as schools were provided, they would generate demand for education, and students would enrol in schools. The assumption that educational provision would generate social demand for education was largely confirmed, but only on the basis that education was free and enrolment ratios were low. In many cases it did not hold true when enrolment ratios reached close to 70–80 per cent of the relevant age group. Enrolling the last 20–30 per cent of an age group in low-income countries turned out to be a lot more difficult than had been anticipated. Building schools was not enough. Enrolling girls and children in remote rural areas and/or amongst disadvantaged groups required implementing context-specific and more demand-focused strategies. This became recognized later on during the application of school-mapping and micro-planning approaches.

### **The loss of faith in educational planning**

By 1988, 20 years later, many of the illusions of the 1960s had been shed. The high economic growth of the 1960s had been replaced by slow economic growth, reductions in GDP per capita, and rising indebtedness on the part of low- and middle-income countries, particularly in Africa and Asia. The economic crisis of the 1980s, which followed the first oil

crisis of 1973, seriously limited the resources made available to finance education expansion.

By the 1980s, very few developing countries had succeeded in making primary education universal, and it was no longer provided free. Many countries had introduced cost-recovery measures as structural adjustment programmes imposed severe reductions in government expenditures. Several developing countries started to witness a deterioration in the quality of their education, an increase in the number of pupils dropping out, and, for some, a decline in primary enrolment ratios. The economic crisis had also reduced employment opportunities for school leavers, and unemployment of school and university graduates reached unprecedented levels. The belief in education as an engine of growth and development and a great leveller in society remained a myth with only a few believers.

The role of the state itself was challenged. The increasing size of administrations, and the bureaucratization of decision-making, came under attack. The new public management paradigm added fuel to the demand to reform the state. Moreover, the revolution in information and communication technology was starting to affect the level and structure of employment and the skill requirements. It became obvious that it was no longer possible to predict employment and types of skills required for the next five or 15 years with any accuracy. While concern for education and employment was strong, the human resources requirements approach to educational planning was seriously criticized. Educational planning altogether had lost much of its clout and prestige. Policy analysis had become the magic term, while short-term planning, budgeting, projects, and programmes replaced medium- and long-term educational planning.

In this context, IIEP organized in 1988 a workshop for its twenty-fifth anniversary on the prospects for educational planning (Caillods, 1989). The workshop was organized around four themes, considered to be the 'big challenges' of educational policy and planning: the educational financing crisis, low educational quality, the changes in the world of work, and the inefficient administration of education. Discussions were very animated on each of these topics, and some suggestions were made.

It was widely recognized by this time that educational planning no longer enjoyed an enviable position as an issue of central concern as was the case in the 1960s. Part of the reason was related to methodological and structural issues. Traditional educational planning placed too much

trust in forecasting methods, and it focused too strongly on theoretical debates and not enough on acquiring knowledge about the conditions of education and the changes in education as a social process. Planning was also criticized for not paying enough attention to implementation, and for being too isolated upstream from the political process and downstream from budget preparation and the administration in charge of implementing plans. In other words, planning was a process that mobilized ministerial attention every four or five years, but which otherwise had a limited impact on decision-making. The plan remained too often a book on the shelf, while most decisions, especially in developing countries, were taken on a piecemeal approach on the basis of donor-funded projects.

The workshop recommended a fundamental change in planning, notably that it should become more strategic. In a context of high economic, financial, political, and technological uncertainty, short-term management is what matters most, but this management ‘should be integrated in a broader vision of what education should be in the future’ (Caillods, 1989: 32). Planning should then become ‘a tool for orienting decisions toward a solution that would make the transition from present to future more flexible and less chaotic’. The workshop also suggested that planning should be more diversified, encompassing short-term operational plans, action plans, medium-term rolling plans, and long-term strategic plans integrated within a national long-term plan and ‘vision’. It suggested that plans should be developed at regional, sub-regional, and institutional levels within the framework of the broad national strategic plan. As the state was increasingly expected to formulate policy without necessarily being the implementer, one of the tasks of central-level planners would be to monitor how the education system developed and to provide adequate incentive mechanisms (Kemmerer *et al.*, 1997).

### **Where do we stand at the beginning of a new millennium?**

Many new changes have occurred since that period. In 1989, the fall of the Berlin wall announced the beginning of the end of the Soviet Union and started a rapid process of economic, financial, and cultural globalization, made possible by new information and communication technology. The years after this event saw the rejection of economic and educational planning, particularly in the most advanced countries, as associated with the failure of imperative planning. The neoliberal paradigm that had come to dominate economic thinking worldwide led to a drastic

reduction in public expenditures, privatization, and implementation of new management tools based on competition to foster excellence. The market was to show the way and replace planning in regulating the expansion and management of the economy, as well as that of education.

Nevertheless, in 1990 the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien signalled a strong commitment on the part of the international community and aid agencies to support a process of massive expansion of education in developing countries. Planning services were then asked to prepare action plans showing how their countries would reach Education for All by 2000. This would mean analysing education policy options, costing the measures that would make it possible to reach the goal, and undertaking strategic piloting of primary education expansion. While many overall development plans were neither costed nor prioritized, some countries started developing sub-sectoral plans covering primary education only. Indeed, the World Bank and many donor agencies introduced a distinct policy preference for primary and basic education, while technical and vocational education on the one hand, and higher education on the other, were to go through serious reform and restructuring, a process that led to the deterioration in quality of higher education in many aid-dependent countries. Many of the action plans prepared after the Jomtien conference remained, nonetheless, documents on a shelf.

It was really in 2000 in Dakar that Education for All (EFA) became a serious commitment on the part of the international community, which pledged to reach the six goals listed in the Dakar Framework for Action. Two of these goals became part of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) adopted by the United Nations in 2000.

All these international interventions and commitments helped considerably in restoring the status of educational planning. Never before had so many plans been prepared. Countries were once again asked to prepare an EFA Action Plan. In the framework of the Millennium Development Goals, the least developed countries were asked to coordinate all their efforts toward poverty reduction around one major policy framework – a poverty reduction strategy – and to prepare poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs), which included an education chapter. Countries whose PRSPs had been approved then became entitled to apply to the Fast Track Initiative (FTI), which provided – as it still does – additional direct or indirect financial support to education plans.

Drawing lessons from the failures of previous conferences, it was decided that both the Dakar Framework for Action and the Millennium Development Goals required regular planning activities and monitoring of progress made. The regular publication of key indicators, it was assumed, would work as incentives to improve, applying a ‘taming and shaming’ strategy. Recognizing also the failure of the project approach, donor and financing agencies started supporting the preparation and implementation of national educational plans. Different financing mechanisms emerged that ranged from the sector-wide approach (SWAp) to basket funding, and ultimately to budget support.<sup>23</sup>

All the new instruments of international aid demand the preparation of medium-term plans, sometimes called strategic plans, before support can be given to the country. Most of these plans are expected to fix the overall development objective, define specific objectives and planned outcomes, and announce a list of activities leading to planned outputs. These objectives are presented in a logical framework that defines the outcomes and outputs, with targets. They are to be monitored by a set of indicators, which, if the country is on track, act as a trigger allowing the funds to be released. In other words, the least developed countries moved from a situation where planning was largely discredited to one where planning became a high-stakes process that determined how much money they received from international agencies.

Planning has become more participatory as plans are prepared with the strong participation of major stakeholders, including donor agencies, which are now called development partners. This has been a very positive move, which permits the mobilization and engagement of the different actors in the definition of objectives. Planning has also become more sophisticated thanks to use of the latest technology. Simulation models are constructed, allowing comparison of costs of different scenarios and facilitating discussions with stakeholders. Medium-term plans are increasingly linked to medium-term budgets prepared by line ministries in accordance with the medium-term expenditure framework prepared by

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23. In the Paris Declaration (2005), developed countries committed themselves to respecting a certain number of principles meant to enhance national leadership in the preparation of education strategies, and to ensure fund predictability, that is, *ownership* – letting developing countries set their own strategies within the framework of a poverty reduction strategy; *alignment* – donor countries align behind these objectives and use local systems; *harmonization* – donor countries coordinate, simplify procedures, and share information to avoid duplication; *results orientation* – developing countries and donors shift the focus to development results; and *mutual accountability*.

the ministry of finance. Yearly action plans elaborate the activities to be undertaken, and are often combined with programme budgets. Plans are also regularly reviewed and updated, again with the heavy involvement of stakeholders. Plans are increasingly being prepared at regional and institutional levels. Finally, most universities have a strategic plan, as do most schools.

### **From no planning to too many plans in the least developed countries**

Have we moved from a situation where there was no plan to a situation where there are too many plans in the least developed countries? Preparing all these plans – the medium-term plan and the yearly operational plans – preparing the reviews, collecting data, computing the various indicators, and preparing the various reports – all takes time and puts education administrations, which are often quite weak, under great pressure. Is this really justified? Could this time not be better used, for example on programme implementation? These are all relevant questions that merit discussion.

Planning has not really become strategic either, at least in aid-dependent countries. It has indeed become more participatory and more decentralized, but the focus on a limited number of indicators that determine whether or not funds will be released in fact makes plans very constraining. Within the framework of performance-based management and planning, most agencies emphasize the need to include indicators on completion rather than on access, and on learning achievements rather than enrolments. Given the difficulty of achieving these objectives in a short period of time, fixing indicators can become very constraining indeed.

### **What is the situation in more advanced countries?**

In more advanced countries, much attention is being paid to education quality, to higher education, and to innovation and research systems, which are all meant to prepare countries to compete in the new knowledge society. Planning is no longer practised at national levels: national plans have been replaced by a series of multi-year programmes and projects that are developed to respond to major challenges or problems. But planning occurs at other levels: regional, university, and school.

At national and regional levels, evaluation and benchmarking play a large role. The OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and other programmes, such as the IEA Progress for International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), have become important instruments in developing and monitoring the quality of education systems, and bringing about the necessary changes. Likewise, the international ranking of universities has become an important instrument for monitoring the quality of higher education systems. University rankings have multiplied over recent years and have a strong influence on the decisions made by students, faculty, researchers, and university administrations. National evaluation systems of universities have been developed as well, and national rankings exist by discipline in many countries. International statistics, such as those produced by the OECD (Education at a Glance) or the European Union (Eurostat), have also become references for governments and national stakeholders.

In brief, it looks as if the market prevails with minimal strategic orientation at the national level. Interestingly, however, educational strategies are being prepared at the supra-national level. The European Union, for example, developed the Lisbon strategy – an action and development plan for the economy of the European Union between 2000 and 2010 – which included an education component. Parallel to this, the Bologna Process was launched with the aim of creating a European Higher Education Area, where academic degrees and quality assurance standards would be comparable. The latter, at least, has significantly transformed the higher education landscape in Europe.

An interesting development to follow after the 2008 economic crisis is the restoration of the role of the state and how far it will go. More and more countries – and regional bodies – may want to develop once more an economic and industrial strategy. Will that lead to a renewal of strategic planning in education in support of an economic development policy? This remains to be seen. Lastly, what lessons will be drawn from the experiences of Asian countries such as China, Japan, the Republic of Korea, and Singapore, which have all, in one way or another, continued to develop an education strategy in support of their economic strategy?

## **Final remarks**

This chapter has sketched some perceptions of how educational planning has evolved over the past 40 years. It certainly holds very little resemblance

to its appearance in the 1960s. Not that technical work is no longer needed: projections of student numbers, teachers, and facilities are still required, but they are only a first step in a long iterative process involving consultations, negotiations, and regular updates. New technologies make these projections a lot easier. Planning has become result-oriented, and far more attention is being paid to quality. Countries have developed instruments to measure quality and monitor learning achievements at the national level. Employment is still a major issue. The world, however, has also become much more complex, much more interdependent, and much more unpredictable. Higher levels of qualifications are more necessary than ever, although they are not a sufficient condition to ensure development or increased employment opportunities. Financing education remains a key issue in all countries. In the least developed countries, practices of aid agencies have a tremendous influence on planning activities. At the same time, the level of awareness of national stakeholders necessitates reaching consensus on a national educational strategy and a long-term vision.

Performance-based management is a growing concern everywhere, and requires careful monitoring and evaluation frameworks and activities. It also requires better financial management and regular auditing. IIEP has accompanied this evolution in its various phases and activities, as testified by its list of recent publications on such topics as quality of education, monitoring of learning achievements, governance and management, quality assurance in higher education, mechanisms of resource allocation, and ethics and corruption.

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## 15. Learning from the past while planning for the future

*Mark Bray, N.V. Varghese*

The dominant theme of this book is that educational planning is an evolving concept. Planning is a purposeful activity which aims to secure better futures; but while planning shapes societies, it is also guided by them. Planners must work in political, economic, and social contexts, and these contexts from time to time make radical shifts despite the planners rather than because of them.

This notion was recognized by the founding Director of IIEP, Philip H. Coombs. As observed in the first chapter of the present book, C.E. Beeby noted in the preface to Coombs' 1970 publication *What is educational planning?* that Coombs had taken a long time to write the publication because he was unwilling to accept a static concept of educational planning. Moreover, even at that time Coombs stressed the need for some major innovations in educational planning itself (1970: 24):

Planning that merely serves a strategy of linear expansion will no longer do; planning must now serve a strategy of educational change and adaptation. This will require new types of planning concepts and tools which are only now taking shape.

Many concepts and tools did take shape, and were applied in constructive ways. Many of these are still useful. For example, the notion of human capital theory has remained robust; and education is also seen as a major instrument for achieving social mobility and reducing social inequalities. Also, much planning still requires projections of enrolments, finances, and infrastructural requirements. In the present book, Péano refers to computerized simulation models now in daily use by planners, but which conceptually build on tools devised five decades ago. Also, Hite describes the uses of geographic information systems, which can assist school-location planning in the contemporary era, but which conceptually build on the tools of school mapping devised in the 1960s.

However, as envisaged by Coombs, the profession of educational planning has not merely rolled forward old concepts and devised new models of existing tools. Rather, the nature of planning itself has changed.

As noted by several contributors to the present book, planners must now work with greater uncertainty in postmodern contexts. They must grapple with intensified and to some extent unpredictable international flows of ideas, people, and capital in the era of globalization. Planners are still concerned about the links between education and the labour market, but in the contemporary era it is much less appropriate to envisage large segments of the (especially male) population holding jobs, in the sense of relatively stable and desirable occupational niches, which can occupy them from the time that they complete formal education to the time they retire. The age of computerized simulation models, cell phones, the internet, and cross-national mobility of labour has brought dramatic conceptual shifts as well as practical conveniences – and clearly many further changes are in store which cannot yet even be envisaged.

With such observations in mind, this final chapter draws some conclusions from the book. It begins with the role of the state before turning to the EFA agenda, aid dependency and aid effectiveness, and the challenges of reform.

## **The role of the state**

All chapters in this book have in some way touched on the role of the state. They have noted evolutions both globally and in specific parts of the world, and they have reflected on the implications of these evolutions for planners and planning.

The Introduction to this book noted that during the 1960s, when IIEP was established, the dominant conception among international organizations, governments, and the general public was that responsibility for education lay with the state, and therefore that planners should be employed by and accountable to the state. In communist countries, this approach was explicit in the fabric of government and society, but the notion that governments had responsibility for education was also generally accepted in capitalist countries. IIEP, as a component of UNESCO, was very mindful of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, approved by the United Nations in 1948, which stated in Article 26 that:

Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

This statement implied a responsibility for governments of all types and in all locations. A decade later, Principle 7 of the 1959 Declaration of the Rights of the Child stated that the child ‘is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the early stages’. And Article 13 of the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights declared that:

- (a) Primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all.
- (b) Secondary education in its different forms ... shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education.
- (c) Higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education.

As a UNESCO body, IIEP still works mainly with governments and at the country level; but it is very aware of the roles of non-governmental actors in education systems. Some of these actors are religious, community, and other not-for-profit personnel, while others are businesspeople of various sorts. The schools and other educational enterprises outside the public sector require planning as much as public institutions; and of course government planners must take account of these other actors when preparing and implementing government plans.

The notion of free education has been a source of tension. The decades have brought some nuances to the sentiments of the Declarations cited above, particularly with regard to post-compulsory education. It is now widely accepted that fees may appropriately be charged in higher education, even in public institutions. Whereas in earlier decades fee-free university education was advocated on the grounds that fees were likely to obstruct enrolment from low-income households, it now is recognized that university enrolments from higher income households are always likely to be more numerous and therefore that fee-free systems are more likely to subsidize the rich than the poor. Certainly it is important to remove all possible barriers to low-income families, but grants and loans of various kinds are an alternative to fee-free education for all. The nature of such mechanisms has been among the foci of IIEP work (see e.g. Varghese, 2003; Ziderman, 2004).

IIEP has also focused on issues concerning fees in primary and secondary education (see e.g. Lerotholi, 2001; Lewin and Caillods,

2001; Ouma, 2009). The fact that many school systems still charge fees despite the ideals of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights shows that issues are not simple. Fee-free schemes launched by central governments have caused difficulties when the revenues that were formerly received directly at the school level have not been replaced by other sources of income (see e.g. Kadzamira and Rose, 2003; Banda *et al.*, 2005; UNESCO, 2005).

In addition, the notion of policies on fee-free education advocated by international agencies and legislated by national bodies may not fit well with the notions of decentralization, diversification, and multi-polar decision-making that have gained strong currency over the last two decades (McGinn and Welsh, 1999; Bray, 2007; Lugaz and De Grauwe, 2010). Such factors create continued ambiguities which are best addressed through a combination of ideology and pragmatism, taking account of the extent to which taxation systems are able to raise sufficient revenue to support welfare policies. IIEP will work with governments to devise strategies to introduce and maintain fee-free education where those governments have decided on such policies. IIEP will also collaborate to devise effective alternatives to fee-free education for all where appropriate.

Other ambiguities concern the rise of the ‘shadow education system’ of supplementary private tutoring. IIEP has also spearheaded work in this domain (see e.g. Bray, 1999, 2009; Silova, 2009). While official machinery may declare that public education is free of charge, considerable charges may lie behind the facade which families may find themselves forced to pay if they do not wish to find themselves left behind in the competitive society. This issue arises in prosperous societies as much as less developed ones. Japan and the Republic of Korea have been grappling with such matters for several decades, and they now occupy a place on the agenda in countries such as Germany and Canada. At the other end of the income scale, private supplementary tutoring is an issue in such countries including Tajikistan and Bangladesh. Such private tutoring is commonly received by pupils who are enrolled in public schools. Thus, conceptually it is not a matter of public *or* private but public *and* private. For IIEP, as an institute for educational planning, the question is *who* is planning the shadow education system, and *how*. On the whole, the shadow system is not being planned, but is instead being left to market forces. Stronger government roles may be needed for guidance and/or regulation.

These remarks about guidance and regulation also fit observations about the swing of the pendulum following the global financial crisis that commenced at the end of 2008 (Varghese, 2010). The crisis is perceived to have been precipitated by insufficiently regulated activities in the private sector, especially in prosperous countries. This perception has led to a general reassertion of the importance of government roles. During the initial decade of the present century, public-private partnerships became a prominent theme in education as well as elsewhere (see e.g. Draxler, 2008; Genevois, 2009; Patrinos, Barrera-Osorio, and Guáqueta, 2009). The extent to which public and private can operate in partnership, and the extent to which the two sides should monitor and hold each other accountable, will be an ongoing theme for planners in the coming decades.

## **The EFA agenda**

Another major theme of this book is the agenda of Education for All (EFA), the origins of which lay in the 1990 World Conference on EFA in Jomtien, Thailand. The Conference built on existing ideologies as expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other documents. However, it brought a new set of vocabularies and acronyms, starting with EFA itself and, especially after reinforcement of the agenda at the 2000 World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, including the Global Monitoring Reports (GMRs) and the Fast Track Initiative (FTI) with its Education Program Development Fund (EPDF) and Policy and Capacity in Education (PACE) scheme.

For IIEP, as an institution strongly focused on the needs of low-income countries that had not yet achieved universal primary enrolments, the EFA agenda was of considerable importance. The six EFA goals which emerged from the World Education Forum dovetailed with the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set by the United Nations in 2000, of which Goal 2 was achievement of universal primary education by 2015.

As part of the EFA agenda, many countries promulgated compulsory primary education laws and increased the share of budget allocations to primary education. The increase in allocations to primary education was also due to pressure from the international community. Donor support also focused on primary education. Aid to education increased, and in the

mid-2000s nearly 75 per cent of aid to education in low-income countries was for basic education.

The EFA and MDG agendas will clearly evolve in the years ahead. One problem has been that the goals arguably overstressed quantity and understressed quality. A second problem has been that the MDGs focused more on universal primary education than on the broader objectives of EFA and the needs of early childhood and adults, as well children of primary-school age. A third challenge has been that as progress towards the EFA targets has been achieved, pressures have increased to expand post-basic education. For IIEP this has required on the one hand continued attention to the still unmet EFA targets of some countries, and on the other hand stronger attention to the post-EFA targets of other countries. The setting of targets for 2015 had merit, but as the date approaches is in danger of limiting horizons. Moreover, priorities in international advocacy have not always matched priorities arising from political circumstances in individual countries. Again, planners have to find multiple balances that respect the demands of their immediate superiors and at the same time satisfy other visions.

### **Aid dependency and aid effectiveness**

There has been much renewed debate surrounding the EFA agenda about aid dependency and aid effectiveness. Following the turn of the century, several major meetings and pronouncements focused on this matter. These included the 2002 Monterrey Conference on financing development, the 2003 Rome Declaration on aid harmonization, the 2005 Paris Declaration on improving aid effectiveness, and the 2008 Accra Forum on aid effectiveness. The general conclusions of these meetings and documents seemed to be that there is a need for better aid coordination among the donor community; general agreement to direct aid increasingly to support basic education; and a need for greater understanding to support national policies and programmes to improve aid effectiveness.

The financing framework also changed to take these concerns into account. International donors expressed willingness to provide support over longer time spans instead of just restricted annual bases. Medium-term expenditure frameworks (MTEFs) helped in this process. External financing also changed from being executed through project modes of financing to sectoral budget support (SBS), and in some case towards general budget support (GBS).

The complexities of a multiplicity of agencies operating in projects in the same country with varying modalities of aid flow and conditionalities of aid use made heavy demands on the recipient country to cope with varying demand from different agencies. Such situations constrained possibilities of developing a holistic picture of educational development for the country in question. The accepted idea now is that there is a need to harmonize efforts by all donor communities and to align donor support to national policies and programmes. This eventually led to the adoption of a sector-wide approach (SWAp) to plan for education.

The SWAp for education brought back an overall macro perspective and a long-term view of educational development at the national level. The need for such an overview replaced the fragmented vision resulting from the project mode of funding, and the fact that national authorities were following varying, and perhaps conflicting, instructions from members. The advantage with SWAp is that it recognizes the need for comprehensive planning; the approach takes into account all levels of education, and it also consolidates support for education from all sources of funding, especially external funding, and from all levels of government.

SWAp in education helped to develop a single-sector policy and plan framework, a common funding approach, a leadership role by the national government, and a reliance on national government procedures to disburse and account for all public expenditure. Under SWAp, national education ceases to be solely an EFA plan. The plan documents indicate interventions at all levels of education, project enrolments, classroom and teacher requirements, and estimates of the total resource requirements for the entire education sector.

## **The challenges of reform**

Farrell's chapter in this book referred to the writings of Tyack and Cuban (1995) on the 'grammar' of schooling and the extent to which traditional models have remained tenacious despite changing contexts and, arguably, changing needs. Farrell notes many blind alleys in well-intentioned reform movements, though also signposts of hope.

Fundamental questions about the nature of education and the possibilities of alternative models have also long been on the IIEP agenda – starting, indeed, with the groundbreaking book by Philip H. Coombs (1968). IIEP attention to non-formal education as an alternative, as well

as a complement, to formal education has a long history (see e.g. Coombs and Ahmed, 1974; Evans, 1981; Sujatha 2002; Baxter and Bethke 2009); and, as recorded by Farrell, the ongoing attention by Françoise Caillods to these matters included the commissioning of works by Hoppers (2006) and Farrell and Hartwell (2008). Consideration of the different needs of population subgroups has led to discussion about the best ways to serve nomads (Carr-Hill and Peart, 2005) and street children (Ouma, 2004).

Yet despite such questioning and exploration of alternatives, the grammar of schooling to which Tyack and Cuban referred has remained a constant in the present century as well as in earlier ones. The MDG to universalize primary education has been largely translated into universalization of the traditional model: schools divided into grades with teachers facing rows of pupils who attend lessons set by timetables and divided into terms and vacations. If such models have remained dominant into the present era despite half a century of challenge and search for alternatives on the margins, there is good reason to suppose that planners will need to continue to view them as the staple for the future.

However, such remarks do not imply that the future will merely bring ‘more of the same’ in all domains. In higher education, for example, work by IIEP and others (see e.g. D’Antoni 2006; West and Daniel, 2009) has noted the power of the internet for sharing curriculum materials across national, institutional, and conceptual boundaries. This itself is linked to the forces of globalization, which have now become familiar to all and which influence the directions for educational planning as much as other domains.

One way through which globalization affects planning is the mobility of ideas. This has very valuable dimensions, including the fact that planners with internet capability can access IIEP publications anywhere in the world without having to physically visit a library. IIEP remains very conscious of the so-called digital divide; but by this present point in the twenty-first century the majority of planners located in capital cities, even in least developed countries, have some sort of internet access. The globalization of ideas has included some fundamental shifts in values, for example on gender equity and human rights. It has also spread understanding of the interrelationships of peoples and continents especially with regard to the challenges of global warming and environmental degradation.

At the same time, globalization has brought new forms of marginalization. The internet not only favours some income groups more than others, but also favours some language groups more than others. And the mobility of capital and labour can leave some marginalized groups even further behind than was the case before. In this book, both Jacinto and Poggi highlighted the ongoing challenge of inequalities in Latin America; and indeed their remarks must have echoes to some extent in every other continent. Although educational provision has expanded throughout the world, to some extent educational gaps have merely been raised to a higher level. This is evident not only within countries, but also between them. Globalization brings losers as well as winners, and planners must be constantly mindful of such elements of the wider picture as they develop strategies for their own countries and localities.

## **Conclusion**

This book has shown that emphases in planning processes and practices shifted balance and took new directions during the past decades, though the underlying beliefs in the value of education for both social and economic development have remained fairly constant. As indicated at the outset, much of the book arises from a symposium organized by IIEP to commemorate the work of Françoise Caillods on the eve of her retirement after nearly four decades of service to the Institute and the field. As editors, we trust that the book has indeed given due credit to her outstanding personal contribution. At the same time, we know that she herself would wish to emphasize the many other actors across all continents who have provided leadership within and across education systems and processes.

Looking ahead, probably the strongest certainty is that the nature of educational planning will continue to change. At a technical level, new tools will become available; and at a conceptual level, new opportunities and challenges will arise. However, the field is likely also to have strong continuities, and to build on the foundation set by IIEP as an institution together with its counterparts in different international, national, and sub-national locations.

IIEP has always been mindful that it is a small institution faced with huge tasks. Given the need to focus, IIEP devotes most of its efforts to capacity building, particularly through training, research, and technical assistance. IIEP has also focused particularly on developing countries in

Africa, Asia, and Latin America, though some parts of its work also has much of relevance to Australasia, Europe, and North America.

The priorities for the institution have also been reflected in the priorities for this book, which has necessarily had to focus on only a few themes and geographic areas. Fortunately, the book is part of an ongoing conversation. IIEP will be glad to partner in this ongoing conversation in order to find productive dimensions for further innovation and development while maintaining the valued core of the field.

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# The International Institute for Educational Planning

The International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) is an international centre for advanced training and research in the field of educational planning. It was established by UNESCO in 1963 and is financed by UNESCO and by voluntary contributions from Member States. In recent years the following Member States have provided voluntary contributions to the Institute: Australia, Denmark, India, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland.

The Institute's aim is to contribute to the development of education throughout the world, by expanding both knowledge and the supply of competent professionals in the field of educational planning. In this endeavour the Institute cooperates with training and research organizations in Member States. The IIEP Governing Board, which approves the Institute's programme and budget, consists of a maximum of eight elected members and four members designated by the United Nations Organization and certain of its specialized agencies and institutes.

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The nature of educational planning has evolved significantly during the past few decades. The 1960s, when IIEP was created, was a time of optimism and strong belief in the role of the state in promoting economic growth and development. Educational planning had different emphases and interpretations in different contexts, but generally relied on grand models focusing on macro-planning. Today the field is increasingly also defined by decentralized approaches, non-government funding, and cross-national forces in the context of globalization. IIEP has been playing a lead role in contributing to conceptual issues, developing methodologies, and facilitating capacity development.

In 2008, the Institute organized a symposium to discuss the changing context and content of educational planning. Attendees reflected on continuities and changes in the past, and looked ahead to the anticipated future of educational planning. This volume is based on selected papers presented at the symposium.

### About the Editors

**Mark Bray** is Chair Professor of Comparative Education and Director of the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at the University of Hong Kong. From 2006 to 2010 he was Director of IIEP, on leave from the University of Hong Kong. Before moving to Hong Kong in 1986, he taught in secondary schools in Kenya and Nigeria and at the Universities of Edinburgh, Papua New Guinea, and London. He has also been President of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES). He has written extensively on the financing, administration, and planning of education, and on methodology in comparative education research.

**N.V. Varghese** is currently Head of Governance and Management in Education at IIEP in Paris. Previously he had also been Head of Training and Education Programmes (2001–2006) and of Higher Education and Specialized Training (2006–2008) at IIEP, and Professor and Head of Educational Planning at the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA), New Delhi. He has published many books and several articles in the areas of educational planning, financing of education, quality of primary education, and higher education.



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