

# **'One size fits all.' How much does donor influence in setting educational policy in poor countries lead to improved quality outcomes?**

## **Part 1**

### **Introduction**

This essay will discuss donor influence in setting educational policy and what implications this has for education quality in low income countries (LIC). I will judge the evidence using a conceptual framework developed by combining the ideas of several key authors in this area, to present a clear way of defining 'quality' in education. Thus, I will show that donor influence has not led to improved quality and I will utilise the framework themes to structure possible new visions of education and how it could be harnessed to bring about development.

### **New Sources and rationale**

- Bhatta, P. (2011) 'Aid agency influence in national education policy-making: a case from Nepal's 'Education for All' movement'.
- Collins, C. Rhoads, R. (2010) 'The World Bank, support for universities, and asymmetrical power relations in international development.'
- Klees, S.J. (2002) 'World Bank education policy: new rhetoric, old ideology'.
- Samoff, J. (2007) 'Education quality: the disabilities of aid.'

Increasing standardisation is visible across educational policies, typically recipients are advised to: "Reduce the central government role in providing education; decentralize; increase school fees; expand private schooling; introduce double shifts and multi-grade classrooms; and favour in-service over pre-service teacher education."<sup>1</sup> How does this contribute to increasing quality in education and building a society of the future for LIC? Is this approach building local capacity and does the rhetoric of poor country 'ownership' reflect the reality faced by education ministers? The link between education and development appears sensible although the debate rages as to how interconnected they are.<sup>2</sup> If development is to occur and education has a place in securing it, then broader issues are also important. Whose vision of education is executed? Who should make the policy decisions and do those decisions lead to good outcomes?

In order to provide answers to these questions from the articles I read, I selected the four listed above as they each cover a different aspect of the debate. Bhatta discusses the importance of national ownership of educational policy. Collins and Rhoads debate cost benefit analysis, problems in higher education and offer some opinions from education ministers. Klees looks at the World Bank position and whether its stated aims are really reflected in policy and Samoff discusses the World Bank policies in relation to quality issues.

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<sup>1</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Institutionalising international influence' p.76

<sup>2</sup> McGrath, S. (2010) 'The role of education in development: an educationalist's response to some recent work in development economics', p.247 and Colclough, C. and De, A. (2010) 'The impact of aid on education policy in India', p.497

## Controversy

A significant shift in international education policy occurred when the World Bank (WB) took over from UNESCO. In 1980 when UNESCO was the lead player for 'technical assistance and expertise in education, science, and culture,' "an ideal role for an UN organization institutionally most directly responsive to the majority of its members, (no major power veto, no votes weighted by affluence) has come to be regarded by much of the world as less able to provide effective education advisory services than the World Bank" <sup>3</sup> who by 1995 had taken over this role.

"Since its first education loan in 1963, the World Bank has increased its education funding significantly, tripling in volume between 1980 and 1995 and doubling its share in total World Bank lending. By 1990, the World Bank's allocation of nearly U.S.\$1.5 billion made it the largest single source of external financing for education in developing countries." <sup>4</sup> The advent of structural adjustment acceptance throughout the developing world made the WB "the single most important actor defining the parameters of policy-making in the field of education." <sup>5</sup> This is controversial because a democratically run institution has been sidelined possibly for ideological reasons, for the WB, a prescriptive institution which is operated in the style of doctor and patient.<sup>6</sup> This change in approach has significant implications for policy.

The WB style and content has often been criticised by recipient country officials, in India "senior ministry officials popular perception that the bank was a 'domineering' partner which adopted a 'hands on management style in project design and management', having the propensity to offer universal prescription, to ignore country experience, to induct expatriate consultants regardless of need and to insist on setting up the recipient country parallel project structures." "This was thought to be inimical to building up capabilities within the Indian system."<sup>7</sup>

Consequently, the WB's policy and ideology have become entrenched in the discourse stifling debate and conceptual criticism. This has resulted in the economic view of development and education becoming the one that matters. "Conventional wisdom on analyzing and understanding education came to reflect the perspectives of economists and bankers."<sup>8</sup> Subsequently, this acceptance of the theoretical domination of neo-liberalism and its tools such as 'rate of return analysis' became normalised to the extent that "what otherwise might seem to be controversial issues that warrant extended discussion escape critical attention."<sup>9</sup>

"Far more difficult to detect and resist are the influences embedded in the conceptualizations of education that seem so ordinary that we take them for granted and in the analytic frameworks that seem so obvious that they avoid critical scrutiny"<sup>10</sup>. Neo-liberal conceptualisations of 'education as investment, as production and as delivery' present a frame of reference that misses the mark.<sup>11</sup> These constricted conceptualisations of education, ignore so much of what quality education can be and do for LIC and the people within them. Focussing merely on inputs and outputs rejects the *process* of education and taking this 'narrow view' of doing only what can be measured is 'fundamentally disempowering'.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Institutionalising international influence' pp.59-61

<sup>4</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Institutionalising international influence' p.65

<sup>5</sup> Collins, C.; Rhoads, R. The [World Bank](#), support for universities, and asymmetrical power relations in international development. p.193

<sup>6</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Institutionalising international influence' p.76

<sup>7</sup> Colclough, C. and De, A. (2010) 'The impact of aid on education policy in India', p.501

<sup>8</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Institutionalising international influence' p.62

<sup>9</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Institutionalising international influence' p.62

<sup>10</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Institutionalising international influence' p.69

<sup>11</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Institutionalising international influence' pp.71-75

<sup>12</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Institutionalising international influence' pp.74-75

Debating these key questions such as what does a quality education look like? Who should make those decisions and how to measure success, is vitally important. Creating new conceptualisations of what quality education is and what it has to offer LIC will as McGrath urges 'go further' and begin to wrest control of this discourse on education for development away from the economists and create something more interesting, valuable and of higher quality.

## Part 2

What is a quality education and what interplay of global and international factors would be required to develop it? In order to make sense of the conflicting information on this subject I have developed a conceptual framework to analyse the results. In the development of my conceptual framework I have been influenced by Sen, Smith and Stromquist and have added elements from the work of each to create my way of evaluating success in education policy.

From Sen I accord importance to the idea of public consultation to design a context specific education policy that fits the particular vision of what education is and what it is for.<sup>13</sup> The ultimate goal of a quality education policy is building local capacity as "the centrality of capacity development to the overall development process was such that capacity development deserved to be treated not only, as a means to achieving development outcomes but as a legitimate development goal in itself."<sup>14</sup> The other primary goal is for education to lead to 'participatory or active citizenship'<sup>15</sup> an ongoing process for a LIC to create an improved vision of society, bringing about vital social development. "Active citizenship involves participation in a collective, be it diffused social force, a social movement, a political party or an NGO."<sup>16</sup> Through this type of public involvement or action societies can develop themselves in the way that they value, it is social development but from the bottom up.

In the compilation of my framework I made several working assumptions, which I share here for critical purposes but also because I believe they constitute along with the framework my blueprint for the way well designed quality education could shape new visions of society and development. Whatever education policy is put in place must be sustainable, it must not rely totally on external funding as this creates dependency which can lead to lack of ownership and risk of change if funds run out.<sup>17</sup> For example, it might be better for donors such as the WB to fund fixed non recurring expenses like infrastructure

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<sup>13</sup> Unterhalter, E. (2003) 'Education, capabilities and social justice' p.2

<sup>14</sup> Smith, H. (2005) 'Ownership and capacity: do current donor approaches help or hinder the achievements of international and national targets for education?' p.446

<sup>15</sup> Stromquist, N. (2006) 'Women's rights to adult education as a means to citizenship' p.148

<sup>16</sup> Stromquist, N. (2006) 'Women's rights to adult education as a means to citizenship' p.148

<sup>17</sup> Colclough, C. and De, A. (2010) 'The impact of aid on education policy in India' p.502

projects (building or equipping schools) or pre-service training (an entire years intake of new teachers) as these are investments paid up at the time of occurring that will provide ongoing benefits for years. This arrangement allows ministers (to pay for themselves) and therefore decide themselves, how many teachers they require, what they will teach and how they will measure success. Less ongoing funding dependency will reduce donor influence.

One size cannot possibly fit all. Two countries with different languages, different religions, different geography, recent civil war or not, colonised or not, with different cultural values and individual strengths and weaknesses will surely not be best served by the same standardized educational policies. One possible exception to this is universal primary education. Sen agreed public consultation on universal primary schooling is probably not necessary and would be beneficial in most settings. There must be constant critical engagement with awareness around freedoms. Sen has noted that universal primary schooling is positive but if the local culture prevents girls taking it up or if they are not safe in school or whilst travelling, their families may feel it is better to keep them at home.<sup>18</sup> They must be truly free to make the most of the opportunities.

My framework is thus: Has education policy been developed in consultation with the people of the country? Is it a *sustainable* context specific education as a *learning process*. Does it increase local capacity, lead to active citizenship, and maintain critical awareness around freedoms? If the answer to these framework questions is yes then it can truly be judged to be a quality education policy. Social development must follow this type of intervention and with an educated engaged citizenry economic development would also be expected. One of the difficulties I would anticipate with this alternative type of approach is the problem of measurement. Measuring active citizenship, the learning process or local capacity levels will be challenging. However, the impetus for technicist measurement comes primarily from the donors and from the WB in particular as it sits within its business model of inputs and outputs coupled with an understandable motivation to see what the money is actually accomplishing. If those involved can accept that educational reform is a long term development strategy, compulsion for measurement may relax. It would be logical to suggest that the LIC themselves would be comfortable with less measurement if they see positive changes on the ground.

An obvious place to start when considering global alignment in producing education policy is to consider the current international policy environment. The Education for All (EFA) initiative seemed like a wave of international consensus to improve education globally. Its 164 signatory governments pledged to commit to the 6 goals of among other things expanded access and improved quality by 2015.<sup>19</sup>

This type of global target setting attracts considerable criticism. Of key concern is who formulates and drives the targets. "The idea of EFA came not from the sponsoring states but from pre-existing ideas and practices in the development community, and the conference simply highlighted a 'process by which a limited range of policies were selected, packaged and carried to the remotest parts of the world.'"<sup>20</sup> Therefore, it seems likely that the targets originated in the North were built from Northern discourses and that the resultant corresponding Southern discourses are not incorporated into the final frameworks.<sup>21</sup> This is suggestive of the fact that coercing unwilling signatories probably does not generate sufficient 'buy in' on behalf of the LIC to actualise large scale educational reforms such as EFA or indeed others like the Millennium Development goals

<sup>18</sup> McGrath, S. (2010) 'The role of education in development: an educationalist's response to some recent work in development economics' p.249

<sup>19</sup> EFA Goals can be found here: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/education-for-all/efa-goals/>

<sup>20</sup> Chabbot (2003) quoted in Bhatta, P. 'Aid agency influence in national education policy-making: a case from Nepal's 'Education for All' movement', p.14

<sup>21</sup> Bhatta, P. 'Aid agency influence in national education policy-making: a case from Nepal's 'Education for All' movement', p.14

(MDG) and Poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSP). Recipient country ownership is judged as being a crucial factor for success by Smith. "Ownership of the change – usually requiring participation in decision making, leading to a strong commitment to see the change happen – is seen as an essential ingredient."<sup>22</sup>

Bhatta's article makes reference to the asymmetries of power between the recipient education government officials and the donors in setting policy. Tactics such as preparing the documents exclusively in English, not getting the policy details until the very last minute, (leaving the ministry unprepared) increased use of conditionality or 'coercive pressure' relegates the position of education ministries from partner to apprentice.<sup>23</sup> "The issue of national ownership has, interestingly, shifted from 'ownership over content' to 'ownership over process', primarily because the contents have been pre-determined."<sup>24</sup> This type of national ownership is often nothing more than a 'rhetorical fig-leaf' created to obscure hefty power imbalances.<sup>25</sup> Clearly this is not true ownership, in the sense of determining the policy and then carrying it out but merely being in charge of the administration. Educational reform requires extensive behavioural changes to be made across the board.<sup>26</sup> "Successful change also has to be bottom up as well as top down....just getting the top right is not going to be enough."<sup>27</sup> Viewing this through the conceptual framework lens shows that this type of international top down implementation would not be consistent with a quality education policy.

Samoff adds his voice to those critiquing the EFA objectives arguing that access is inappropriate without attendant quality.<sup>28</sup> Here he concurs with Klees that there is no such thing as best practice. "But most often education policy and practice are also responsive to the community's (or its powerful constituents ) perceived needs and interests. In everyday language, there are not and cannot be universal best practices. Ultimately, "best" is always local."<sup>29</sup> Samoff is interested specifically in what happens 'between' the inputs and the outcomes and asserts that the 'black box' approach favoured by some donors rarely improves quality. He argues that teacher learner 'face-to face contact' is what counts for improving quality.<sup>30</sup> Consequently, global action such as EFA is useful as a guide only. Local involvement is essential to success, therefore, education policy should be designed and implemented locally.

To improve quality Samoff recommends reform away from the technicist global approach and instead to get back to basics in order to improve quality. "Educate the teachers well and then enable them to use their education to work with learners. That is, teacher education and small classes."<sup>31</sup> The push to achieve EFA has resulted in a neglect of these two fundamental areas of pre-service teacher training and class sizes. EFA targets are forcing LIC in the opposite direction from the established wisdom on what constitutes quality education in the donor countries.<sup>32</sup>

Samoff reports that African countries have had many 'imaginative education innovations' but these small scale pilot projects have not then been successfully implemented at a

<sup>22</sup> Smith, H. (2005) 'Ownership and capacity: do current donor approaches help or hinder the achievements of international and national targets for education?' p. 446

<sup>23</sup> Bhatta, P. 'Aid agency influence in national education policy-making: a case from Nepal's 'Education for All' movement', pp20-22

<sup>24</sup> Bhatta, P. 'Aid agency influence in national education policy-making: a case from Nepal's 'Education for All' movement' p.23

<sup>25</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Institutionalising international influence' in Arnone, R.F., Torres, C.A.(eds) *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local* p.61

<sup>26</sup> Smith, H. (2005) 'Ownership and capacity: do current donor approaches help or hinder the achievements of international and national targets for education?' p. 449

<sup>27</sup> Smith, H. (2005) 'Ownership and capacity: do current donor approaches help or hinder the achievements of international and national targets for education?' p.449

<sup>28</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Education quality: the disabilities of aid'. p.487

<sup>29</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Education quality: the disabilities of aid'. p.490

<sup>30</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Education quality: the disabilities of aid'. pp.489-490

<sup>31</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Education quality: the disabilities of aid'. p.492

<sup>32</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Education quality: the disabilities of aid'. p.492

national level.<sup>33</sup> Is this loss a result of bureaucratic mis-management or is it, in fact not at all surprising? "In an important sense, "going to scale" is an inappropriate objective. Much more important is creating the enabling environment and then organizing education reforms at a scale that can be managed, financed, and sustained."<sup>34</sup> Local ownership which comes with local knowledge, the ability to hold to account, and passion for good change all contribute to creating quality educational reform.

Donors are controlling the type of interventions used and overly risk averse. "Poor countries are told that it is safer, more prudent, and more cost-effective to use well established ways of doing things, (including curricular and pedagogical approaches that have been discarded or substantially revised in the countries providing the support) rather than incurring the risk of what are characterized as unproved and untested innovations."<sup>35</sup> Innovation and creativity are what is required to institute the huge leap forward in quality of provision of large scale basic education.

"Central to our exploration of strategies for improving education quality, overall control over major decisions in the aid relationship remains very distant from the local settings that are the critical locus of improving education quality."<sup>36</sup> It seems clear that the influence that donors exert on recipient governments is a downward pressure of deliberate strategies such as the focus on risk free (but probably quality free) tactics and unintentional ones such as making project administration overly complex and time consuming. This combination is not positively correlated with improving quality and requires a strategic change. More mindful, simply executed policies and a greater willingness to embrace bottom up interventions and greater creativity will go a long way to improving quality.

As discussed above it is clear that one of the main key actors is the WB, but there are others that are neglected by the current strategies. Klees asserts that despite protestations in published literature to the contrary the WB will not be deviating too far in its policy recommendations, in the 1999 Education Sector Strategy Report, from its conviction that 'one size fits all'.<sup>37</sup> Like the semantic antics over the term 'ownership' another significant term from the 1999 report is 'partnership'. Usually what is meant by this term, is a close working relationship, borne out of common goals to minimise duplication and maximise efficiency. "The Bank proposes partnering with governments, parents and communities, NGOs and foundations, the private sector, teachers and teachers' organizations, and international, regional, and bilateral organizations. This is partnering with a vengeance: no one is left out. At least, almost no one — The Bank's willingness to partner with teacher unions appears to be very limited."<sup>38</sup> Any yet it would seem logical to many that the ultimate key actors in this debate are in fact the teachers, any successful educational reform will have to involve them. "No-one is in any doubt that the chief agent in the process of educational reform is the teacher."<sup>39</sup>

The instructive part is that partnership or co-operation as an organisational type is characterised by working together for mutual benefit on a voluntary basis; the operating principle of which is trust.<sup>40</sup> Contrast this with the typical reality experienced by other smaller local NGO's or government ministers and a different picture emerges. Partnership must not be just a word validating "asymmetrical relationships between northern and southern NGOs, in which the language of partnership thinly veils power differences."<sup>41</sup> Partnership must become a way of operating that creates skills, knowledge and builds

<sup>33</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Education quality: the disabilities of aid'. p.495

<sup>34</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Education quality: the disabilities of aid'. p.495

<sup>35</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Education quality: the disabilities of aid'. p.502

<sup>36</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Education quality: the disabilities of aid'. p.502

<sup>37</sup> Klees, S.J. (2002) 'World Bank education policy: new rhetoric, old ideology', p.453

<sup>38</sup> Klees, S.J. (2002) 'World Bank education policy: new rhetoric, old ideology', p.455

<sup>39</sup> Smith, H. (2005) 'Ownership and capacity: do current donor approaches help or hinder the achievements of international and national targets for education?' p.450, quoting UNESCO 1993 p.1

<sup>40</sup> Harriss, J. 'Working together: The principles and practice of cooperation and partnership' p. 226-227

<sup>41</sup> Harriss, J. 'Working together: The principles and practice of cooperation and partnership' p.227

capacity for both local NGOs and recipient governments. The WB style of partnership seems to be closer to the organisational type of co-ordination, hierarchical, setting the agenda and managing the process of carrying it out through smaller agencies or government. "The fervour with partnerships has also stifled critique, debate, and alternatives. Prior to EFA Bank policies were constantly and openly challenged by major aid agencies. Since the formation of the global EFA partnership, this has visibly changed."<sup>42</sup> The lack of debate is a worrying trend. It is certainly beneficial to have NGO's as other key actors engaging in debating education issues with the WB to enable a wider range of opinions into the arena and provide some counter-balance to the WB's power.

The over reaching ideological influence of the WB can be clearly seen in the debate over basic education. The WB used a calculation called 'rate of return analysis' in order to 'prove' that investment into basic education was more beneficial for economic development than other types of education. This analytic approach could be seen as a powerful actor such was its effect on the international education policy environment. "In the planning stages for EFA, The Bank told the other multilaterals that it would not participate in the Jomtien conference if the focus on basic education were to include adult education."<sup>43</sup> It seems clear to me that it would be nearly impossible to build a model to take into account the vast number of variables inherent in the value of higher education, never mind calculating that value in wider terms such as the wider social development benefits. Yet using this flawed 'analysis' serious long term damage has been done to higher and adult education provision. Collins et al. describes many southern Universities "in sorry state of affairs" as a result of years of neglect by the WB.<sup>44</sup> Recently the WB admitted the calculations contained "serious methodological shortcomings" such as "the difficulties of estimating social benefits".<sup>45</sup>

Some research has been done try to capture the social rates of return for higher education. Wolfe and Samuel put it that "social rates of return are as much as double private rates of return, when calculating non-market benefits like health, technological change, crime reduction, and political participation."<sup>46</sup> Benefits such as these are very important to a country if you are looking at development through a social development lens. "Education, information, science and technology become critical as sources of value creation (and reward in the informational economy."<sup>47</sup> Through this type of development like technological change, development can be accrued and built upon over generations, unlike the benefits of a primary educated workforce who then go into banana farming or work in a textile factory.

The WB is now more open to other types of education although Klees says the literature lacks any serious commitment to higher public education.<sup>48</sup> This purely economic view of education neglects the concept of education as a human right as it conflicts with the WB's stated conceptual underpinnings of 'human capital theory'.<sup>49</sup> The WB's hope to position itself as a 'knowledge bank' about education is at best fanciful unless it takes a serious look at the new concepts emerging to construct quality education and its link to development and incorporates them into a vision of the future.

Going forward, techniques such as 'conditionality' and 'prior actions' used to compel ideological changes in LIC should be consigned to history. "One particular high ranking official within the Ugandan Ministry of Education took a very critical position about the role

<sup>42</sup> Klees, S.J. (2002) 'World Bank education policy: new rhetoric, old ideology', p.456

<sup>43</sup> Klees, S.J. (2002) 'World Bank education policy: new rhetoric, old ideology', p.461

<sup>44</sup> Collins, C.; Rhoads, R. The [World Bank](#), support for universities, and asymmetrical power relations in international development. p.192

<sup>45</sup> Collins, C.; Rhoads, R. The [World Bank](#), support for universities, and asymmetrical power relations in international development. p.191 quoting from the WB working paper titled, "Can Cost-Benefit Analysis Guide Education in Developing Countries?" In the paper, Emmanuel Jiminez and Harry Patrinos (2008)

<sup>46</sup> Collins, C.; Rhoads, R. The [World Bank](#), support for universities, and asymmetrical power relations in international development.p.191 quoting Wolfe and Samuel (1997).

<sup>47</sup> Castells, M. (1999) 'Information technology, globalization and social development' p.9

<sup>48</sup> Klees, S.J. (2002) 'World Bank education policy: new rhetoric, old ideology', p.461

<sup>49</sup> Klees, S.J. (2002) 'World Bank education policy: new rhetoric, old ideology', p.465



of the WB in this regard: 'The World Bank should do one thing if they want to develop in Africa. They should understand the socio-economic sector of society before intervening and should try to appreciate the goals of the society. Some of us believe the World Bank does not want us to develop so they can maintain a market here. They have been here for many years and not much is changing.'<sup>50</sup> Many recipient governments are supremely critical of the role the WB has played in their education policy to the detriment of development and quality outcomes. "A Ministry of Education official working in the commission for higher education similarly commented, 'We cannot make an independent policy decision.'<sup>51</sup> "In regard to imposed policies, another high ranking official in the Ministry of Education stated, 'The World Bank is perpetuating colonialism.'<sup>52</sup> Collins and Rhoads concede that this is an example of 'neo-colonialism' and I would agree.<sup>53</sup> In LIC such as Uganda the real key actors in policy should be the education ministers. In order to bring about real lasting beneficial reform a new vision of education policy, would be one where outside actors are brought in to work alongside ministers in true partnership, developing local capacity and carrying out locally designed policy.

Measurement is one area where donor willingness to change could create a new educational landscape. Currently, there is too much reliance on standardised examinations which may serve to institutionalise existing structural inequalities<sup>54</sup>. Furthermore, they are unable to measure the quality processual changes highlighted in the framework. Samoff urges donors to support the development of new outcome measures. "Since that is likely to require not simply refining existing examinations but conceiving and implementing radically different alternatives, efforts to support quality improvement will need to address new arenas of the education system."<sup>55</sup>

I would agree with McGrath's assessment that "their visions of development are typically too materialistic".<sup>56</sup> Viewing education solely through an economic lens is flawed, human development should be given more prominence. "The disassociation between economic growth and social development in the information age is not only morally wrong but also impossible to sustain."<sup>57</sup> Education for development is at a crucial juncture.

Castells sounds a warning that poor countries must embrace or be allowed to embrace technology in order to participate in the information age. One vision of the future would be LIC able to determine their own path of development, choosing education policy to serve that and promoting "cultural development, including the level of functional literacy, the content of the media, and the diffusion of information within the population as a whole".<sup>58</sup> This would allow integration into a globalised information age but the increased flow of information and access to it; would increase public participation to build new institutions that reflect the choices of the society.

A new vision of education requires a change in mindset to listen to and provide an education of the type the LIC value. "The mass of studies and recommendations that emanate from the funding agencies reflect little or no attention, for example, to fostering an inquiring and critical orientation among learners, eliminating discrimination and reducing elitism, promoting national unity, preparing young people for the rights and obligations of citizenship, equipping them to work cooperatively and resolve conflicts non-violently, or developing among learners a strong sense of individual and collective

<sup>50</sup> Collins, C.; Rhoads, R. The [World Bank](#), support for universities, and asymmetrical power relations in international development.p.195 quoting a Ugandan minister.

<sup>51</sup> Collins, C.; Rhoads, R. The [World Bank](#), support for universities, and asymmetrical power relations in international development.p.196

<sup>52</sup> Collins, C.; Rhoads, R. The [World Bank](#), support for universities, and asymmetrical power relations in international development.p.196

<sup>53</sup> Collins, C.; Rhoads, R. The [World Bank](#), support for universities, and asymmetrical power relations in international development.p.198

<sup>54</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Education quality: the disabilities of aid'. p.497

<sup>55</sup> Samoff, J. (2007) 'Education quality: the disabilities of aid'. p.497

<sup>56</sup> McGrath, S. (2010) The role of education in development: an educationalist's response to some recent work in development economics p.250

<sup>57</sup> Castells, M. (1999) 'Information technology, globalization and social development' p.12

<sup>58</sup> Castells, M. (1999) 'Information technology, globalization and social development' p.3



competence, self-reliance, and self-confidence. Yet these objectives have featured prominently in statements of third world leaders and ministers of education over the past three decades."<sup>59</sup> An education developed along these lines would be judged by my conceptual framework to be good quality. Consequently, serious thought should be put in by the key actors - the WB, the education ministers of LIC, civil society and the teachers into how to achieve this.

"They were explicitly set up along "one dollar, one vote" lines so that a few of the wealthiest countries have virtually total control. The entire concept of a global Monopoly Opinion Bank, diagnosing the educational, social, and economic ills of the world should have no legitimacy."<sup>60</sup> In order to realise a new type of education policy the WB as it was cannot continue. It must learn from its mistakes to have any chance of shaping new visions of development through education policies.

## Conclusion

The WB has been allowed to dominate the debate and policies on education in development for too long, with detrimental outcomes for education and development. Lack of success in provision of high quality education can be attributed to asymmetries of power, lack of country ownership, and standardised pre-determined top down policies. EFA has resulted in some unforeseen negative consequences such as the neglect of teacher training and unreasonable class sizes. Narrow neo-liberal conceptualisations of education for development have not led to increasing standards and should move aside to allow new visions of education for development to come to the fore. Support for better education outcomes will follow system reform including reduced complexity, involving teachers, greater innovation and risk taking and an embrace of grass roots ownership. Only then will LIC have the ownership and capacity necessary to build societies of the future and nurture an active citizenry to protect those gains.

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