Education Policies and Strategies 1

NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

What role for UNESCO?

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UNESCO

Foreword

International development cooperation in the post-colonial era has seen a renewed struggle to achieve sustainable development and poverty reduction. Education has been considered as a critical linchpin to obtain this goal. Education systems were expected to adapt themselves rapidly to changing demands from the social and economic environment. The call for education reform has been recurrent for the last decades but the difficulties involved in changing the education systems immense.

Support for education development and reform has thus been at the centre of the agenda of international development cooperation for many decades but the results have often been disappointing. International efforts have been accompanied all along by the expression of critical views about the effects of their contribution, while public pressure for greater efficiency of international aid has become stronger in recent years. In parallel to these concerns, cooperation agencies have modified continuously their objectives and ways of functioning. National capacity building was given increasing priority. Efforts concentrated on developing national planning capacities leading over the years to an increasing focus on sector-wide national education policies and governance. As compared to the initial pattern of funding isolated projects and agencies individual "flag flying", international aid now works towards new modes of operation in order to provide coordinated support to sector-wide national programmes under national leadership.

UNESCO has been an active actor in this evolution, closely collaborating with its national and agency partners. It has accumulated significant experience in the support of national efforts at education reform and sector policy formulation. The specificity of UNESCO's approach lies in its sensitivity to the Member States' leadership role in cooperation activities and their own expression of their priority problems and needs. National capacity building and policy dialogue among all partners concerned have been major ingredients.

This document is an attempt to provide a "birds' eye view" of the evolution of upstream practices as experienced by UNESCO. The three authors of this document have been closely involved in international work for over twenty years particularly UNESCO's, in various capacities and from varying perspectives. They provide us with a synthesis of their observations on the

evolution of national and international contexts and practices, draw lessons and explore future prospects.

We hope that it will provide food for reflection in the ongoing restructuring process in UNESCO. It is also designed to be used as part of briefing and training materials for UNESCO and national staff in national education development work and in the preparation of the *Education For All* National Plans of Action.

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Preface

International development cooperation in the post-colonial era has seen a renewed struggle in pursuit of sustainable development and poverty reduction. Education has been considered as a critical linchpin to obtain this goal. Education systems were expected to adapt themselves rapidly to changing demands from the social and economic environment. The call for education reform has been recurrent for the last decades and the difficulties involved immense.

Support for education development and reform has thus been at the centre of the agenda of international development cooperation for many decades but the results have often been disappointing. International efforts have been accompanied all along by the expression of critical views about the effects of their contribution and public pressure for greater efficiency of international aid has become stronger in recent years. In parallel to these concerns, cooperation agencies have modified continuously their objectives and ways of functioning. National capacity building was given increasing priority. Efforts concentrated on developing national planning capacities leading over the years to an increasing focus on sector-wide national education policies and governance. As compared to the initial pattern of funding isolated projects and agencies' individual "flag flying", international aid now works towards new modes of operation in order to provide coordinated support to sector-wide national programmes under national leadership.

UNESCO has been an active actor in this evolution, closely collaborating with its national and agency partners. It has accumulated significant experience in the support of national efforts at education reform and sector policy formulation. The specificity of UNESCO's approach lies in its sensitivity to the Member States leadership role in cooperation activities and their own expression of their priority problems and needs. National capacity building and policy dialogue among all partners concerned have been major ingredients.

This document is an attempt to provide a prospective evaluation of the evolution of upstream practices from an insider perspective. The three authors of this document have been closely involved in international work for over twenty years particularly UNESCO's, from varying positions and perspectives. They provide us here with a synthesis of their observations as regarding the evolution

of national and international contexts and practices and explore lessons to be drawn and future perspectives.

We hope that it will provide food for reflection in the ongoing reform process in UNESCO and in particular help to specify the strategy of the Organization concerning the follow-up of the Dakar Forum on Education For All. It is also designed to be used as part of briefing and training materials for UNESCO and national staff in national education development work.

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Introduction

One can but rejoice at the progress made in the field of education in the course of the last fifty years. Yet many countries are still below the basic education minima and have great needs, despite concerted efforts at the international level, such as the Jomtien Conference in 1990 and more recently the Dakar Forum (April 2000). Because of the rapid rise in numbers, the quality and pertinence of education have become major concerns and new demands are being felt both at the level of post-primary and secondary education and at the level of vocational and technical training. All levels of education, and more especially higher education, are undergoing great pressures because of young people's growing demand for access and the need to renovate the curriculum to satisfy the needs of the economies that are in constant restructuring because of the challenges of modernisation and globalisation.

The needs of low-income countries that are faced with great financial, human, technical and institutional resource constraints are particularly difficult to meet. The restructuring of the economy and the adjustment programmes, as well as the new role of the State are at the root of the problems to finance the education systems which remain very dependent on public financing. The restructuring of the financing modes has led to mixed results, especially with regard to the quality of teaching and equity.

Whatever the country's level of development, there is a great demand for education reform in order to be able to face political and social and cultural changes, as well as scientific and technological transformations. To this can be added the need for reconstruction created by the proliferation of armed conflicts. This often requires large-scale efforts and great resources that must be mobilised through international cooperation.

The reconstruction and reform of the education systems represent human and financial challenges both for the countries concerned and for the international community. At the national level, the governments, the professionals of education and research, and the different associations and reflection groups are trying to bring adequate solutions. At the international level, the multilateral and bilateral cooperation agencies are contributing financially and/or technically to the national programmes of educational development.

The reconstruction or reform programmes often require large-scale operations that entail *great technical and political problems:*

i)   The problems and aspirations are great, but the resources are scarce (see Samoff, 1991). Elaborating a programme requires, above all, the capacity to make the difficult choice of priority aims and strategies that can be afforded financially and have a greater impact;

ii)   Because of their size and geographical spread and the variety in the kinds of curriculum and administrative levels, the education systems are extremely difficult to manage. Many actors and interest groups are affected by the decisions in the field of education. Not only are there the intellectual and technical difficulties of knowing, analysing and heading a sector that is as vast as it is complex, but there are also those of a political order to obtain the adhesion, or at least the non-resistance to change, of the many actors involved. By its very nature, the educational phenomenon is multidimensional.

The *financial factor* is decisive in the elaboration and implementation of education programmes. The scope of the educational development programmes and the possibility to implement them largely depend on the ability of the ministries of Education that propose them to negotiate efficiently with the ministries of Economy and Finance during the preparation and approval of the plans, programmes and public budgets. But experience shows that this is no easy task in the face of the budgetary constraints that weigh on education and training when financiers "have become the new masters of the national political scene" (see Jallade, 1994).

In addition to national funds, international aid also represents a substantial source of funding for many countries' educational development programmes. External funding agencies – be they multilateral or bilateral – are often present in developing countries. Their interventions are mostly guided by specific priorities and procedures that are not very flexible and are often out of phase with the national processes.

During the last two decades, the modalities of international cooperation have changed radically since the traditional approach "by project" has been replaced by a sector approach when elaborating programmes that integrate external funding. In this new context, externally financed projects are seen as part of the implementation of a *national education policy* rather than as an end in itself. Providers of external aid have therefore begun to focus their attention on the

definition of national education policies before conceiving projects financed by external resources. In many countries, the external donor has become one of the most active and influential actors in decisions about national policies. This challenges the countries to preserve their leadership in the delicate and difficult choice of options and priorities of the education policy.

In this new context, UNESCO has taken an active part in the international cooperation effort to reconstruct and reform the education systems of developing countries. It has tried to meet the need for technical and strategic support of the Member States for the elaboration phase of national education policies and programmes, called the *"upstream"* phase because it comes before the implementation of the programmes, or *"downstream"* phase. During the last decade, the formulation of and discussions about national sectoral policies and programmes with the external funding agencies have become more complex and more demanding at the technical level. At the same time, many developing countries, especially the least developed or poorest countries and those that are undergoing a reconstruction phase after an armed conflict, have become more dependent on external aid. Because of the increasing need for technical assistance and the growing demands for cooperation from the Member States in this field, UNESCO's "upstream" activities have gradually become an essential mission.

The terms "upstream" and "policy" are often source of ambiguity. In this document, "upstream" activities refer to *the elaboration of national education policies and strategies and the preparation of plans, programmes or projects in view of their implementation.*

By capitalising on the experience gained by UNESCO, this document aims to present the broad orientations of the Organisation's action in the field of upstream activities in education. More specifically, it tries to explain the conceptual framework of UNESCO's technical support in the *elaboration of national education programmes and policies with specific reference to the context in which international cooperation in developing countries is carried out.*

This document addresses national and international partners to inform about and promote approaches that encourage dialogue and the search for synergy in international cooperation. We hope to help to facilitate the participation of national partners and promote their leadership in upstream activities in the context of this cooperation. The document also addresses the UNESCO staff

involved in these activities, especially in the field offices, in order to support the Organisation's on-going decentralisation process.

After having reviewed the main tendencies of the national and international contexts with regard to the design of national education policies and programmes (Chapters 1 and 2) and specified the field of work and the main concepts and prospects (Chapter 3), the document presents UNESCO's experience in this field and explores orientations for its future role.

Chapter I.
The national context: the elaboration of education policies and programmes. Issues and trends

1. Preliminary remarks

The area we are concerned with – the elaboration of national education policies and programmes in developing countries – has greatly evolved during the last decades, giving rise to a diversity of conceptions and practices according to country, a diversity that must be defined.

According to the planning concept, as traditionally understood in the 1960s, a large share of the activities that go into the preparation of policies and programmes was considered part of the educational planning process. But the contexts – both national and international – in which the education reform and development programmes of the developing countries were elaborated have somewhat evolved since. The main changes are greater economic liberalisation, democratisation – that is relative and variable – of the political regimes, and the economic and financial crisis, including the growing weight of the debt. Their combination has tipped the balance in matters of international cooperation and the perception of economic and social planning whose utility has been questioned: its practice has declined, and even been abandoned in some countries. In many countries, the failures to which traditional planning has led because of its dogmatic conception and centralised preparation have marginalized it as a way of formulating and implementing development policies.

In the 1960s, the international community actively accompanied national planning. After having given its support to educational planning for several decades, its attention shifted towards the conceiving of national education policies in the 1990s. They are now considered a determinant element in the development process. Hence, this document does not refer to "educational planning" in the broad sense, but explicitly to the "preparation of policies and action programmes" and to the diversity of national practices in this field.

The diversity of national practices must be taken into account when conceiving
and implementing international cooperation programmes, be they projects to
support a national policy formulation or projects that finance the implementation
of a specific aspect of this policy. The process and method by which each
country formulates its education policies and programmes must be analysed in
order to adapt to them and contribute to their improvement if need be without
rigidly analysing or interpreting the way these processes are conceived. The
value of a given preparation process resides just as much in the methods and
techniques that are used as in the capacity to clarify the stakes and mobilise
energies for the elaboration and the execution of the education policy and of the
development programme or plan it entails. It is important for a country to know
if the process that is used will enable it to reach the goals it assigns to its
education system. One must also assess the country's institutional capacities and
evaluate to what degree they will enable it to prepare and implement a
development and/or reform programme that is politically credible and
technically valid.

When considering the preparation of the education policies and programmes of a
given country, the general context in which the process is embedded is a
determining factor to understand its approach. The national political and
institutional situation and the stakes and modalities of international cooperation
in each country affect the type of process that is followed and the methods and
techniques that are applied. It is by taking these elements into consideration that
one can define the type and content of the cooperation that should be established
with a given country.

The diversity of the processes by which the education policies and programmes
are elaborated can be explained by the political regime and culture of each
country and by its system of government. The macro-economic and financial
context, the specific characteristics of the education policy and the aims and
modalities of international cooperation, and more especially the role of bilateral
and multilateral organisations providing technical and financial cooperation in
the field of education, also come into play.

2. The political-administrative and macro-economic context

The *political regime and system of government* of each country influence the
approaches to the preparation of development policies and programmes at the

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national level and hence to the education policy and programmes. The situations can vary according to three main axes, with a range of intermediary ones.

The national development policy can be conceived and formulated in a centralised or decentralised manner, depending on whether the political-administrative structure of the country grants a certain autonomy to the authorities of the regions, the departments, the provinces or the districts.

In turn, economic and social planning can be carried out in an authoritarian institutional framework, which in certain countries is close to the enlightened or unenlightened despotism of political authorities, or in a democratic framework that aims at obtaining high participation and the adhesion of the public and the actors concerned.

Last, the development policies, plans or programmes that guide the behaviour of the various actors can be imperative and dogmatic or indicative in character with a view to allow for adaptation to the evolution of the social and economic context. This point is developed in Chapter 3.

At the *macro-economic* level, the developing countries that are affected by the economic and financial crisis and depend on external funding suffer from the uncertainty as to the amount of public resources that are available for economic and social development. The economies of the developing countries went through a period of strong economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s which, in most cases, was also very beneficial to the education sector. In the early 1980s, the national and international economic situation deteriorated with a persistent economic and financial instability that affected more particularly the least developed countries. The economy of certain developing countries was, moreover, badly affected by wars and natural disasters such as drought. Many had to resort to successive debt rescheduling and to the adoption of adjustment and restructuring programmes that also hit the education sector.

In this context, the elaboration of development plans or programmes geared to the reduction of investments and operating expenditures rather than to the programming of growth. It becomes difficult to formulate development policies and it is more difficult to establish and execute annual budgets than when mostly national budgetary resources are involved. Planning mainly consists in establishing strategies and procedures to cut down on existing programmes and estimate their financial consequences. Since the preparation of a programme depends on the disbursement of external aid, a series of often unpopular

economy and rationalisation measures must often be taken in agreement with the donors. By making the donor bear part of the responsibility, the political and social tensions provoked by a democratic and decentralised preparation where participation and transparency prevail, can be avoided and/or reduced.

3.   The impact of the financial crisis on the processes and methods

With the greater financial and economic crisis, many countries no longer elaborate a new programme on a regular basis, at least one year before the end of the previous one, as was traditionally the case. With the financial difficulties and the growing uncertainty of the conjuncture, some governments prefer to "steer in the dark" over a fairly long period. Since the economic and financial variables largely escape their control, economic and social planning have lost much of their meaning. There is such uncertainty about the availability of resources that projections cannot be established on a solid basis.

It seems that 'steering in the dark', especially in the field of education, can be borne for several years but that in the long run it leads to imbalances and malfunctionings that jeopardise the harmonious development of the sectors. In the field of education, this has been the cause of a certain regression both in terms of the efficiency of the education system and of institutional capacities. The practice of short-term budgetary plans lasted beyond the crisis years, but even two-year budgetary horizons do not ensure a sustainable development policy. In order to be able to stand back, certain countries, incited by their donors, began to elaborate medium-term investment programmes (over three years). Depending on the case, they were called a recovery plan or programme, or a stabilisation, transition or consolidation plan or programme. With the negative impact of the partial or short-term vision of structural adjustments on the development of the social sectors, one has recently witnessed the emergence of the notions of protected sectors and security nets that include basic education in programmes to fight poverty.

In this context, the impact of international cooperation on the elaboration and execution of development programmes can be seen in the structural adjustment policies and the conditionalities imposed by development aid. Many developing countries are still in an adjustment phase and this affects their economic and social planning in general and more especially their educational planning.

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Although external aid only represents a small share of the total expenditure on education in developing countries, it also plays a crucial strategic role in the formulation and implementation of education programmes and policies, especially in the least developed countries which largely depend on them for their investments. The participation of the donors in the elaboration of policies and programmes varies according to the context of the country, as we shall see in Chapter 2.

At the national level, the adjustment and restructuring programmes have consolidated the role of the financial bodies within the governments that have often worked in agreement with the international organisations. The ministries of finance have thus acquired a determinant influence in the decisions concerning the development of educational services which are often ill-prepared to defend their point of view in budgetary negotiations.

The more the country depends on external aid, the less the policy formulation and the preparation of its education programme will be carried out according to a purely national conception. Whatever the country, the vision proposed by educational programmes is to a certain extent the result of fairly tight negotiations between the national authorities and their development partners, and more especially the bilateral and multilateral organisations that finance education. In a number of countries, the policy is more "reactive" than active.

4. Processes and approaches

Depending on the diversity of the political and institutional contexts, national practices in matters of education policy and programme elaboration vary according to several possible *approaches and processes:*

- From a centralised to a decentralised approach including various modalities of deconcentration of the preparation and execution of the education policies and programmes;
- From a technocratic approach to a participatory approach;
- From a sub-sectoral or partial approach that focuses on a particular aspect of education to a systemic, sectoral approach that aims to ensure an articulation between the different types of education within the sector. The preparation may limit itself to purely sectoral issues or adopt a systemic multi-sectoral vision and also study political issues that go

beyond the framework of education but affect its reform or development, e.g. the legal and institutional aspects of decentralisation, fiscal matters, employment and wage policies, etc.
- From an approach that is limited to the strictly pedagogical aspects to a broader approach that covers aspects of global education policy aspects of the programmes and projects' implementation. Moreover, the elaboration can be limited to a plan of action and/or a strategy of implementation that have been broadly defined, or it can also encompass the aspects relating to the conception and modalities of execution of the programmes and projects. The preparation of the education programmes and policies can therefore deal more or less in depth with issues concerning the taking of political decisions at the highest State level or with more concrete administrative issues.

Whatever the approach, one can make a distinction between the *processes stricto sensu* and the *methods and techniques used*.

4.1   The processes

In the framework of the historical trends of development planning, the processes the countries use to elaborate their education policies and programmes have generally evolved in three ways:

i)   In the 1960s, many developing countries established planning systems to elaborate a plan or programme of social and economic development according to the "traditional" method. This process is presented in more detail in Annex 1. This preparation concerned education as much as the other sectors and the elaboration of education development policies and programmes generally followed the same pattern as the one usually prescribed for the planning of the development of all the economic and social sectors. Education being one sector amongst others, the work framework defined at the national level was respected by the sector. Following the crisis of the Communist regimes and the decline of traditional planning in the developing countries, only a few countries still use traditional planning.
ii)   A second group is made up of the countries that have been hit by a grave financial and economic crisis or have been destabilised by war or a social and political crisis that has led to the questioning of government policies and the abandoning of any planning. They must manage the crisis on an everyday basis. There are two reasons why planning has been abandoned: the feeling that

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technocratic planning as a means of steering policies has lost much of its credibility and the belief that such deep crises can only be overcome by political solutions. The political management of public affairs has therefore prevailed, at least momentarily, over technocratic solutions.

Once the acute crisis was over, most of the countries concerned began to formulate and implement reconstruction and reform policies for key sectors such as education, not only for internal political reasons, but also to obtain financial aid from donors with whom they must agree on education policy options. Hence, having abandoned the existing planning systems, these countries introduced new processes to elaborate education policies and programmes that had little to do with the traditional approaches. In exceptional circumstances that call for fundamental reforms, the preparation of a new education policy – and the programme it entails – follows a process that is quite different and more delicate . to manage politically. The difficulty here is created by the fact that education is at the heart of national concerns and by the pressures of the development partners who set a number of conditions before participating in the funding of the sector.

Here, sectoral programmes of a prospective and rather indicative nature are elaborated according to different procedures and for varied time periods, depending on the economic and social sectors and the social or political events. A frequent drawback is the lack of synchronisation and of a globally articulated vision of economic and social development to optimise intersector synergies. Hence, education policies are more closely linked to political changes, and more especially a change of minister or government, which hinder their sustainability.

iii)   There is a third case or sub-group in this second group: the countries that have adopted a planned economy following an economic and financial crisis. After having exercised rigid and dogmatic planning in the past, they have now understood the advantage of replacing planning in the traditional sense by a prospective and renovated planning system. These countries therefore use flexible planning as regards policy options and financing. They use indicative programmes that are elaborated pragmatically. What is important is the ability to govern, conciliating two imperatives: on the one hand, the need to orientate development by outlining the main thrust of the policies and programmes and on the other keeping open the possibility to proceed with the adaptation of these programmes according to the evolution of the conjuncture.

The main stages of this process will be described in Chapter 3.

4.2. Methods and techniques

Whereas the elaboration processes generally follow the operational rules of national political institutions, the same does not apply to the methods and techniques whose nature depends on the aims and objectives and **whose applicability** and degree of sophistication depend on the institutional and technical capacities of the services (state or not) that are involved in the elaboration of the national programme.

At the theoretical level, highly elaborate methods and techniques exist to prepare education programmes and projects, but in practice their application remains limited, probably because they are too sophisticated for the weak institutional capacities of the developing countries. Educational planning techniques have only been used only recently in these countries. Cost-benefit studies, for example, not only require technically qualified staff, but also a highly efficient information and management system. The social demand method and the techniques it entails continue to prevail in most developing countries, especially for the lowest levels of the school pyramid in countries that have declared the right to education for all. Last, methods based on manpower needs are usually only applied beyond basic education, especially at the higher education and vocational and technical training level.

Generally speaking, there has been considerable progress in the use of educational planning methods and techniques. In some countries, they only concern the projection of the number of pupils, whereas in others they have been fully adopted as tools for forecasting and prospective analyses. They often remained limited to quantitative data in some, whereas in others they also began to include the qualitative aspects and concerns about pedagogical and management evaluation. Depending on the country, the research methods and the ways of preparing the programmes gradually began to encompass different institutional, financial and pedagogical issues. This led them quite naturally to adopt operational research methods in education and to undertake, with or without external assistance, technical and financial feasibility studies on the reforms envisaged. The application of the methods gradually expanded beyond the classical planning process to include fields that were traditionally part of the politician's or the education administrator's remit.

Experience has shown that the elaboration of a sustainable education programme, plan or project depends on the existence of a clearly formulated

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policy. This clarity depends on the consensus reached on basic educational issues. In turn, the consensus depends on two factors: the quality of the political dialogue and the technical analyses provided all along to nurture reflections on basic issues. Even when there is agreement about the analyses and the conclusions and the goals and orientations to be given to the education sector, it is not always easy to obtain from the outset an agreement about the types of solutions to adopt, the order of priorities and the means to be implemented. It is the dialectic exchange between the political and the technical that will contribute to the emergence and consolidation of the consensus. Hence, it is essential that the confrontation of opinions between the political powers and between these and the technical committees should be fairly balanced. Issues related to this will be studied more in depth in Chapter 3.

5. Issues and perspectives

As we have just seen, the processes and methods of elaboration of education programmes vary according to the national context and more especially to the political and administrative context and the macro-economic context, as well as the countries' institutional capacities. Different situations can be observed, ranging from countries which 'steer in the dark', i.e. which no longer formulate an education policy nor elaborate an investment programme, to those which have a clear-cut policy that is explicit in its goals and implementation strategy and is then validated politically and technically. In order to better situate national experience in this diversity, Chapter 3 presents a synthesis of the processes to elaborate education policies and programmes which is based on a number of concepts and practices that have been generally observed.

In the light of international experience, the elaboration of education development policies and programmes face several difficulties in practice, which jeopardise the pertinence and applicability of the policy. Some of the most frequent are:

- The recommended education policy is not based on sufficient knowledge and analysis of the education system and its social, economic and cultural environment;
- The policy framework for education comprises general orientations but the medium and long term goals are not sufficiently clear;
- The goals do not meet the development stakes of the country and do not fully satisfy its priorities;

- The elaboration of the programme is carried out according to a traditional technocratic approach, hence the options and priorities are not understood and accepted by the system's stakeholders or decision-makers;
- The education policy, although well explained, is not, or not sufficiently, put into application in an implementation strategy or action programme that specifies the means and deadlines to achieve each goal;
- The costs have not been evaluated and the financial feasibility of the plan or programme has not been studied in depth.

Sometimes, a plan may seem technically valid at first sight but it leads to failure because of its archaic planning methodology. It is these successive failures that led to the decline and abandoning of planning in a certain number of countries.

The shortcomings may be due to rushed policies or lack of time and institutional, human and technical resources. Certain countries stop half way, skip certain stages or carry them out superficially.

At present, the countries that have overcome the vicious cycle of structural adjustments and economic and financial reforms are gradually witnessing a period of growth. They therefore resort more systematically to economic planning and more especially to educational planning. In most, following the example of what is happening at the macro-economic level, the trend is towards flexible and indicative education programmes that have been elaborated in a participatory and integrated way and are therefore regularly updated according to the evolution of the social and economic context. This type of planning means that the political decision-makers and the specialised technical services must be aware of signals that herald significant changes that entail a change of priorities and development strategies in the sector.

Yet whatever the process and method that are used to steer the future of the education system, one observes that, because of budgetary constraints and less external aid, progress in a number of countries can only come from a better use of existing resources and a diversification of its internal funding. One understands better the importance of the review of public expenditure, the scrutiny of pedagogical methods, the close examination of education costs, the introduction of evaluation techniques and the interest in the administrative and financial management of the development programmes and projects.

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A growing number of countries, having grown aware of the need to base decisions on objective grounds in order to avoid costly errors and sterile controversies, have begun to make national experts and research institutes participate in the reflection on and the elaboration of reform and development programmes. This trend will probably grow and the choice of options will probably be increasingly based on factual knowledge, on the findings of educational sciences and on operational-oriented research that is specific to the context in which the education systems of the developing countries function.

Chapter II.
The international context: financial and technical cooperation for development. Trends

International financial and technical cooperation for development plays an important role in the elaboration of education development policies and programmes in the developing countries. It is important to define this complex role that can be either direct, through the participation of international organisations in the funding of projects and their technical elaboration, or indirect, through their influence on the national strategic or political national decisions.

This chapter begins by clarifying the terminology and goes on to present the amounts disbursed for international aid for education and their importance for the different categories of recipient countries. It ends by presenting the strategies and approaches of the aid agencies, more especially in relation to national policies.

1.   International development and cooperation aid: definitions and the agencies involved

The concepts of development cooperation and aid are often used in an ambiguous fashion. For the sake of clarity, they are defined as follows in this document:

Development cooperation refers to the activities of the agencies that help to finance development programmes in the developing countries and/or that carry out technical, support or exchange activities in these countries. These agencies differ according to the type of cooperation, i.e.:

*   Financial or technical cooperation which are often associated or combined;

- Intergovernmental or non-governmental cooperation, and, within the first, bilateral or multilateral cooperation

Intergovernmental cooperation can be *bilateral* (USAID, French cooperation, DANIDA, etc.): it usually provides funds in the form of donations, as well as technical assistance. It can also be *multilateral* and bring together several types of agencies: mainly *development banks* (World Bank, Interamerican Development Bank, etc.) which provide funding, essentially through loans at quite favourable rates, as well as technical assistance. There are also intergovernmental funds such as the OPEC Fund, etc.

The *United Nations* is a system of multilateral agencies that include both development funds (UNDP, FNUAP, UNICEF, etc.) for financial and technical cooperation and its specialised agencies (UNESCO, WHO, etc.) that only provide technical assistance.

Non-governmental cooperation includes the NGOs and foundations that provide financial, human or technical assistance in many fields (humanitarian, social, research, etc.).

Development aid refers here to agencies that provide financial support to the developing countries, whilst recognising that they also bring technical support. The great majority of bilateral and multilateral agencies mentioned above, except the specialised agencies of the United Nations such as UNESCO, can therefore be designated as aid organisations. The concept of aid is therefore narrower than that of cooperation. The term aid is also associated with that of "donor". Because of the on-going changes in the relations between donor and recipient countries which are evolving towards a "partnership" relation, this term tends to be replaced by others such as "financial partners", "external funding agencies" or "development cooperation".

International aid for developing countries is mainly financed by public sources but there are also voluntary private donors, especially NGOs and foundations. This will be illustrated later.

2.   The amounts disbursed for official development aid

Official development aid (ODA) (the principal source of international aid for education) and resource transfers in the form of private investments are seen as a

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means to encourage economic growth whose positive results would be felt in society as a whole (Forster, 1999). The most complete statistics on financial flows towards developing countries are established by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC).[1] They concern the twenty-one countries that are members of the DAC and include most of the industrialised countries and coordinate almost all the flow of aid to developing countries. These statistics are therefore almost complete but they do not enable one to break down systematically the financial flows between the sectors (social infrastructure, agriculture, etc.), including those that go to education (see Annex 6 for more detailed information).

During the last two decades, financial flows were mainly *private contributions at market rates*, even if in the 1980s the economic crisis in the developing countries considerably limited these flows of investments to risk countries (see Tables 1 and 2).

Official Development Aid (ODA) [2], the principal element of international aid flows, which, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, had become the main component (61% in 1992) was once again overtaken by private contributions at market rates and its amount tends to diminish. This is also the case for international *development "aid"*, including other public support and voluntary donations.

International development aid is stagnating or declining and now only represents one third of the financial flows towards developing countries (1997 figures).

In the donor countries, in addition to the wish to ensure equilibrium in public budgets, one noticed a certain lassitude concerning aid because of the doubts expressed about its efficiency and the mediatised revelations of certain embezzlements (IWGE, 1994).

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[1] The DAC brings together the main OECD donor countries. In 1998, there were 21: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Norway, New-Zealand, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and United States.
[2] On average, one third of the ODA is devoted to the contributions allocated to multilateral organisations and the other two thirds to expenditure on bilateral cooperation (see Annex 2).

**Table 1: Financial flows to developing countries (in billions of US$: 1996 price
and exchange rate)**

Type of financial flows	1981-82	1986-87	1990	1995	1996	1997
Official Development Aid (ODA) (Donations, bilateral loans, contributions to multilateral agencies)	52.2	59.0	65.3	57.5	55.4	52.0
Other public sector contributions (DAC)	14.0	2.8	10.3	9.6	5.6	6.6
Donations from voluntary private organisations (DAC) (NGOs, Foundations) *	4.4	5.7	6.1	5.8	5.6	5.6
Private contributions at market rates (DAC)	105.6	33.4	11.8	87.7	128.9	138.3
Total DAC donors	173.1	100.8	93.6	160.6	195.5	202.6
(Other donor countries – ODA only)	NA	NA	NA	(1.1)	(1.3)	(1.2)

Source: DAC *1998 Report* (updated)
NA: Not available
*Net of public subsidies

**Table 2. Evolution of the structure of the financial contributions of DAC
Member countries to developing countries (%)**

Nature of the financial flows	1981-82	1986-87	1990	1995	1996	1997
Official development aid (including contributions to multilateral agencies)	30	58	70	36	28	26
Other contributions of the public sector	8	3	11	6	3	3
Donations from voluntary private organisations	3	6	7	4	3	2
Private contributions at market rates	60	33	13	55	66	68
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: DAC *1998 Report*

Representing 0.44% of the GNP in 1960 and some 0.33% of the GNP in the
1970s and 1980s, *the average effort of donor countries has progressively
decreased since 1990 to reach its lowest level in 1997: 0.22% of the GNP* (see
Table 3 and Annex 3).

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Table 3: Official development aid of the DAC Member countries as a percentage of the donor countries' GNP[3]

	1960	1970	1980	1990	1995	1996	1997
Weighted average	*0.44*	*0.33*	*0.33*	*0.35*	*0.27*	*0.25*	*0.22*

Chart 1: Official Development Aid Effort in 1997
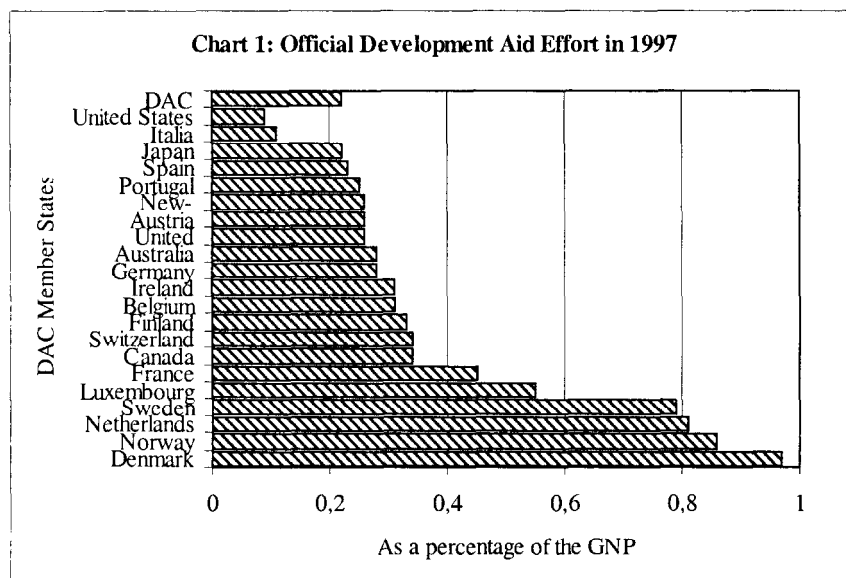
In the last fifteen years, only 4 DAC countries regularly exceeded the goal fixed in 1974 by the United Nations – 0.70% of the GNP: Denmark, Norway, Netherlands and Sweden (Chart 1).

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[3] The main indicator of industrialised countries' efforts in favour of the developing countries is, conventionally, the ratio between ODA disbursed by a donor country (both bilaterally and multilaterally) and the GNP of that country. The evolution of this index must not hide the evolution of the real amount of ODA which, in constant US$, grew fairly regularly until 1992 in accordance with the GNP growth of the donor countries. In addition, the index being a weighted average, the great effort observed in certain countries, especially in Northern Europe, is strongly counterbalanced by the considerable drop of the effort of the country with the highest GNP (United States) and of the principal donor (Japan) (Annex 4).

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Chart 2: Official Development Aid in 1997
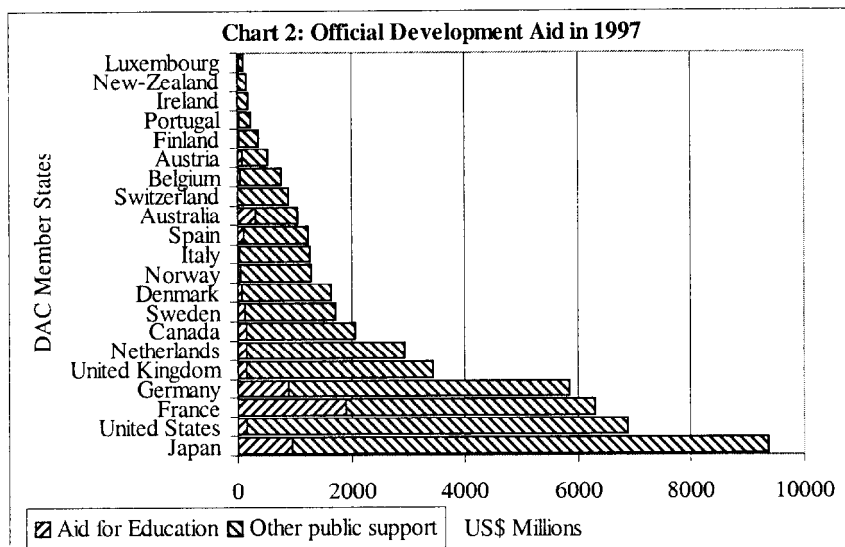
In absolute terms, four countries provide some 60% of the aid and have remained the main donors since the early 1980s (even if their share tends to decline). They are France, Germany, Japan and the United States. Japan became the main donor country in the early 1990s, with the United States coming second (Chart 2).

If one wants to have a broader picture of the financial flows of international aid, one must also take into account the donations of the NGOs (net of public subsidies) which represent some 10%. As is the case with ODA, these mainly come from a few donor countries. In the last ten years, four countries have provided most of the donations: the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom and Canada.

With the (net) donations of the NGOs, the four main countries for ODA remain the same, but this consolidates the position of the United States, which comes just behind Japan, and Germany overtakes France (see figure in Annex 3). For certain donor countries, the NGO channel is very important: this is the case for the United States (37% of their aid in 1997) and Ireland (30%).

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3. International aid for education

At the outset, the aim of international aid was fairly straightforward: financing investments that were directly linked to economic growth. Later, other goals were progressively added, the main ones being of a social order (education, primary health care, etc.) which were seen as encouraging growth and, more recently, the preservation of the environment or the eradication of poverty through multi-sectoral approaches. Moreover, other types of aid developed considerably with the growth in the number of armed conflicts or mobilisation following natural disasters: emergency aid, humanitarian aid, peacekeeping operations, etc.

The consolidation of social and human goals as opposed to those of a strictly economic nature was favourable for the financing of educational projects, but education gradually came into competition with a growing number of areas that needed international aid.

Chart 3: Evolution of Bilateral and Multilateral Net Disbursements for Education
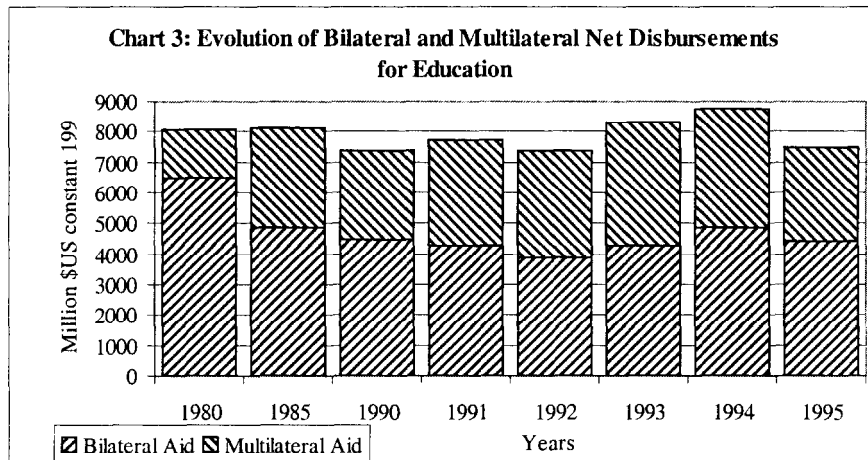
The DAC statistics seem to confirm the general trends observed in the social sector: the share of funds for "Social and administrative infrastructures" (which includes education) has grown by 50% in 20 years (Annex 5). Unfortunately, the available data are too fragmented and heterogeneous to enable one to establish clear trends in the field of education.

The series published periodically by UNESCO in its World Education Report is

the only source that gives figures of the evolution of aid for education which include bilateral and multilateral aid on comparable bases. In constant prices (US$ of 1995), aid represented some 8 billion US$ (1995 prices) over the 1980-1995 period (see Chart 3 and Annex 6).

Bilateral aid represents the most. Its share dropped significantly between 1980 and 1995 following a reduction of its amount and the great progress of multilateral aid through the contributions of the development Banks and especially the World Bank which more than doubled in constant monies during that period (Figure 4). Later, bilateral aid remained at some 60% of the total aid, with a few variations. In absolute value, bilateral contributions have gone through cyclic annual variations since 1990 (about 4.5 billion US$ in 1995 prices (Annex 6)). Some DAC figures up to 1997 confirm this trend (Annex 7).

Over three quarters of the bilateral aid for education come from four countries which, in 1997, were, by order of importance, France, Japan, Germany and the United States. Between 1980 and 1997 their contribution dropped, except for Japan which greatly increased its aid for education, thus making their share fall from 81% in 1980 to 76% in 1997 (Annex 7).

The World Bank is by far the main funding agency: it represents 25% of all aid for education over the 1980-1995 period and 27% between 1990 and 1995 (Annex 6). It represents just over 60% of multilateral aid during this same period, with annual variations. The World Bank financing for education in developing countries represents over 40% of that of all bilateral aid. Since 1990, it is greater than that of all the bilateral agencies taken individually.

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Chart 4: Evolution of the Respective Shares of Net Bilateral and Multilateral Disbursements for Education
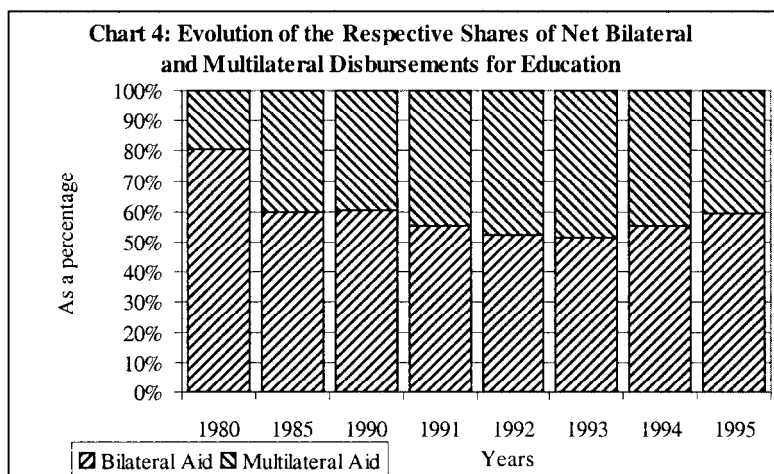
Despite the large contribution from bilateral aid as a whole, the World Bank plays a determinant role in the policy orientation of aid for education in the developing countries. This is because of the rather small size of the bilateral agencies, the concentration of their selective action (because of historical or linguistic affinities) in certain selected geographical areas and the relative isolation in which they operate, despite coordination efforts especially in the Nordic countries (Netherlands included). Hence, bilateral negotiations on education policy are delicate and this consolidates the World Bank's leadership role.

4. The impact of aid according to the recipient countries

4.1 Introduction

For many years following the decolonisation period, international financial and technical cooperation was seen as a way of encouraging the development of the poor countries, although ulterior political motives were also significant, especially during the Cold War. This vision, which was quite simple at the outset, gradually became more complex with the growing number of countries that received aid, thus increasing the number of special situations. These countries now form a heterogeneous group which is divided into several

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categories of recipients of ODA of the DAC member countries. Some countries are both donors and recipients.

Of the countries and territories that are considered developing countries in the DAC sense (162 in 1997), ODA is essentially directed at three categories which, in 1997, made use of over 90% of this aid (Table 4):

- Least developed countries (LDCs): 48 in 1997
- Other low-income countries (LICs): 24 in 1997 (GDP per capita <765$ in 1995);
- Lower middle-income countries and territories (LMICs): 52 in 1997 (GNP per capita between 766$ and 3 035 $ in 1995).

Table 4: Distribution of ODA between recipient countries (in 1996-97)

Groups of countries by income level	No. of countries	Amounts paid in 1997 (Billion US$)	ODA as % of GNP of recipient countries (1996)*
LDCs	*48*	*13.5*	*12.5*
LICs	*24*	*12.0*	*1.1/2.6***
LMICs	*52*	*11.9*	*1.0*
UMICs	*29*	*1.9*	*0.1*
HICs	*9*	*0.7*	*0.2*
Not broken down	*-*	*10.3*	*-*
Total	*162*	*50.3*	*-*

Source: DAC *1998 Report*
Notes:
LDCs: Least developed countries
OLICs: Other Low-income countries (GNP per capita: <$765 in 1995)
LMICs: Lower middle-income countries and territories (GNP per capita: $766-3035 in 1995)
UMICs: Upper middle-income countries and territories (GNP per capita: $3036-9385 in 1995)
HICs: High income countries (GNP per capita: <$9385 in 1995)
*   The share of non broken down funds disbursed in 1996 for ODA represented 18.5% of these. The % in this column are therefore minimal estimates.
**   This group includes China. Not including China, the percentage is 2.6.

On reading Table 4, one sees that the share of aid affects a spectrum of countries

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that goes well beyond the poorest countries: the 48 LDCs only receive one third of the aid for development and almost as much as the other two categories of countries with higher incomes. More especially, 30% of the aid broken down by country to which it is destined is directed to LMICs whose GNP per capita oscillates between $766 and $3035.

If one also takes into account the size of the population this confirms that the share of aid within the developing countries favours those with higher incomes: according to the 1994 UNDP report on human development, "whilst 40% of the HICs among the developing countries received aid for development that amounted to $20 per capita, the 40% poorest countries only received $9 per capita and 66% of the poorest people in the world received only 32% of the aid for development" (Hallak, 1995).

Yet the impact of aid in the LDCs, measured in terms of the place of aid for development in their GNP, is considerable and much greater than for the other categories of countries: 12.5% on average (Table 4). In the poorest countries of Sub-Saharan Africa this percentage is even greater (Annex 8).

4.2 The role of external funding in education: three typical country cases

The influence of the aid and cooperation agencies on the national policies and programmes varies according to the quantitative weight of the external aid and its specific role in each country. There are three main groups of countries:

i) *LDCs and countries with very low per capita income*

They depend on external aid to finance a large part of all their investments. In many cases – which are more and more numerous – external aid also plays a part in the funding of recurrent expenditure, despite a certain reticence on the part of the donors to grant aid in this form.

Technical and political dependence can be added to this financial dependence. This, in part, is the result of these countries' lack of human resources and institutional capacities to meet the requirements of the funding agencies and also of their lack of room for manoeuvre to impose their point of view regarding the conditions or priorities imposed by the aid agencies. Many countries of Sub-

Saharan Africa are in this situation: in this group of countries, one DAC statistic shows that, on average, for the thirteen countries of this zone that receive most aid in relation to their GNP the net disbursements of aid for development represented nearly 20% of the GNP in 1996-97, compared to 28% in 1991-92.

ii)   Countries that are in a reconstruction phase following a conflict

Whatever their initial economic level, these countries are characterised by their urgent need for aid which requires large investments, both physical and basic. Also, their human resources and technical and institutional capacities have weakened. Last, they are subject to persistent open or rampant conflicts that limit the possibilities for reconstruction.

Hence, one can easily understand that cooperation relations with the external agencies are unbalanced. In this respect, these countries cover a range of very different situations: for example, the LDCs whose initial dependence on external aid grows greater because of wars; but there are also middle income countries which have a greater capacity to recover. This enables them to show greater initiative in their relations with aid agencies.

iii)   Developing countries with middle or relatively high per capita income

These are mostly Latin American, North African or Asian countries, but also the «emerging» countries or those "in transition". Beyond the great variety of situations encountered, external aid plays a rather minor role in relation to national funding. The national authorities therefore have more room for manoeuvre in the elaboration of programmes that benefit from external funds and in the definition of educational programmes that justify their funding requests. But external aid still plays an active role in the countries' policies because it is often vital in order to be able to carry out certain qualitative projects, such as reform and educational innovation projects. This aid can also be vital when these countries go through a difficult period or a period of economic crisis or restructuring.

5.   The strategies and approaches of international development aid agencies

In addition to the specific characteristics of the country's context, the strategies and approaches of the aid agencies are a determining factor in their impact on

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national policies.

5.1. Priorities and aid policies: from competition to coordination

One of the distinctive features of bilateral aid agencies and development banks is that each has its own priorities that correspond to clearly defined policies. In the different countries where these agencies intervene, the units and staff responsible for the agencies' operations must make sure these priorities are respected and are accountable to their superiors. These priorities therefore have a universal value that can apply to each country and are therefore not very flexible.

Developing countries can seek funds from many agencies and are faced with many priorities. Hence a process of "bartering" begins to obtain the funding. For many years this hindered the definition and implementation of a coherent policy or education plan, especially in African countries that greatly depend on external funds. This was highlighted in a case study on Tanzania (see Samoff, 1994, Chapter 8).

This setting of priorities at agency level has as its corollary a competition between agencies, each one trying to apply its priority framework with an obvious concern for visibility. The rigidity of the political priorities defended by the agencies and the competition between them are key factors that run counter to the coordination and integration of the different external funding within the framework of a national education policy. It is very difficult to eliminate such competition because the staff of the agencies is accountable to the bureaucracies and governing boards which each demand proof, or at least clear indications of the field results obtained. The bilateral agencies must also meet the expectations of their respective publics, which can become very demanding. The impact of public opinion on the banks and multilateral agencies is less direct. It can be expressed by government representatives to the governing boards of the latter.

The existence of multilateral organisations that collect funds from donor countries helps to reduce the differences between the policies of aid for development, since each multilateral agency seeks to define lines of action within which cooperation can evolve. This can be seen at the level of the World Bank (Strategies and priorities for education), the United Nations (United Nations Framework-Plan for aid for development) or the European Union

(European cooperation patterns).

The strategies of development cooperation, which were outlined in the 1998 DAC report, are an example of the efforts to establish a common framework:

> "Sustainable development requires integrated development policies and strategies which are carried out by the recipients, centred on the human being and aimed at the obtention of results.
> The aid of the international community can be very useful in supporting the efforts at the local level when it is based on common objectives, a clear distribution of tasks, sufficient resources, coherent policies and efficient coordination.
> Development cooperation must be integrated in a series of measures to facilitate the full participation of the poor countries in the world economy and the full participation of the poor in the political, economic and cultural life of the societies to which they belong."

Yet ODA is still very diverse, since there are many multilateral organisations, even if some enjoy *de facto* leadership.

For many years, the World Bank - which occupies a leadership position on the international scene, including in the education sector - has had a strong influence on the choices and policies of other agencies, especially through the national adjustment programmes. One has therefore witnessed the emergence of agency "fronts" whose priorities and approaches are fairly similar. Also the main international conferences have contributed to reach a convergence of goals to reduce poverty, give a new value to the social sectors or protect the environment. The Jomtien Conference, for example, contributed to make international cooperation efforts converge towards basic education.

This trend to homogenise priorities has a positive effect on international cooperation, since it has led to greater consultation and dialogue between the agencies. Hence, the interventions are better coordinated. But these convergences have also contributed to encourage the development of commonly shared "fashions" in the priorities and policies that are proposed to the countries. These can become "universally valid", leaving little room for national specificities (WGESA, 1996). This is a serious problem in low-income countries which greatly depend on external aid: if there is not a competent national leadership who is capable of assuming the position of leader and negotiator, it will be very difficult for the national authorities to impose their point of view, especially if these differ from universally accepted conceptions. This often leads

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to a paralysis in the advancement of projects that are financed by external funds.

This situation may last, even if the issue of the balance between bilateral and multilateral aid for development is widely discussed, especially within the DAC. Although it seems out of the question in the medium run to envisage replacing bilateral aid for development by multilateral aid for development, the trend seems to be towards a gradual emphasis on the latter. Certain countries still give importance both to the amount of the aid for development they provide and to its visibility; they are eager to preserve their total freedom on part of the aid they provide.

The issue of the multiplicity of aid priorities, procedures and instruments is therefore crucial and is at the very heart of cooperation. Hence, it is essential to rapidly create the necessary conditions to improve the present situation in a meaningful way.

5.2   External financing of education: from a project approach to a sector policy approach

The rapid development of projects was an answer to the problems of educational planning, at least in its traditional concept which often lacked realism in fixing its goals and in the estimate of the resources and administrative capacities needed to achieve them (Magnen, 1990). Since they were much more limited in their objectives, duration and budget, the projects were considered much more manageable than plans by those responsible for the education policies in the countries concerned and by the donors of external funding.

Hence, international cooperation for the development of education gradually came to consist in individual projects that were financed by different external funding sources. Each aimed at specific goals which often reflected the concerns of the external financier.

In all logic, a project[4] is embedded in a planning process where the education policy is expressed in programmes that are divided into projects. In reality, if the projects were part of a more pragmatic approach than the building of ambitious

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[4] "Investments and other planned activities aiming at the achievement of specific goals in the framework of a given period and budget" (A. Magnen, 1990).

plans, this approach gradually showed its limits, the main one being a lack of coherence when a growing number of projects were elaborated without planning. More and more projects have become a way of receiving external funds. The activities of the national Ministry of Education are thus shared between the normal tasks that are part of its mission in the framework of public administration and a growing number of tasks that are part of projects with different goals and logics.

As a reaction to the project approach, the sector approach aims at an integrated development of the education sector through the coordinated efforts of all the actors, programmes and educational projects in the framework of a global national and sector development policy. UNESCO helped to launch this approach with its cooperation programme with the World Bank between the 1960s and the late 1980s. In the 1990s, many other agencies followed suit but, in practice, this approach is implemented according to different modalities. In fact, many projects still function independently, i.e. without being integrated in a broader process, simply because they are too long. Others can be set up because they meet the needs of a fairly specific problem and bring a satisfying solution to it.

There is no question of going back to the building of plans in the same way as in the past, but greater coherence should be introduced between so many and varied activities within the framework of the countries' sector-wide educational development policies and strategies. With the development of the sector approach, the aid agencies have given greater attention to the definition of national education policies with a sectoral scope. This has taken on different concrete forms in the practice of cooperation such as:

- Projects, in the traditional sense, are accompanied by a list of "conditions" concerning the country's education policy which is negotiated by the donors and those responsible for the national policy;
- Projects for sectoral adjustment whose funding is conceived to support certain structural reforms in the education sector;
- The formulation of sectoral education policies in collaboration with the donors before establishing projects for its implementation.

This emphasis of the aid agencies on national policies led to their having greater influence in political decision making, especially in the LDCs and countries in reconstruction where they have become the main actors of the education policy.

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5.3 Relations with the recipient countries: from dependence to partnership

From the outset, international aid for development has suffered an unequal relation between the recipient countries and the different agencies. The latter, because of their financial capacity and technical know-how, have often replaced those responsible at the national level in the choice of development priorities and strategies. The approaches that used external expertise, "universal" and technocratic analyses of problems and solutions that took little account of the national specificity and social, political and cultural context were legion. This was also the case with projects that were imposed and implemented with the seeming acceptance of the local partners. The least developed countries with low financial, technical and institutional capacities suffered most from these approaches. The results of the externally-funded projects suffered because of the lack of local appropriation and pertinence of the proposed strategies.

Since the early 1990s, emphasis has been increasingly laid on partnership strategies. They seem to be the best solution to warrant lasting efficiency of the activities and to ensure sustainable development. It is a "horizontal" strategy since this approach characterises all the fields and the activities that have been undertaken. This approach greatly affects education.

Both the donors and the recipient countries have expressed a growing wish for partnerships. Similarly, the large multilateral aid agencies clearly expressed their concern to develop new relations with the developing countries, as can be seen in the DAC Declaration of 1995: *"Towards a partnership for development in the new world context"*. This concern is very strong in Sub-Saharan Africa and it helped to orientate the goals and activities of the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA).

There are two main reasons to this evolution on the donor side: first, the wish to establish more balanced relations between the North and South – and in this respect the Nordic countries were forerunners – and the wish for greater efficiency of the aid through its appropriation by the recipient countries. In the latter, as is stressed by King and Buchert (1999), "there is the emergence of a new generation of deciders who want to collaborate with the world on an equal footing".

Many parties are concerned by this approach:

i)   First, the bilateral and multilateral aid agencies and the public authorities. This partnership is conceived to be steered by those responsible in the recipient countries around common goals established through dialogue, where the tasks of each partner are jointly defined.
ii)   Civil society, firms and other actors in the field concerned in the different countries. Indeed, the partnership approach is the best way to encourage local appropriation and participation, especially in the social dimensions of development that encompass the eradication of poverty, better social conditions and the protection of the environment.

In the field of education, partnerships must incite the aid and cooperation agencies to foster a dialogue with the governments of the recipient countries and the different national actors concerned: decentralised administrations, pupils' parents, teachers' unions, etc.

This is a wide partnership where civil society can take part in the strategic decisions and implementation of the development plans in several ways, notably through the government which manages the educational development plans and programmes and systematically associates the national actors in their elaboration and in the follow-up of the implementation at the national and local levels. The agencies are establishing more and more direct links with the non-governmental partners of the recipient countries. In both cases one must be sure that the local actors are able to implement complex plans, the follow-up of a plan being more difficult to ensure if its execution is entrusted to several parties.

The partnership concept is the result of a recent strategy which is being gradually introduced to better reach the development goals that have been agreed upon at the international level but it is not yet clearly defined. Its application in the field is complex because each stakeholder has a different perspective, depending on whether he is a bilateral donor, a multilateral agency or a recipient country. In practice, partnership is still more of an aspiration than a reality.

Chapter III.
National education policies and programmes.
A framework for analysis

The area that is of concern to us here – the elaboration of education policies and programmes – is the object of different or diverging approaches that need to be explained.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the international community saw educational planning as the best way to efficiently remedy the shortcomings of education in the developing countries. At the time, development policies were seen as being a relatively minor component in the planning process. In the 1990s, with better knowledge of the limits and possibilities of planning, attention focused on national education policies, which are now considered a determining factor.

In this context, this Chapter focuses on education policies. Emphasis is laid on the role of technical inputs in decision making in relation to dialogue and negotiations between the different actors. The aim is to extract orientations for the activities of UNESCO.

1.   Education policies: some specifications

An education policy is a human creation that is closer to art than science and the concepts and practices vary from one country to another. In this chapter, the term "policy" is used in a broad and functional sense:

- A *national education policy* establishes the main goals and priorities pursued by the government in matters of education – at the sector and sub-sector level or in a given field – and the main strategies to achieve them;
- A "*strategy*" means the way in which the goals may be reached.

Yet, in practice, a "policy" may lay emphasis on the priority choices without providing precise strategy elements. Hence, the terms policy and strategy are

often used in an interchangeable and ambiguous manner, or to refer to propositions with varying scopes (see Samoff, 1991; Magnen, 1990; Haddad, 1995; Reimers, 1998).

At the concrete level, a policy can be expressed in different ways. According to national traditions, in addition to legislation and the pertinent administrative guidelines, a national policy is defined either rather informally in ministerial speeches or declarations to the press, or in a more formal and articulate manner – in writing – in a "framework document", a "blue book", or the report of a special Commission. Despite the decline of planning, elaborating an educational plan can be the opportunity to formulate a policy for some countries (Samoff, 1991; Hallak, 1995; ADEA, 1995 and 1996).

A clearly formulated national policy can play an important "operational" role as a reference for action. It can help to guide future decisions and actions in educational development, including those by international cooperation agencies, in a coherent way. It also represents the government's public commitment to the future orientation of the sector. This is essential to promote the coordination and success of the programmes and projects, including those that benefit from external funding. For example, in the last few years, the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) has clearly stated the importance of establishing "long term development strategies in the education sector" (see ADEA, 1996). This illustrates this trend at the international level. There are also many examples of policies that serve as an operational framework at the national level, usually in less broad fields, e.g. the employment policy of the French Socialist government in its different strategies (youth employment contracts, the "thirty-five hours"). An active press and public opinion help to increase the impact of policies on actions.

One tends to forget that, in addition to this operational role, national policies also play an essentially symbolic or rhetorical role to obtain support or succeed in a political negotiation. In fact, they are not always destined to be implemented. They can also represent a declaration of intent that cannot be implemented because of a lack of sufficient means or support (see Samoff, 1991). Last, there are also implicit policies that are not publicly or clearly expressed but are just as present in the orientation of government decisions or in the daily decisions of the agencies responsible for their implementation; they may induce a *de facto* change in the initially stated policy.

Hence, both the "*announced policy*" and the **implemented policy** are important and are part of the subject which is of concern to us. The elaboration of a "good national policy for education" is an essential first step to promote the emergence and implementation of programmes and projects that are an efficient solution to the problems.

2. The "life cycle" of policies and programmes

The value of the education policies depends on their content and on their implementation in the field through programmes and projects. The technical assistance of UNESCO therefore addresses the broader process of elaborating and implementing policies, plans and programmes.

This process varies and is difficult to describe systematically: in practice, it is a fluid process where certain stages may or may not exist or overlap. Moreover, it is mainly carried out by "practicians" - decision-makers, administrators, planners, and teachers. Researchers who write on the subject have little information on what is happening, since they rarely take part in the political discussions and must therefore carry out *ex-post* studies based on indirect and often confidential data. This is why it seems important and useful to make an effort of systematisation, using field experience (see also ADEA, 1996; Haddad, 1995; Tedesco, 1997).

In order to clarify the tasks that are of interest to us here, Figure 1 shows the "life cycle" of the educational development policies and programmes. It takes into account the current practices in many countries (see Chapter 1) and helps to have a functional approach in field work. Although it does not represent all the possible situations nor the ideal situation, it enables one to place the different national cases in the cycle.

Here, the life cycle of the policies and programmes ranges from the elaboration of national policies to the implementation of the programmes and projects they lead to. The "policy" rather than the "planning" is therefore at the centre of this cycle, the latter being seen as a preparation to implement the policies.

For comparative purposes, Annex 9 gives an outline of the elaboration of the educational plan according to the traditional concept of development planning.

2.1   The national educational context

The context – the education sector of a given country at a given point in time – is specific to each country. Certain special events (e.g. a new regime, strikes, massive failures in examinations, etc.), as well as the budgetary cycles or the preparation of a project to obtain external funding can lead to the launching of the elaboration of a policy, plan or programme. The political and administrative or the macro-economic context influences the elaboration and the content of the policies (Chapter 1). This context is both the source of constraints and the object of the transformations proposed by the policy.

Figure 1. The life cycle of national educational development policies and programmes

NATIONAL CONTEXT

Task	Steering (management) of the process				
"Political agenda"	Formation of the policy	Formulation and adoption of the policy *(Declarations, blue book, master plan)*	Preparation of the implementation *(Plans, budgets, programmes, projects)*	Implementation adjustment, new gestation	Evaluation and new cycle
Task	Technical analyses				
(Sector analysis, policy option simulation, feasibility studies, programming, monitoring, evaluation)					
Task	Policy dialogue				
('Etats généraux', commissions, working groups, negotiation sessions, donor round tables, etc.)					

2.2   The phases of the cycle

This process takes place in several phases and repeats itself in a cycle, each phase requiring the achievement of a technical, political and steering task in a specific national context.

Taking into account practical experience, we have retained six phases in the life cycle of the policies and programmes: from the emergence of the educational issues, and the "agenda" of the political debate, to the evaluation of the implementation of the policy.

i)   ***The political "agenda".*** The negotiation and formulation of a policy are gradually structured around certain main themes. The first phase of the cycle is marked by the emergence of the ***political "agenda"*** which poses the principal questions concerning the problems and priorities of the educational development of the country and proposes solutions and strategies. If one wishes to systematise the technical tasks and dialogue one must define this agenda explicitly, e.g. during the 'Etats généraux' or the elaboration of a sector study. But, in fairly unstructured processes, it can also remain rather implicit.

The ***identification and analysis of the problems*** are the main elements of the elaboration of this agenda. Current practice in international cooperation places the "problems" of the education sector at the heart of the policy formulation. In this perspective, the government is seen as the body that must solve the problems and the policies must be conceived in such a way as to find an answer to them. Since it is impossible to solve all the problems at once, one must identify them and classify them according to priorities so as to target the policy. One must analyse their cause in order to find adequate solutions and strategies. But not everyone sees the problems and their solutions in the same way. This is a key element of the policy process. Discussions on the choice of problems, their priority, the causes and solutions will provide input for the agenda of the policy debate between the various actors. (For more details, see Haddad, 1995; Samoff, 1991; ADEA, 1996; Reimers, 1998).

Hence, two kinds of tasks structure the agenda: a technical analysis and a dialogue between the actors. The confrontation of different points of view is crucial. ***The sector analysis*** in its different forms is one of the best methods to elaborate this agenda. The confrontation of different points of view is essential for the technical tasks. When there is no dialogue, the partial vision of a small group prevails.

ii)   ***Policy formation.*** ***"Formation"*** refers to the often laborious process whereby a policy "takes shape" through discussions and negotiations as well as reflection and analysis. In practice, this phase is very important but it often overlaps with the gestation of the political agenda or the next phase, called the "formulation" phase during which the policy is clearly explained and presented in writing. The formation must be seen as a phase in itself in order to highlight this specific process which is often neglected in favour of "formulation", a term that may suggest a too technical and centralised vision of the political process. Reimers expresses this very well: policies are "formed rather than decided upon" in a fluid process of "conversations" and negotiations between

stakeholders and interactions between statements, decisions and actions
(Reimers, 1998; ADEA, 1996).

iii)   *The formulation and adoption of a policy*. As they reach the end of a
formation process, the policies are often "formulated" in order to systematise the
proposals and justifications, refer to the higher authorities, discuss with the
partners and inform the public. By definition, this entails articulation and
writing, often using statistics and technical justifications. The formulation must
therefore be done by a fairly small group of persons, at least in its final stage,
even if many actors took part in it before.

The formulation is often carried out in several stages and there can be several
versions before the document is finalised. In some countries, the intermediary
versions are often presented at consultation or "validation" seminars that bring
together the actors involved. Here, these stages can rightly be seen as an integral
part of the policy formation process (see 2.2 ii). This illustrates the interaction
and fluidity of the two processes.

As mentioned above (see 1 above), the policy documents take on different
forms: policy statements, sectoral adjustment programmes, report of a
presidential committee on education, blue book, framework document, or master
plan. The *publication of a final policy document* generally reflects the fact that
the policy process is fairly formal and that its content is fairly "stable" and can
counter the possible attacks of the partners involved. This phase is directly
linked to the *formal approval of the policy* by the competent authorities such as
the Council of Ministers, the Prime Minister, Parliament, etc. which generally
precedes the official publication of the document. In our outline, the formulation
and approval of the policy are seen as part of the same phase of the cycle.

iv)   *Preparing the implementation: plans, programmes, projects.* According
to the definition given above, a national policy document should establish the
framework for its implementation by giving the main goals and priorities, as
well as the strategies to reach these. Depending on the case, it proposes certain
parameters to show that "one has the means of one's policy" and more
especially the necessary funds. On this basis, the elaboration of the plans and the
preparation of the programmes and plans they entail will enable one to better
prepare the implementation of the policy. This is even more important if the
policy formulation is incomplete or not clear.

The ways of preparing the implementation can vary, depending on the national traditions (see Section 3 below). We take into account the following modes of preparation:

- The preparation and discussion of the **public** operating and investment **budgets** are current periodical practice in short-term programming (one to three years);
- The medium and long term **development planning** over a period of five to ten years, at the national level, under different forms according to the country;
- The **elaboration of specific programmes and projects**. The projects pursue "specific goals in the framework of a given period and budget", whereas the programmes cover "a series of planned activities that are broader than a project" (Magnen, 1991);
- The preparation of *programmes and projects to obtain external funds*. This is generally a specific process as far as the stages and methods and the modalities of dialogue and negotiation are concerned. It is carried out according to national practices and those of the various funding agencies.

The preparation of the implementation - which can differ according to the type of programming - usually aims at defining more clearly its goals and strategies in relation to its policy, programming the activities it leads to, fixing calendars, foreseeing the necessary resources, sharing the institutional and administrative responsibilities, preparing the budgets, etc. It is also important to consult and mobilise the support of the various partners.

Planning here is seen as a distinct and fairly subsidiary phase in policy formulation and decision making. Decision making that signals the adoption of an education policy is seen as the starting point of the planning rather than as "the first stage of all planning process" (Haddad, 1995): the latter suggests that planning is the engine in the management of policy elaboration and decision-making, but, in practice, the steering and the management of the process is not usually entrusted to the institutional planning services. Emphasising the policy as a crucial and distinct phase is more realistic and efficient in guiding the analyses and negotiation tasks: early in the process, the debate can focus on the essential issues of the political "agenda", while the longer and more detailed planning and programming tasks can take place at a later stage, once the policy document has been approved and hence be expected to last for a period of time. Yet the planning services should be allowed to play an important role in the

technical and negotiation tasks and act as partners in this policy process (Haddad, 1995).

v)   Implementing the policies and programmes – adjustments and new gestation. The programmes and projects are implemented in successive phases of one to five years. Many actors contribute to them at the different administrative levels of the education system: teachers, headmasters and principals, pupils' parents, and administrators at the local, regional and central level.

The traditional vision in which the administration and its actors carry out the political decisions in a passive manner has become obsolete (see Reimers, 1998; Samoff, 1991; Tedesco, 1997). Experience shows that a *"dynamic vision" of the implementation* is necessary: the actors play an essential role in the success of a policy or programme in the field, depending on whether they adhere or show resistance. This is at the origin of the weak results of certain policies that were imposed by the development banks on the countries that received the loans. The policy to reduce the costs of education in Morocco, whose application was rather problematic because of the teachers' resistance to heavier workloads and the redistribution of the staff, is a notorious example.

Moreover, the content of the policy or strategy can find itself modified *de facto* by each actor's activities. Their impact on the implementation is especially great in reforms that call for decentralisation. This is the case with administrative decentralisation programmes or pedagogical reforms where the local teachers and administrators play an essential role. Hence, the top-down approaches proved to be far more inefficient than participatory approaches (see Buchert, 1998).

As was mentioned in the introduction, the implementation marks the beginning of a new phase in the life cycle of a policy, programme or project. This phase is called *"upstream"*, as opposed to *"downstream"*, and comprises the preparatory stages before the launching of the implementation.

In a dynamic vision of implementation, the distinction between "upstream" and "downstream" must be flexible: the "formation" of a policy, as well as other upstream programme and project activities are, in fact, a continuous process that is prolonged *de facto* during the implementation. This highlights the importance of the monitoring of the execution of the programmes and projects in a perspective of evaluation and possible reformulation of policies that have been

approved. It also shows the advantages of participatory approaches to upstream activities (formation and formulation of the policies, preparation of their implementation) to facilitate the implementation and success of the policies and programmes.

v)   *Evaluation and new cycle*. The implementation thus completes the life cycle of the policies and programmes. Systematic evaluations of the implementation, when they are carried out, can be seen as an intermediary stage that marks the transition to a new policy cycle. Indeed, the assessments or evaluations of on-going programmes and projects are often carried out periodically depending on the case. Extended evaluations of a policy as a whole are carried out less frequently and in the perspective of a new emerging cycle which aims at the formulation (or reformulation) of a new policy.

2.3   Main tasks: technical analysis, policy dialogue and management of the process

During the cycle, the various national and international actors such as UNESCO are asked to participate in certain tasks to make the process progress. From an operational point of view, three main tasks are carried out continuously. They take on different forms according to the phase of the process:

i)   *"The analysis" refers* to the intellectual and technical tasks, i.e. gathering information, statistics, etc., analysing them, carrying out studies or making direct use of research results.

The *sector analyses or evaluations* are often used during the first phases of the cycle to gather the elements of information and studies that are available on an education system and its context in an articulate manner and in a sectoral and globally systemic perspective. They can be completed by more in-depth analyses as the process progresses: feasibility studies on the financing of policies and strategies, analyses of policy choices by means of computerised simulation models, the elaboration of action plans, programmes or projects, etc.

The follow-up of the implementation and evaluation of a policy or programme also call for certain studies. In a strategic management approach, the analysis of the sector's evolution must be updated whenever necessary.

ii) *"Policy dialogue"* refers to the dialogue between the actors and professionals involved in the sector policy: exchange of information, consultations, negotiations between partners or mobilisation of their support.

Depending on the phase of the cycle, for example in the French-speaking African countries, the States General of Education (*Etats généraux*) usually take place during the early stages of the cycle; the National Education Commissions can operate continuously until a policy document is formulated; working groups steer or prepare operational plans; seminars and round tables of donors are organised for consultation or financial positioning purposes, etc.

iii) *"Steering"* refers to decision making and the management activities to launch and make the process as a whole progress, including the aspects involving dialogue, analysis and the allocation of responsibilities at the national level and with foreign partners.

3. Participants, perspectives and roles in decision making

The interests and perceptions of those who participate in the upstream and downstream phases differ. The policies and programmes will differ, depending on the possibilities for dialogue in various institutional contexts and the importance given to technical as compared to political considerations. *What is the role of the various participants, their perspectives and their interests in decision making in national policies and programmes?* This is the main question.

We shall now present the professional and technical perspectives, the interest groups and the decision making process.

3.1 The professional or technical perspectives

The first to participate in the education policy and programme cycle are those who are involved in education: educators and teachers, administrators, researchers, etc. But each has a different or even diverging perception of education that is difficult to include in a common vision.

Here, we shall deliberately give a schematic presentation of the main perspectives. The existence of "paradigms" in work approaches, which are often

watertight and not very flexible, is a well-known phenomenon in the social sciences. This is confirmed in practice when certain rather stereotyped definitions correspond quite closely to reality. For the sake of simplification, we shall outline the five most common perspectives of professionals according to their prevailing perception of the most important aspects of the educational field. We shall not take into account the differences that are specific to the theoretical conceptions of each profession, nor the specific cases with a multidisciplinary profile (see Reimers, 1998; Haddad, 1995).

i)   The *educator*, by definition, focuses his attention on the educative or pedagogical aspects, such as curriculum, teaching methods, pedagogical material and learning results. He often gives priority to certain types of education that are of special concern to him, rather than to well articulated priorities for the education sector as a whole. He tends to underestimate the financial feasibility aspects and often defends extremely ambitious proposals.

ii)   The *economist* and the *finance specialist*, who have been very present in the national and international educational institutions since the 1980s, focus their attention on costs and financing capacity, the efficiency and productivity of investments in education, and educational goals that are linked to the economy and employment. They often use econometric models to carry out studies on these themes and to study the options. In the last few decades, the economic and financial aspects rather than the educational, cultural and socio-political considerations have often predominated.

iii)   In their majority, the *researchers* - disregarding their diversity according to discipline (teaching, psychology, sociology or the economics of education, etc.) - believe that research can and must make an important contribution to policy elaboration. Since the deciders make little use of the results of research on education, some researchers show concern about this. They think that the contribution of research should be better integrated in the policy processes by taking into account the decision-makers' many concrete concerns (possibilities for generalisation, feasibility in the field, etc.) and the practitioners' potential contribution to decision making (Reimers, 1998).

iv)   The *administrator* should, *in principle*, apply to his work a global vision of the education system and the management of its various sub-

sectors and resources, both human and financial. A modern administration should be guided by strategic considerations. The administrator therefore shares some of the concerns of the planners and financiers or economists, but he also gives great attention to the procedures, functions and organisation of the administrative structures. Yet, *in practice*, the management capacity of the education system is quite weak, especially in the developing countries. Often the administrators are teachers by trade and not well trained for their task. Hence, they do not fully assume their role and adopt a pragmatic vision that is often too narrow and fragmentary for educational issues. At the international level, certain notions that are specific to administration or management are commonly used in education, e.g. the notion of "services rendered".

v)   The *planner* is usually guided by a systemic vision of the education sector as a whole, placed in its national context. This global vision takes into account the different aspects of education policies – the financial and administrative, as well as the pedagogical consequences – and the interrelations between the goals proposed for the various sub-sectors of the education system. The planner analyses the justifications of the proposals through studies and factual data and the medium and long-term projections of objectives and resources, etc. Hence, he integrates the various concerns of the other professionals of education in a general perspective. But in the past planning often focused on the quantitative rather than on the qualitative aspects of teaching, on the technocratic perspectives rather than on the political dimension and on the centralising or bureaucratic vision rather than on participatory or administrative decentralisation approaches. One can place the "experts" and "policy analysts" in this framework, with the differences that are specific to their field.

In brief, we shall retain that all the various professional perspectives are vital for the functioning of a complex system such as education. By its institutional and political complexity, and by its very nature, education is multidimensional and subject to interdisciplinary analyses and studies. Learning and teaching are at the centre of the education systems, but pedagogical aspects only represent one of the many aspects to be considered, i.e. the costs and financing and management capacities or the implications for the transition between school and work.

Unfortunately, the various professions often function in watertight compartments, each locked up in their own conceptions and attributions. For example, there is a lack of communication between the pedagogues and the economists or financiers, each being insensitive to the arguments of the other. The same goes for practising educators and researchers or professors of educational sciences: the first reject certain research results that do not match their personal experience, the latter, on the strength of their intellectual status, air their views with no consideration for nor knowledge of the reality of field work.

This compartmentalisation did not help the educators nor education in general. The studies published in 1994 by the ILO-UNESCO working group on "Austerity, adjustment and human resources" have shown that, in the context of economic restructuring and adjustment in many countries, the power of the ministries of finance in the field of education policies and the influence of financial and economic considerations were strengthened[5]. Economic considerations and studies are essential for the good management of the education system, but when attention "suffers from a fixation on finance", as has been observed for some time, it "is deviated from the main concerns of education... and... the contribution of education is thus...devalued" (see Samoff, UNESCO-Cassell, 1994). "Economic approaches are not the only cause of the problem. There is also the persistent weakness in the management of education and the educational community in many countries that were unable to bring adequate solutions to a situation of budgetary constraints" (Jallade, 1994).

Hence, *a dialogue between the various professionals must be encouraged and interdisciplinary approaches and perspectives developed.*

3.2   The actors and interest groups

Not only the professionals of education, but also different actors or groups of actors with common interests in education policies take part in the debates and negotiations. From a functional point of view, there are five main groups at the national level: i) the government authorities and administrators, ii) the teachers, iii) the other institutional providers of education, iv) the users, and v) the other operators (see Figure 2). The international aid agencies make up a sixth group (see Haddad, 1995; Reimers, 1998 for other types of classification).

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[5] "... the principal responses to scarce resources have been primarily financial ... and ... have proved in practice ill-suited to the progress of education" (see Jallade, 1994).

Figure 2. The groups of actors on the educational scene

I. Politicians and government administrators
    Politicians, administrators at the central, regional, local level financiers
II. Other institutional providers of education
    (Private institutions, religious groups...)
III. Teachers
IV. Users
    (Pupils, students, parents, employers)
V. Other operators
    *(Publishers of pedagogical material, NGOs, professionals in the health,
    building, tourism sectors)*
VI. Agencies for international cooperation
    Funding
    Technical cooperation

These actors share certain common educational concerns about better schooling
and training opportunities, their geographical and financial accessibility, and
better quality of teaching. They also have specific concerns and interests that
can be described as follows:

i)   The concern of ***politicians and government administrators*** is the
efficient functioning of the educational services and the users' satisfaction.
Depending on the political and administrative context of the country and the
political leadership, the administration will or will not pay attention to the
wishes of the population and the wish for reform may vary. Yet the social
acceptability of the policies and programmes proposed should be one of their
main concerns. The concerns of the ministries of education and other
government organisations differ according to the respective positions of those
involved. The ***politicians*** will give precedence to the political management of
the interest groups and the various pressures in favour of change or the *status
quo*. Referring to administrators, W. Haddad notes "the administrative staff of
the education system is a separate group" (Haddad, 1995) which often tends to
behave as bureaucrats who are more interested in maintaining the present
education system than in expanding or reforming it. Regional and local
administrators will defend decentralisation rather than centralisation.

The main concern of ***those responsible for public finances*** within the
administration is to master costs and public finances according to certain

financial and economic parameters. Being directly accountable to the heads of government and to the international financial authorities such as the IMF, their interests may be in direct conflict with those of those who are responsible for the education sector, especially if the latter are unable to formulate arguments that defend the cause of education. This often happens in many countries.

ii)   *The other institutional providers of education*, outside the government, mainly comprise operators of various types of private institutions, owners and managers of private schools and religious associations and congregations. They will often demand policies that enhance the freedom of teaching and subventions for private education.

iii)   *The teachers*, a great many of whom are employed by the State, not only have their specifically educational proposals, but also well known corporatist claims concerning wage levels, workloads and the number of pupils per section, the preservation of certain disciplines in the study programmes, pedagogical autonomy in the class room, etc. They are very numerous and are often well organised in powerful unions and represent a major stake for the politicians. The latter must manage their conflicts with great care. Teachers represent the strongest force in the evolution and reform of the education systems in the field. In the context of new budgetary constraints that tend to limit the role of the State in the funding of education, their participation in the formation of education policies and strategies is crucial, but it is still very limited in practice.

iv)   *The users: pupils and students, parents and employers* are involved as "recipients" of educational services but also because they contribute directly to their funding (in kind or in money) or indirectly through taxes. Their concerns and interests include the benefits to be drawn from certain types of education – employment, social or geographic mobility, prestige – but also the financial burden and earnings forgone linked to schooling, as well as certain risks such as insecurity at school or on the way to school, children who leave home at an early age, etc. Families' expectations regarding education – language of instruction, programmes, teachers, religious education, etc. – vary considerably according to which community or ethnic group they belong, or whether they come from rural or urban backgrounds. This diversity is difficult to manage.

v)   *The other operators* include schoolbook publishers, entrepreneurs in the school-industry training programmes, partners affected by decisions concerning health, building or school holiday periods, etc. Their interests are mainly economic.

vi)   **The international financial or technical cooperation agencies** share many concerns with the national actors above, especially in matters of educational development at the qualitative and quantitative level. Yet their interests are part of a specific dynamic: the staff of these agencies are accountable to their respective institutions (hierarchic authorities, administrative boards, etc.) which are external to the country. In exceptional cases, the host country can more easily impose its rules in diplomatic relations. There are differences according to the type of agency (see Chapter 2):

- Bilateral aid agencies have specific donor country interests that are linked to global exchanges with the recipient countries; they must account for their acts to the public opinion of their respective countries;
- Of the multilateral aid agencies, the development banks, because of their financial impact and freedom of movement, can impose strict conditions, or even policies, on the recipient countries, especially the most distressed;
- The (multilateral) agencies of the United Nations – development funds and specialised technical agencies – where the governments of the recipient countries are strongly represented, are more subject to the tutelage of the host countries than the other agencies. Of these, specialised agencies such as UNESCO mainly have a technical and professional responsibility towards their Member States and little or no financial influence.

The agencies' interest is to make their cooperation activities progress according to the criteria, priorities and practices of their institutions. There is often close collaboration in economic restructuring and adjustment programmes between external aid agencies and certain national actors, e.g. the ministries of Finance. Yet, with some exceptions amongst the United Nations agencies, the points of view of the agencies are very different from, in contradiction, or not in phase with those defended at the national level. Some agencies often replace the national officers in the definition of educational priorities and policies.

3.3   Decision making in education policies and programmes

How are decisions about the content of national education policies and programmes taken? What is the role of the politician and the various interveners who take part in their elaboration? These are the main questions that must be answered if efficient support is to be brought to the educational enterprise. But, in practice, the answers are still in the making.

i)   Policy decision making: a technical and centralised vision

International efforts in favour of planning and public administration are strongly based on a **technical and centralised vision** of decision making and, generally speaking, of the elaboration of development policies and plans. It is felt that analysts and experts, such as planners or economists, must and can carry out objective analyses that help to identify the problems and priorities and the most appropriate solutions (strategies) that must be approved by the decision makers. The prevailing role given to the analyst is disproportionate: as it is stressed by Reimers, it is considered "irrational that one can decide to undertake actions which, according to the analysis, will not lead to the results one had hoped for" (Reimers, 1998, p. 33). In relation to the life cycle of a policy described above (see *Figure 1*) it is the analyses that are privileged in this vision and the political variables and negotiations that are neglected.

This approach has given positive results in education, and progress has been achieved in the development of planning, programming and statistics, research and its dissemination, the application of economic concepts and simulation models, the evaluation of pupils' learning, etc. Much technical assistance – involving educators, economists, administrators and researchers – has been used in this huge enterprise.

But experience shows that the "technical/centralised" vision only partially corresponds to the actual functioning of the policy processes. This hampers the efficiency of the technical aid which is based on this vision and rarely used in decision-making. One researcher observed: "we know what to do to make schools more efficient. But the question is: does the "we" refer to decision makers?" (see Reimers, 1998). The critics of this vision have started to gain strength in the last few years. A more complete and pertinent vision of decision-making processes is beginning to emerge. Some recent books bring elements of reflection in this direction through case studies and by applying the general concepts of research in social sciences to the field of education (see Haddad, 1995; ADEA, 1996; Reimers, 1998). But one observes that the content of the black box represented by the political decision making process is only just beginning to emerge.

ii)   Towards a global vision of policy decision making in education

To be pertinent and efficient, international support for the elaboration of education programmes and policies must be guided by a global, more balanced

vision of decision making. It must not only take into account the technical aspects, which are essential, but also the political aspects: the role of the politicians and persons and groups involved in relation to the technical contributions, according to national political and administrative contexts.

The various modes of decision making are presented in *Figure 3* which is taken from a recent publication of the International Institute of Educational Planning (IIEP) (Haddad, 1995). The *horizontal axe* presents the role of the actors in decision making – *from the unilateral decision by a central authority to that taken after negotiation* –, whereas the *vertical axe* presents the method – *global or partial and progressive* – used in the elaboration of the policy

Figure 3. Modes of decision-making

Method
Global mode

the role	II	I
	Societal mode	Organisational mode
of the	Individual	Bureaucratic
	III	IV
actors		

Progressive/partial mode
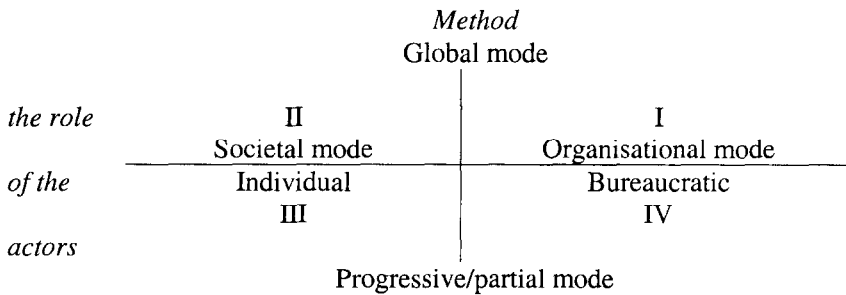
Note: the text in italics is our own.

This figure enables one to see graphically the different possible modes of decision making (represented by the position on the two axes) according to the political and administrative context, especially its authoritarian or democratic, or centralised or decentralised nature:

i)   In **quadrant I**, the decisions are based on a **global** and complete view of the situation and a **rational choice** of priorities and options (*vertical axe*). They are taken by a central authority or according to bureaucratic organisational procedures (*horizontal axe*). The traditional paradigms of planning and decision making implicitly suppose that the planner or analyst/expert is in a context where technical and systemic perspectives with a unique and centralised rationale prevail.

ii)   Towards the base of the *vertical axe,* the role of the analyses and global policies fade in favour of a progressive approach to decision making through gradual adjustments of the policies (or programmes) in order to overcome discontent or implementation problems. In **quadrant IV,** this approach is always combined with centralised and bureaucratic approaches to decisions through administrative decentralisation or deconcentration and the systematic use of the results of action-research or pilot projects.

iii)   To the left of the *horizontal axe* we find participatory decision-making or decision-making where negotiations with the various actors play an important role. In **quadrant II,** *perspectives* of global policy would find their place if policy planning and analysis approaches that integrated policy dialogue processes were used. In **quadrant III,** we find an extreme situation where "decision making is (...) a political activity that is characterised by personal interest, political negotiation, value judgements and multiple rationales" (Haddad, 1995).

One can find examples of the different types of situation and contexts, be they national or institutional. Yet centralised decision making based on a unique technical rationale (quadrant I) is rare. More often, **the politician** is characterised by a logic of negotiation and compromise with competing interests and perspectives where voluntarist considerations from a global policy perspective can find a place in some degree or another (quadrant II). The *traditional politician* could be placed in Quadrant III, with technical perspectives and global national interests playing a very minor role.

3.4   Conclusion

It comes as little surprise that international development cooperation has based its activities on the transfer of knowledge, know-how and material resources from industrialised countries to the least developed countries. By definition, these three elements make up the ingredients of any kind of development. But the situations are not staid and approaches evolve. Hence, cooperation has recently become primarily interested in national education policies and approaches that are centred on technical assistance are opening up to policy dialogue between national and international partners. These trends must be encouraged and developed.

UNESCO brings its support to its Member States which are elaborating education policies and programmes. The aim is to strengthen their technical capacity so that they can assume their role as leaders in the elaboration of national policies and in negotiations with external aid agencies. This support should be based more firmly on a global vision of policy and programming processes. The goal – and challenge – is to help to put into practice a synthesis where technical and political aspects find their place. The main criterion is the higher interest of the countries' education systems. The direction to be taken is that of Figure 3: it is not in the interest of education systems to be faced with an "as things come" policy or the fragmentation of different interest. and perspectives. An integrated approach will encourage technical considerations and a long-term global vision. There must also be room for policy dialogue. This will make it possible to highlight the specific knowledge and rationales of the various professionals and actors and integrate them in a global policy based on consensus.

Combining the perspectives requires a democratic management of the policy elaboration processes and, more generally, decentralised management systems. It also requires a more balanced and realist definition of the role of the analysts and experts in the decision making and planning processes. First, concerning the various actors of the education scene, in favour of a greater opening *vis-à-vis* the knowledge and expertise they can offer in matters of priorities and the nature of the problems. Then, in favour of greater recognition of the limits and uncertainties of the studies and analyses and their inevitable degree of subjectivity or value judgements. Last, a policy dialogue approach must integrate the different professional perspectives in an interdisciplinary approach to decision making and more generally to the "upstream" phase of educational programmes.

Chapter IV.
The role of UNESCO in the elaboration of national education policies and programmes

This chapter describes the services that UNESCO provides to its Member States in the field of upstream activities, its mission, and approach in relation to the national and international contexts as they have been previously presented. Emphasis is laid here on the services rendered to the countries taken individually, leaving aside the activities that address all its Member States as a whole or more specifically its regional country groups.

UNESCO offers technical support to meet the requests of the countries concerned. In each case, the services are defined according to the country's needs, the Organisation's specific mandate and the resources available, following discussions with the national authorities. Section 1 of this Chapter gives an overview of the priority requests in matters of national capacities observed in the developing countries and which call for an answer on the part of UNESCO. Section 2 defines the specific mandate and role of the Organisation in this domain and Section 3 presents the support services provided to the Member States. Section 4 places itself in the perspective of the future and provides some indications as to the evolution prospects of international cooperation in the field of upstream activities.

1. National capacities: the priority issues in developing countries

The growing need for the reconstruction and reform of the education systems represents great challenges for the developing countries at the human, financial, technical and political levels. In addition to budgetary constraints, the decline of planning structures (see Chapter 1) has left the countries at a loss concerning the preparation and management of in-depth policy development and reform programmes whose conception and implementation require large-scale costly and complex operations. In order to conceive sectoral policies, it is indispensable to strengthen the national institutions by improving their technical and management capacities. This is crucial to enable certain developing countries to face the complexity of the elaboration and implementation of

development, reconstruction and reform programmes and policies (see Chapter 3).

Of the changes observed in the modalities of international aid (see Chapter 2), the adoption of an approach that is centred on national education policies has focused attention on political considerations rather than on educational aspects. The approach of the aid agencies has contributed to make the processes more complex in their technical aspects and political validation for the national officers and specialists of the educational sectors of the developing countries.

In this context, the requests for cooperation received by UNESCO come from three main types of countries that are faced with problems that are both common and specific:

i)   *Countries that wish to undertake an in-depth reform of their education system:* the issue here is to reorientate the development of the sector in a long term perspective according to a vision that includes in-depth transformations of its organisation, structure, content and funding;

ii)   *Countries whose education system is being reconstructed:* the issue here is to formulate reconstruction programmes that combat the deterioration of the physical and human potentialities of the education system brought about by a war or a natural disaster. These programmes focus on emergency and short term priorities;

iii) *Countries that wish to implement a planned development of their education system* that would bring it in line with the evolution of their society and social and economic development. A prospective vision of education is necessary to help to better adapt to foreseeable social changes and face the challenges and demands of future evolutions.

There is no compartmentalisation between these three types of support. An emergency programme will be better conceived if it is guided by a medium or long-term strategy. A country may also wish to seize the opportunity of the urgent need for reconstruction to undertake a reform or introduce innovations and reforms in the framework of the planned development of the education sector.

The problems to be solved will also depend on the country's level of economic development and the role of external aid (see Chapters 1 and 2). More especially, the least developed countries and other low income countries, essentially in Africa and South-East Asia, have the greatest difficulty in

planning and managing their education system and in negotiating with external
aid agencies. Middle income countries, essentially in Latin America, North
Africa and Asia ("in transition" or "emerging" Asian countries) must face
problems of innovation and reform. Here, the latter must also meet the
requirements of the external aid agencies, especially during periods of crises or
economic reconstruction.

When one examines closely the education sector of the countries that wish to
cooperate with UNESCO, we find that most do not have a clearly defined
political framework nor a programme of action based on clearly identified
options. What one often finds are fairly vague discourses and declarations of
intent and outlines of analyses and programme formulations. This mixture of
wishes and general orientations does not constitute a general vision and cannot
provide a clear framework to guide the activities of those responsible for the
sector.

When education policies or strategies do exist, their formulation is not always
based on an analysis of factual data and a knowledge of the factors that
determine the functioning of the education system. They are often obsolete
because there is no follow-up or periodical evaluations or there have been
changes in political responsibilities. This is often the case in certain developing
countries.

This situation is largely due to the lack of a strategic vision on the part of the
decision makers, a lack of knowledge of the decisive factors, or a lack of basic
information. Generally speaking, these countries do not have the necessary
capacities to carry out in-depth studies on the education sector and analyse its
functioning and future. Sometimes, there are qualified cadres to execute these
tasks, but they are not mobilised to carry out the different upstream activities, or
their competences are used for other purposes.

In most developing countries, be it for studies, forecasting methods and
techniques, or the conduct of reform projects in general, there is not always
sufficiently qualified, operational and stable staff within the administration to
undertake the technical tasks of conceiving and conducting such a complex
process as the reconstruction or reform of an education system. In this respect,
the least developed countries are in an even more difficult situation.

It is because of these technical and institutional shortcomings in the countries'
governance of the education sector that there are many external aid agencies.

They are very active and carry out activities as they please, often preferring to make their own concept of development progress, rather than respect the goals of the recipient country, or take into account its capacity to absorb the aid.

In the face of the many agencies, technical requirements and conditions, and often drastic calendars and deadlines, the national capacity is not always in a position to meet the challenges efficiently. In a context of financial dependence and difficult negotiations with many different agencies which are often closely knit, the national leadership and coordination capacities are often insufficient. This imbalance leads to the replacement of nationals by expatriates, both at the technical and the decision making level. "Ghost" or inadequate policies and projects that result from this type of cooperation - supposedly for development - pose a crucial problem that must urgently be solved.

In this context, decision making in the education sector has been a domain of confrontation between two concepts of cooperation that has led to diverging practices: on the one hand, that of essentially technocratic external aid, and on the other, national practices where, traditionally, political interests played a very important role (see Chapter 3). The efficiency of both the aid and the national programmes was affected. In order to get out of this seemingly contradictory situation, it seemed essential to make the decision making processes evolve towards a better integration of the factual and technical analyses and to introduce a systematic dialogue and negotiations between the actors.

The aid agencies have also exercised great pressure in the fields of educational funding and cost reduction. They were confronted with national education officers who were ill-prepared to bring effective answers and this made the need to modernise the management of education even clearer. This is an age-old problem but it is still as difficult to solve.

The need to develop the national capacities mentioned above has evolved in the course of the last decade because of the progress made by the countries and the progress in the approaches of international cooperation organisations. Coordination and the development of "partnerships" between the aid agencies and the recipient countries have increased (see Chapter 2) and the actors have become more sensitive to concertation (see Chapter 3). But these trends are still nascent and in many cases the issue of national competence has not been solved.

Countries still tend to become aware of their institutional setbacks when programmes and projects to mobilise and negotiate external funding are being

elaborated. It is then that they decide to call upon UNESCO to benefit from its international experience in this field.

2. How UNESCO cooperates with its Member States: its specific mandate and role

UNESCO's projects to support its Member States aim at providing them with technical assistance that is adapted to their specific needs. It is based on the Organisation's specific mandate and its action modalities which are outlined below.

2.1 A universal intellectual role: international experience at the service of the countries

The services provided to the Member States are part of the intellectual role and universal vocation of the Organisation whose mission is to encourage the transfer of knowledge and the expression of all beliefs and values that have a humanist message of peace and progress. As a place of exchange and a melting pot of ideas, UNESCO's mission is to collect and disseminate international experience and promote scientific and technical exchange and the circulation of ideas. This constitutes a source of inspiration and mutual enrichment for the Member States. In the field of education, UNESCO encourages the exchange of all kinds of educational experiences as regards innovations and concrete achievements. Unlike other cooperation agencies, it does not have an educational doctrine to defend or promote, nor any particular preference in this domain.

International and regional conferences, scientific colloquia and thematic workshops, as well as advisory and technical assistance country missions offer opportunities to share knowledge. Upstream activities are a decisive phase to bring international experience in and help to shed light on the basic choices that need to be made in matters of educational and cultural policy.

In connection with this mission, UNESCO also has a **normative role** to play. It has the duty and moral obligation to remind the Member States of their commitment to the declarations, recommendations and resolutions they have adopted during the various world or regional conferences, i.e.: the right to education for all, the development of a Culture for peace and democracy, the protection of the environment, or the preservation of tangible and immaterial

cultural goods, etc. This leads it to encourage the countries to adopt orientations in matters of education policies, to promulgate charters and to vote laws that are inspired by the ideals and values that are recognised by the international community and meet its aspirations.

2.2 Institutional neutrality, professional independence and obligations towards all the Member States

UNESCO, as a specialised international technical Organisation responsible for promoting education, science and culture, plays an essentially intellectual and technical role that must not be mixed up with that of the funding agencies. Obviously, the strategic or technico-pedagogical aspects are not the sole prerogative of UNESCO, which also has financial resources. Its technical and sometimes limited financial contributions usually go to the most distressed States in order to encourage them. The aim is to incite the countries to engage in the path of reform and to have a driving effect on the national educational administrations and institutions.

The fact that UNESCO does not have vast financial resources is both a weakness and a strength. It is a weakness because it cannot exercise any press on the Member States to change or reorientate their decisions in matters of education policy. It is a strength because its support to the countries mainly depends on the expertise it can offer them and the advantages they can draw from it. Hence, unlike the funding partners, it is accountable to all the Member States and not to a single institution or a group of countries. Its support to the States is therefore neither based on material interests nor on the political influence it may have.

This gives it an *institutional neutrality and a professional independence* in its relations with the recipient countries, whilst obliging it to listen to them. Since it cannot legitimately be accused of defending partisan interests, it is seen as a partner that is intellectually credible and hence worthy of trust to play the role of an honest broker between the donors and the recipient countries.

We are not suggesting that the funding agencies are only concerned with their specific political and institutional interests or the productivity of their investments. Happily, the recipient countries' perception of priorities often coincides with that of their donors. But views can also differ. Indeed, the aid agencies may have different conceptions of development priorities and the adoption or execution of the projects may feel the bureaucratic weight that is

inherent to their mode of organisation or operation. They also suffer from the press of their administrative boards and the public or private interest groups to which they are accountable (see Chapter 2).

In any scenario, the role of UNESCO, as a disinterested partner, is to bring closer together the different points of view by shedding a technical light, influence consciences and contribute to the setting up of bodies for dialogue and concertation. Its role is to facilitate the achievement of the goals pursued by development cooperation and more especially *to advise and guide the national partners on the basis of a synthetic knowledge of international experience and the alternatives it offers.*

2.3. The coordination of international cooperation under national leadership

Development cooperation at the country level enables the Organisation to encourage the countries to use the ideas and instruments that have been developed and are the fruit of its intellectual reflection. UNESCO's cooperation ethic leads it to carry out its mission by taking into account the sovereignty and the will of the Member States, however distressed. It also implements a conception of development whereby the national and local actors are the locomotives of all efficient and sustainable change, even if their pace may seem slower.

The Organisation bases its mission on the assumption that the governments are at the centre of the cooperation activities for the elaboration and implementation of education policies and programmes. In order to efficiently support their efforts, UNESCO mobilises the means for it to be at the countries' side at an early stage, when they decide to confront the basic problems. It only intervenes to mobilise energies or national and international resources when capacities are lacking to launch, pursue or improve the formulation of the policy and action programmes.

Hence, the intervention of the technical and financial partners should normally fit into the framework for national options and priorities and support government policy. But, as we have seen, – either through necessity or pressure – financial partners are often given great latitude to decide upon the choice of priorities and replace national decision power in the conception of the projects. *UNESCO considers these practices counter-productive and refuses to replace national leadership.* It seeks to foil this practice.

Convinced that one cannot ask national decision-makers to be accountable, or hope for a sustainable development dynamic if they are not fully responsible for the policy choices and means of action, UNESCO tries to promote a cooperation spirit involving a greater responsibility of the governments towards those they govern and their development partners. In order to establish relations of trust and to obtain the governments' and the partners' commitment to this concept, UNESCO tries to see that there is no confusion by reminding each partner of his specific role.

Having observed the lack of efficiency of the traditional cooperation concepts in the financing of education, UNESCO recommends that the aid agencies, whether bilateral or multilateral, develop this new approach which promotes national leadership and responsibility. Awareness is gradually gaining ground. More and more donors are behaving as genuine *development partners.* UNESCO encourages them to inter-act amongst themselves and with the Government and not intervene in a competitive or contradictory manner in national policies or act in dispersed order so as to ensure coordinated cooperation.

2.3   Cooperating according to national specificities

Because of its specific mandate, UNESCO, unlike most agencies, offers a broad spectrum of cooperation activities which covers its different fields of competence. Even if it does give priority to certain vital educational needs (basic education) and to certain developing countries (the least developed), it does not have a staid cooperation policy that focuses solely on a given region or education sub-sector. It aims to cooperate as closely as possible with its Member States and the agencies and to adapt its services to the needs and specific situation of each country in an unbiased manner.

3.   Support services for Member States: goals and approaches

Since its foundation, UNESCO has cooperated with its Member States in the elaboration of education policies and development programmes. Hence, it has gained experience in the framework of its international activities. At the national level, it has contributed to the preparation of many studies and education programmes with other international organisations. UNESCO's cooperation programme with the World Bank (1964-1989) is a good example.

In 1989, services to the Member States in the field of upstream activities were developed in order to better meet the evolution of the national and international context that has been described in the previous chapters. Hence, a specialised structure[6] provides specific support services in this domain. Put in a sectoral and operational perspective at the national level, it filled a void in the traditional activities of UNESCO in the field of education. Until then, these were essentially sub-sectoral (by levels or disciplinary fields) and their orientation was international or regional rather than national.

3.1 The goals

The goal of UNESCO's support services to upstream activities is to bring technical advice and support to the countries in their efforts to elaborate their national education policies, strategies and programmes. To do so, UNESCO uses its institutional, professional and technical capital to meet the countries' present needs for international cooperation. Its objectives are:

i) To contribute to the development of sector approaches to education policy which are based on in-depth preparatory work and take account of donors' strict conditions;

ii) To make up for many countries' technical and institutional shortcomings and reduce their financial and technical dependence on aid agencies by strengthening their capacity to negotiate with them.

UNESCO's support services cover three main fields:

i) The development of sustainable long term and medium term national reform and reconstruction policies, strategies and programmes based on rigorous technical analyses and on a national consensus;

ii) National capacity building in upstream activities and the promotion of national leadership in development cooperation;

iii) Better concertation between the governments and their external partners in order to coordinate the mobilisation of resources.

The kind of support is adapted to the context and to the needs expressed by the countries. The first task consists in sending an identification team to define the

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[6] The Division of Policies and Sector Analysis (PSA), in 1996 the Division for the Reconstruction and Development of Education Systems (ERD) and in 2000 the Division of Educational Policies and Strategies (EPS).

nature and extent of the technical aid, as well as the cost and modalities of its implementation with the national officers. The services that are set up according to the national contexts are described below.

3.2   Support projects for sector approaches to the formulation of national policies and programmes

These projects bring technical and financial support to a given country to elaborate national education policies and programmes and mobilise and coordinate their financing. In its broadest version, this is carried out in three main stages: first, a sector analysis, followed by the preparation of an education policy and strategy framework, and last the elaboration of action plans for implementation and mobilising the funding. They include technical support, the organisation of a policy dialogue, and the institutional management of elaboration and decision making during the whole process. Certain projects that are more limited in scope focus exclusively on one of the aspects mentioned above.

The projects mainly target the most distressed countries which are in great need of support because of their weak technical capacity, their dependence on external aid, and their urgent need for the necessary interventions and economic or social changes. They mainly concern:

i)   The LDCs and other low income countries;
ii)   Countries in reconstruction;
iii) Countries in rapid political and economic transition or in a period of economic restructuring or crisis.

Of the countries that belong to one of these three groups but do not exclude each other, one can quote Mali, Senegal, Chad, and Rwanda in Sub-Saharan Africa; Cambodia, Vietnam, Uzbekistan and more recently Thailand in Asia; Bosnia-Herzegovina, Lebanon, Libya and other countries belonging to other regions of the world.

These projects share certain approaches whose most characteristic features are:

i)   *The sector approach*

These projects serve to encourage and support the countries in the implementation of a sector approach to guide educational developments instead

of project approaches which prevailed in the funding agencies. The sector approach helps to elaborate policies or programmes that are based on a long-term global vision that encompasses all the education sub-sectors and take into account the social and economic context. Compared to sub-sectoral and partial visions, it proved useful to better orient the development of education and integrate various programmes and projects in a coherent vision.

The sector approach is based on a multidimensional view of education and lays stress on the evaluation of the consequences of the envisaged policies in their different aspects – pedagogical, institutional and financial. This helps to better assess their feasibility. From this standpoint, the activities carried out in the framework of these support projects call upon interdisciplinary teams. Because of the financial constraints of certain countries, the *costs studies* and the *simulation models* (tailor made) proved to be a useful tool for feasibility analyses and to nurture the policy dialogue.

ii)   Institutional and technical capacity building

A substitution approach to cooperation prevailed for many years between the recipient countries and the aid agencies and still does in some cases. But the UNESCO support projects try to remedy this through cooperation based on the delegation of responsibilities and national capacity building. Indeed, it is the existence of a true national governance capacity – and not just the publication of a document that sets the framework for a more or less imposed national education policy – that will help to introduce "real" policies to improve access, quality and efficiency and lead to "real" results.

In many countries, UNESCO's institutional support consists in projects that include both human resource training programmes and operational activities carried out jointly by international experts and national officers responsible for the educational services. It is the combination of these modalities that will help to create sustainable national competences.

The national cadres and state services are associated as closely as possible in the execution of capacity-building support projects during the whole policy and programme formulation. National capacities are strengthened either through ad hoc residential training or through professional collaboration with international consultants. Concrete action-training makes it possible to carry out both the formulation and implementation of the education policies and programmes and to strengthen institutional capacities. For each field, mixed teams made up of

international consultants and their national counterparts are constituted to collaborate in upstream activities. The role of the external experts is clearly defined: they are facilitators who, upon the request of the national partners, bring methodological tools and professional advice.

In some countries, UNESCO not only intervenes through training but also through *institutional audits* that help the governments to adapt the administrative functions and structures so as to be able to fulfil their mission. Indeed, there is often a discrepancy at the organisational level between the functions to carry out the education reforms and the existing entities within the administration. The institutional audit of the administrative structures and their functioning modes reveals the shortcomings and malfunctionings and leads to proposals for reorganisation that would introduce greater coherence between the missions and the services' actions. Analysing the functioning of the education institutions also helps to understand the decision making process. It is often a stage that cannot be avoided in the process of support project formulation in upstream activities. It is sometimes indispensable to define the missions and to reorganise state services before engaging in national capacity building and the efficient implementation of a reform policy or development programme.

When the country's context is fitting, the projects contribute to create or strengthen core groups to support and coordinate the elaboration and implementation of policies and programmes. This was very satisfactory in a number of countries. Generally speaking, capacity building is taken into consideration when conceiving a support project so as to determine the main technical assistance services that should be provided to the country during the different stages. Indeed, as soon as the technical assistance projects are conceived, UNESCO asks itself how national capacities can be strengthened to master the processes and methods to elaborate education reform and development policies and programmes. It tries to find answers to the following questions: which are the key services and cadres whose institutional capacities must be strengthened to create optimal conditions for the formulation and implementation of national education policies and programmes? What kind of organisation and which processes should be envisaged for the country to take on the new activities the reform and development measures entail? In which fields of management of the education system should the cadres be trained to ensure the implementation? What kind of international technical assistance is needed?

At the end of the cooperation programmes with UNESCO in the field of upstream activities, the Governments usually have at their disposal a series of

studies, analyses and technical works from which to elaborate their educational reform and development policies and programmes, as well as appropriate steering structures and better trained human resources who are technically prepared to deal with implementation at different levels of technical and strategic responsibility.

iii)   *Policies based on dialogue and consensus*

During the discussions to prepare the elaboration of projects, the governments are made aware of the importance of foreseeing participation to base their *sectoral policy and strategy on social consensus.* Indeed, the policies and action programmes that must be elaborated and implemented will only be viable if they obtain the adhesion and support of the populations concerned.

During the whole process of upstream activities, the projects support the governments in the mobilisation of social partners (associations of pupils' parents, teachers' unions and local communities) and the setting up of appropriate consultation mechanisms and bodies. Moreover, in order to warrant a stable consensus, UNESCO recommends partnerships between the State, the local communities and civil society.

The projects also call upon the massive participation of those responsible for and the civil servants of the education sector or related sectors - especially the ministries of economy and finance and/or planning - who usually play a crucial role in programme formulation. In addition to working groups, various seminars are organised during the whole period of the activities in order to develop policy dialogues within the administrations. Data collecting and technical analyses are carried out in direct connection with the awareness-raising and dialogue activities and they often come to feed the discussions.

3.3   Support operations to mobilise and coordinate the external funding agencies

The UNESCO upstream support services are often called upon to help the government mobilise and coordinate the funding agencies. Demands arise when donors are seen as partners who exert an unbearable press which the government wishes to face more efficiently or avoid altogether. When there is a certain mistrust between the government and the donors, UNESCO is often called in to play the role of "arbiter" and thus help to restore relations of trust.

In order to meet these needs, UNESCO supports exchange and concertation activities between the donors and the governments: national seminars, facilitation workshops and round tables. The most frequent and visible are the *sectoral meetings* organised in the framework of the cycle of UNDP round tables and to which UNESCO is traditionally associated as a partner. It brings technical support by taking part in the preparation of the documents for the discussion and introducing mechanisms for dialogue and information between the external partners and the government.

In order to help to strengthen the institutional framework for cooperation, the Organisation tries to bring an answer to the following questions: How can one associate all the partners in the formulation of the reform and development programmes and strategies of the sector? Which bodies or spaces for dialogue and concertation should be set up and how can one coordinate the participation of all those concerned? How will the thematic consultations and the round tables of donors be organised? Which bodies or technical competences should be established to facilitate national leadership and ensure the efficient mobilisation of resources?

Hence, UNESCO urges the national bodies to associate the community of donors and the technical agencies as soon as the preparation process begins. It also encourages the development partners to organise themselves so as to take an active part in the policy and programme formulation tasks, e.g. through technical support committees. The designation of policy concertation bodies and technical work groups by the government and the setting of a clearly-defined calendar to carry out initial activities contribute to the organisation of a dialogue between the agencies and the government. All these activities benefit from UNESCO support in the framework of technical assistance operations and national capacity building.

These activities to support the mobilisation and coordination of external aid can be carried out in the framework of support projects that promote the sector approach mentioned above (see 3.2) or through specific activities that are often linked to previous operations carried out by UNESCO or other agencies that operate in the country.

3.4 National seminars on the conception of the reform process

The experience of UNESCO and other international organisations in the field of cooperation has led to greater attention being given to the policy dialogue between the different national actors. Although this process must be fluid and continuous, certain moments, because of their importance, are very intense, especially during the launching and finalisation of the different stages of the preparation and implementation of the reform policy (see Chapter 3). In each case, one must choose the most appropriate moment according to the context of the country, e.g. the discussions on the terms of reference and the conclusions of the sector studies, the concertation at the beginning and the end of the policy and strategy formulation, etc. Here, UNESCO helps to prepare and organise exchange and concertation meetings between the national actors. These are key moments in the elaboration of reform policies and the follow-up of their implementation, e.g. the *Education "Etats Généraux", national conferences on the education reforms, national seminars on sector studies of education, etc.*

In future, UNESCO intends to give greater attention to the *national orientation and consultation seminars on the elaboration of national education policies and programmes* in the framework of these interventions. They take place at the beginning of the process in a given country and facilitate the dialogue between all the stakeholders, who collaborate in defining the activities' goals, stages and modalities and the role of each body. They may also take place half-way during an evaluation. This form of support seems particularly well adapted to countries that have already acquired experience in the field and that have a national capacity that can manage this type of process. Hence, UNESCO puts its international experience and expertise in upstream activities at the disposal of the countries that need it and adapts its support activities to the specific needs of each one.

In this respect, Chapter 3 offers a logical analysis framework that helps to situate the stage of a given country in the elaboration of its education reform and/or development policy or programme. Before determining the necessary activities and mechanisms, certain questions must be answered: What is the role of the various national actors and which institutional process, according to the level of their political or technical intervention, will they use to contribute to the formulation of basic options? In which terms, and in what order of priority are or will the sector's medium and long-term orientations and goals be formulated? Which strategy decisions or informations are necessary to elaborate the action

and investment programmes and how will the goals be translated into concrete actions, activities and operations?

The organisation of national seminars requires a period of preparatory activities which can be quite long, depending on the case. These activities can be an integral part of the vaster projects mentioned above or can be carried out separately.

3.5   Selected cross-country services

The upstream support services of UNESCO have started to develop new modes of support to the Member States in the last few years. They consist in well targeted *sensitisation activities, training or studies on a group of countries* that are run by persons or institutions selected at the regional or sub-regional level and have the same general goals as the support that is provided to individual countries (see 3.1 above). Their aim is to extend the impact of the upstream support activities to several countries. They make it possible to better capitalise on the national experiences in key fields of upstream activities that concern a larger number of countries. The first example is the *Working Group on Education Sector Analysis* (WGESA) in Africa. It is housed at UNESCO which acts as lead agency in the framework of the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA).

The WGESA

The Working Group on Education Sector Analysis was founded in 1989 to improve the quality and use of education sector analysis and promote the knowledge and sharing of information in this field. Its main objectives are to strengthen the national education policy formulation and discusses African capacity and leadership for the conception of national policies and development cooperation programmes. The expression of these goals in concrete activities led to positive changes. The attention of the development partners shifted to Africa and many efforts were made to strengthen the countries' competences in the field of the formulation of policies, their implementation and their evaluation.

The Working Group is convinced that the appropriation by the countries of the national development process in the field of education can be strengthened by promoting a dialogue and understanding between the main partners involved in sector analysis (the government services involved, the international technical and financial aid agencies and the community of researchers on education).

In the framework of the context described above, and following the work carried out in Africa between 1989 and 1995 which focused on the elaboration of inventories and analytical reviews of education sector studies, the Working Group facilitated these types of national reviews carried out by national teams in four African countries (Burkina Faso, Ghana, Lesotho and Zimbabwe). Moreover, it brought technical assistance to the innovative initiatives in sector analyses that were undertaken or financed by agencies in two other African countries (Ethiopia and Mozambique). The most important of these was the study within specific national contexts of issues that had already been examined globally in analytical abstracts and inventories and ensuring that these reviews constituted the cornerstones of the change in practices in national education policies. The result of this work and of other finer analyses by the Working Group could serve as a basis to develop training tools in sector analyses that would complement those that already exist.

3.6   Partnerships

Since upstream activities directly affect government decisions in matters of education policy and investment, the main partners in the UNESCO upstream support activities are the governments of the countries concerned. All the international development cooperation organisations and the NGOs that work in the country are also, by definition, indispensable partners. The Organisation must collaborate with them to obtain maximum synergy in the higher interest of the Member States.

Among the international organisations, UNESCO has certain privileged partners in terms of financing and modalities of cooperation. At the financing level, the activities the Government wishes to carry out with the Organisation's technical assistance are generally directly financed by a financial aid agency. In some cases, the Government bears certain costs, either partially or totally, through a share mechanism negotiated with the agency or with UNESCO. In most cases, UNESCO's contribution is essentially technical and is provided as specialists' work time and the operational costs of the Organisation's services concerned. UNESCO's support is solicited either directly by the Government of the country concerned or through an international financial aid agency such as UNDP, certain international and regional banks and development funds.

Concerning upstream activities at the country level, UNDP was and still is since 1989 the privileged partner. In the framework of natural partnerships between

the United Nations' specialised agencies, UNDP has found UNESCO an efficient partner to apply to the education sector its national programme approach to cooperation which was introduced in the 1990s. UNESCO also contributes to strengthening UNDP's role as aid coordinator, especially through the macro-economic and sectoral round tables. Beyond the financing aspect, cooperation with UNDP offers UNESCO an opportunity to put into practice its mandate and its own specific goals in the framework of an "egalitarian" inter-agency partnership.

One can mention other organisations that offer wide possibilities for cooperation, such as ADEA through the inter-country activities of the WGESA to which certain bilateral aid agencies (Nordic countries, Netherlands, French cooperation, USAID) bring an essential financial and intellectual contribution.

In addition to these examples of close and lasting partnerships, other agencies such as UNICEF, the Asian Development Bank and the African Development Bank also play an important role in helping to carry out some of the projects and activities mentioned above.

4. UNESCO and the nascent needs

UNESCO's support services to upstream activities, launched in 1989, have been guided by a mission and a strategy (see 3.1 above). The mission was to bring an answer to the needs that emerged in the Member States in interaction with the approaches of international aid. The strategy was to provide a service which was based on UNESCO's professional and institutional independence and on its technical know-how.

A decade's work has shown that the path chosen to support initial activities was the right or even "visionary" one, since it has brought satisfactory results. Indeed, UNESCO has been an active protagonist, often at the vanguard of the major trends and changes in development cooperation observed at the level of the countries. Its partnership with UNDP and with certain bilateral aid agencies within ADEA has contributed to develop the use of new approaches to sectoral reforms and aid coordination under national leadership in certain countries. At the country level, the services to the Member States have helped to make upstream activities practices evolve and to strengthen national capacities, especially in the LDCs, the countries in reconstruction and certain countries in transition where UNESCO has concentrated its activities.

The institutional restructuring process which is now being undertaken by UNESCO requires an in-depth analysis of the future priorities and strategies based on the results of the past and the nascent needs of the Member States. Several indicators confirm the need to continue in the direction that has been adopted and to increase the resources allocated to upstream activities. The countries' requests for UNESCO's upstream support activities – and there are very many at present – should increase in the future. This is seen in the major trends observed in the policy reforms. Countries are seeking more and more to adapt their education system to the evolution of both the national context and of international cooperation. At present, one witnesses:

- Greater education reform initiatives at the national level;
- The development of sector policy approaches in international cooperation.

One must obviously take note of these advancements and the great experience acquired by the countries and agencies in sector studies and policy formulation and the coordination of the various aids. But the problems posed by the steering and management of education systems, which are still carried out by educators who are ill-prepared for this, will require sustained efforts for many more years before they are solved.

In the same way, the new partnership approaches to international cooperation are proof of the path which the agencies are beginning to follow. They constitute a kind of "road map" that prefigures the future evolution of development cooperation (see Sack, 1999). There are many setbacks on this path which constitute a domain where UNESCO can act. The profusion of experiences, the diversification of approaches and the growing number of participants entail new needs. This new context calls for greater synthesis and orientation on the part of the international community, a role that corresponds well to UNESCO's vocation.

Assuming this task represents a challenge by its sheer volume and complexity. It may prove difficult to face with the Organisation's limited resources. The on-going restructuring offers a wonderful opportunity to make this task possible by enabling UNESCO to meet the Member States' demands in the field of upstream activities.

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Annex 1: Elaboration of the education plan – Traditional process

	Submission of the Plan to **Parliament** — Discussions and amendments	

Government 2 Guidelines - *National* - *Regional*	Submission of Draft Plan to Higher Council — *Amendments*	**Government** *Arbitration Amendment of Draft and Approval*

Ministry of Planning — *Sectoral Note*	Regional Consultative Assemblies — *Regional Plan*	*Ministry of Planning* — *Negotiations*

Ministry of Education — *National Commission* — *Goals Commission* — *Ministerial Guidelines*	Regional and Provincial Services of the MOE — *[Regionalisation]*	*Ministry of Education* — *Draft Education Plan* — *National Commission* — *Synthesis Commission*

Subcommissions - *Primary education* - *Secondary education* - *Higher education* - *Other training* - *Administration and planning* - *Research, etc.*	Search for information and Elaboration of Proposals	Reports of the subcommssions - *Primary education* - *Secondary education* - *Higher education* - *Other training* - *Administration and planning* - *Research, etc.* — Working groups reports

Annex 2: Some clarifications on Official Development Aid

Official Development Aid (ODA) is generally represented under several angles. This sometimes hinders the interpretation of the statistics. Very schematically, one can distinguish between three approaches:

- The "disbursement" perspective
- The "reception" perspective
- The "commitment" perspective

In the first case, statistics can evaluate the disbursement of the Member countries at source (first stage): bilateral aid and contributions to the multilateral aid agencies. This is the perspective that is adopted to measure the efforts of the donor countries. The statistics can also include the bilateral and multilateral disbursements to the recipient countries (second stage). Great differences may exist between the estimates of the aid during these two stages, for if most of the resources of the multilateral agencies come from the donor countries, for the same financial year, the flow of resources to these agencies and their disbursements for aid may not be simultaneous.

In the second perspective, one measures ODA by the income received by the recipient countries (third stage). The difference between these two concepts during the last known years can represent up to two billion dollars, as is seen in the table below.

Differences in the two main concepts of ODA
(In current billion US$)

	1993	*1994*	*1995*	*1996*	*1997*
Net ODA income	57.1	61.3	60.4	58.6	50.3
Disbursements for ODA *	58.1	60.6	60.0	56.7	49.3

Source: 1998 DAC Report
* Net amount disbursed by DAC Member countries and by donors who are not DAC members

The third perspective presents the firm commitments of a public donor to provide fixed amount of aid to a recipient country or a multilateral agency. These commitments usually cover several financial years. Generally speaking, one assesses the amount of the firm commitment during a given year.

The status of the loans is a great methodological problem. One has seen that in the DAC perspective the loans granted with a certain degree of liberality were considered to be aid. Another point of view consists in thinking that the loans that must be reimbursed by the State should be seen as national public funds and not external funds. The divergence between these two perspectives can sometimes be very great.

This diversity appears in the economic accounts of education that have been elaborated in the last few years by the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) together with certain donors. This institution provides support to developing countries that wish to establish an economic account of education that shows, amongst other *things,* the structure of funding for education.

Annex 3: Analysis of the main elements of net ODA disbursements of certain DAC Member countries (1997) (Million US$)

Country	Technical cooperation		Admini- strative		Flows to multinational organizations		Other uses		Total
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$
France	2 172	34	267	4	1 530	24	2 338	37	6 307
Germany	1 970	34	234	4	2 218	38	1 435	25	5 857
Japan	1 956	21	677	7	2 806	30	3 919	42	9 358
United States	2 741	40	641	9	1 939	28	1 557	23	6 878
Other countries	4 037	20	900	5	7 488	38	7 499	38	19 924
All DAC Member countries	12 876	27	2 719	.6	15 981	33	16 748	36	48 324

The ODA breakdown varies greatly according to country: Japan devotes 28% of its ODA to technical cooperation and administrative costs, this percentage reaches 49% for the United States, whereas it represents 38% in Germany and France. The average for all DAC countries is 33%.

The contributions disbursed to the multilateral aid organisations will partly be used to finance the expenditure of the technical cooperation and the administrative costs.

Annex 4: DAC Member States' Official Development Aid in 1997 (bilateral aid + contributions to the multilateral aid agencies)

Member States	*As % of GNP*				*Million US$*
	1981-82	*1986-87*	*1991*	*1997*	*in 1997*
Australia	0.49	0.40	0.38	0.28	1 061
Austria	0.34	0.19	0.34	0.26	527
Belgium	0.58	0.48	0.41	0.31	764
Canada	0.42	0.48	0.45	0.34	2 065
Denmark	0.75	0.88	0.96	0.97	1 637
Finland	0.28	0.48	0.80	0.33	379
France	0.54	0.58	0.62	0.45	6 307
Germany	0.47	0.41	0.40	0.28	5 857
Ireland	0.21	0.23	0.19	0.31	187
Italy	0.18	0.37	0.30	0.11	1 266
Japan	0.28	0.30	0.32	0.22	9 358
Luxembourg	0.11	0.17	0.33	0.55	95
New-Zealand	0.28	0.28	0.25	0.26	154
Netherlands	1.07	0.99	0.88	0.81	2 947
Norway	0.94	1.13	1.13	0.86	1 306
Portugal	0.02	0.10	0.30	0.25	250
Spain	0.13	0.08	0.24	0.23	1 234
Sweden	0.92	0.87	0.90	0.79	1 731
Switzerland	0.24	0.30	0.36	0.34	911
UK	0.40	0.29	0.32	0.26	3 433
US	0.23	0.21	0.20	0.09	6 878
Weighted average	0.34	0.33	0.33	0.22	48 324*

Source: 1995 and 1998 DAC Reports
Notes: * This amount corresponds to the US$ 52 billion that figures in Table 1 (at 1996 exchange rate)

Aid Flow to Developing (Official Aid and NGOs' donations
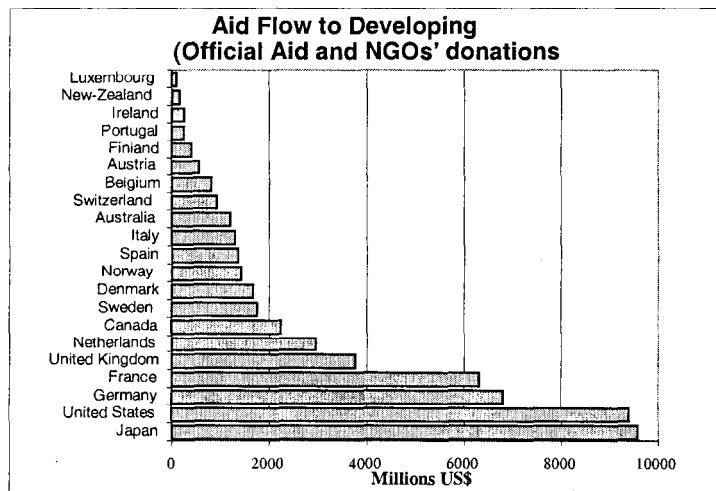
Annex 5: DAC Member States' Distribution of Official Development Aid by sector (%) (Bilateral aid + Multilateral aid)

Sectors retained	1975-76	1995-96
Social and administrative infrastructure	20	30
Economic infrastructure	10	23
Agriculture	8	8
Industry and other productive sectors	14	3
Aid-Programme and aid as products	19	5
Emergency aid	1	5
Others	28	24
Total	100	100

Source: Based on the *1998 DAC Report*

Annex 6: Net bilateral and multilateral disbursements for education in development cooperation (millions US$)

Organization	1980	1985	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
I. Bilateral donors	**3 395**	**2 301**	**3 642**	**3 589**	**3 465**	**3 740**	**4 419**	**4 450**
II. Multilateral banks and funds	**668**	**1 394**	**2 083**	**2 640**	**2 852**	**3 222**	**3 265**	**2 717**
African Development Bank	27	116	148	177	310	127	14	*
Asian Development Bank	65	67	291	182	236	387	88	358
Caribbean Development Bank	1	1	3	2	10	5	1	20
World Bank	440	928	1 487	2 002	1 884	2 006	2 008	2 057
European Development Bank (1)	34	30	43	3	89	106	124	53
Interamerican Development Bank	67	126	61	195	261	495	969	107
Islamic Development Bank	17	45	43	23	32	26	53	55
OPEC Fund	*	32	5	56	30	15	7	66
Multilateral Arab sources	17	49	2	*	*	55	1	1
III. UN Programmes and Funds	**68**	**53**	**212**	**197**	**222**	**205**	**179**	**205**
UNFPA (2)	3	4	8	8	5	4	6	7
WFP	NA	NA	129	125	133	119	79	106
UNDP (3)	31	16	18	16	12	10	7	7
UNICEF	34	33	57	48	72	72	87	58
IV. UNESCO (4)	**78**	**88**	**73**	**73**	**82**	**82**	**100**	**100**
Total multilateral flows	814	1 535	2 368	2 910	3 156	3 509	3 544	3 022
Grand Total	4 209	3 836	6 010	6 499	6 621	7 249	7 963	7 472
Deflation index (1995=1000) (5)	52.2	47.3	81.4	84.3	89.6	87.5	91.2	100
Bilateral flows (US$ 1995)	6 504	4 869	4 472	4 259	3 868	4 276	4 845	4 450
Multilateral flows (US$ 1995)	1 559	3 248	2 908	3 453	3 523	4 012	3 886	3 022
Grand Total (US$ 1995)	8 063	8 117	7 380	7 712	7 390	8 287	8 730	7 472

Source: UNESCO, *1998 World Education Report* for the part in current dollars.
- Amount representing less than $0.5 million
- NA: Unavailable data
(1) Not including European Union funds for Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP)
(2) Education projects carried out by UNESCO
(3) Education projects carried out by UNESCO
(4) Approved programme and budget for education
(5) Index used by DAC for the amounts in US$, taking into account the effects of exchange rate fluctuations

Annex 7: Official Development Aid: bilateral commitments of the DAC Member States for education (In million US$ in 1996 prices and exchange rates)

| Member States	1980	1985	1990	1995	1996	1997
Australia	49	222	202	322	267	311
Austria	42	60	92	95	102	89
Belgium	29	216	123	74	49	51
Canada	6	176	191	145	113	150
Denmark	26	27	9	40	40	87
Finland	6	13	9	14	7	19
France	3 209	2 328	2 762	1 430	1 733	1 902
Germany	1 106	1 244	1 075	1 242	1 139	906
Ireland	-	7	-	21	20	-
Italy	33	151	151	75	40	32
Japan	235	776	975	1 372	909	940
Luxembourg	-	-	-	7	7	18
Netherlands	227	210	335	113	153	162
New-Zealand	19	12	1	30	-	-
Norway	9	60	31	28	58	61
Portugal	-	-	-	31	31	25
Spain	-	-	-	75	81	99
Sweden	43	87	79	107	107	126
Switzerland	19	97	73	31	31	-
United Kingdom	345	208	246	172	169	154
United States	603	501	532	376	283	166
Total	6 347	5 983	6 787	5 892	5 340	5 166
Four countries (1)	5 152	4 848	5 344	4 421	4 064	3 914
Share of the 4 countries in the whole (%)	81	81	79	75	76	76

Source: DAC
-: No data available
(1)   Germany, US, France, Japan.

This aid varies greatly according to Member States: four countries total 80% in the 1980s and this figure drops in the 1990s to approximately 75% since 1995. Of these countries, one sees that France is the main provider during the entire period, despite a 40% reduction of its commitments in seventeen years. Japan has greatly increased its

aid for education, the maximum level having been reached in 1995. The US commitments have dropped by 70% during the period.

A graph of annual bilateral commitments of the DAC Member States shows that they go through cyclic variations. Similar drops as the one observed between 1995 and 1997 have already been noted. On average, it can be said that the average annual commitments oscillate between 5 and 6 billion constant dollars (1996) over the entire period. The variations can be explained by the evolution of bilateral Official Development Aid (ODA) and by the share for education within it. If one compares the bilateral commitments for education with the bilateral ODA measured by the financial flows and not the commitments that are unavailable, one sees that between 1990 and 1997 the share of education in bilateral ODA has evolved as follows: 1990: 15.2%, 1995: 14.9%, 1996: 13.7%, 1997: 14.8%.

Bilateral Aid for Education (commitments)
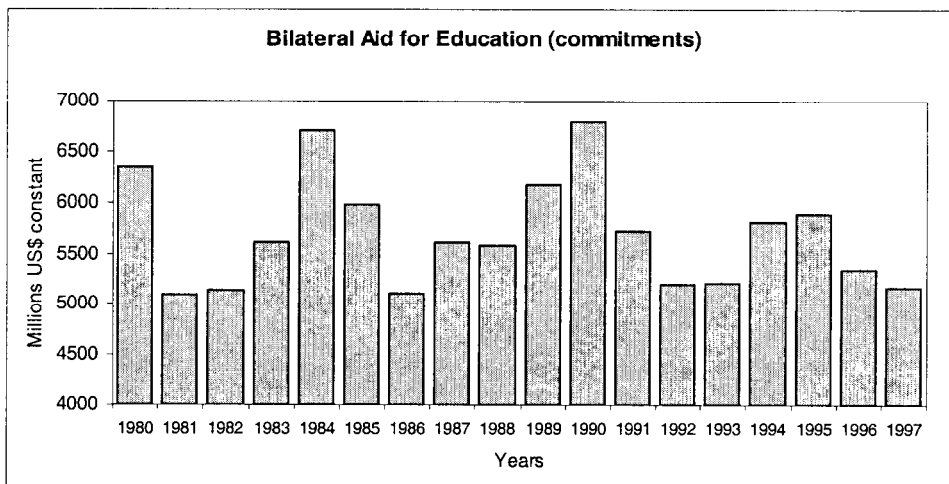
Annex 8: NET ODA Income* in 1996 (as % of GNP of recipient countries)

	As % of GNP
Africa	
North of Sahara	2.0
South of Sahara	5.6**
America	
North and Central	0.8
South	0.2
Asia	
Middle-East	1.0
South and Central Asia	1.3
Far East	0.3
Europe	1.1
Oceania	21.6

Source: 1998 DAC Report
* Net DAC contribution of DAC Member States, multilateral agencies and Arab countries
** But 9.3% not including South Africa and 12.3% not including South Africa and Nigeria

Breakdown of net* ODA disbursements for Sub-Saharan Africa
(In million US$ at 1996 prices and exchange rates)

	1981-82	*1986-87*	*1993*	*1997*
Bilateral Aid of DAC Member States	9 070	11 727	12 096	9 382
Multilateral Aid	4 069	5 930	7 509	6 905
Other Donors	1 667	1 257	53	99
Total	15 706	18 913	19 657	16 386

* (Donations + loans) – loan reimbursements

Annex 9: The main stages of the process of the elaboration of the educational plan – Traditional concept

i)   The process begins with a guideline on the economic and social development policy that the government intends to implement during the planned period. It is mainly addressed to all the economic and social sectors and emanates from the Prime Minister's Office. It usually develops and sometimes updates the development axes that were defined in the general policy declaration which was submitted to parliament when the government was invested. The long term orientations and goals of the education policy are broached in the same way as those of the other sectors but in a succinct and very general manner. Concerning decentralised countries or those in the process of decentralisation, these guidelines include the orientations of the regional development policy. One accompanies it or several annex documents that trace the socio-demographic and macro-economic development perspectives and guide the preparation of the economic and social development plan or programme.

ii)   The next step is the elaboration and approval of the specific guidelines for the education sector. On the basis of the broad lines defined by the government, the department of education formulates a draft guideline for the sector in which the medium and long-term goals and strategies for its future development are specified. It is written by the technical services of the tutelage department and is usually discussed within the sector before being submitted for analysis, possible amendments and approval to a national body called national council or commission for education.

Once it has been adopted by the government, the guideline of the education sector becomes a reference document for future tasks. It is generally completed by a technical note that defines the preparatory activities of the education plan or programme and by ad hoc documents. These constitute the basic file that is used by the participants who intervene through different commissions and study groups that are made up especially.

iii)   The study groups and the various sub-commissions then engage for a rather long period in a process of sub-sector option choices and the formulation of policy and strategy proposals. This leads to the elaboration of reports that are presented to the national commission on education.

iv)   Once these reports have been finalised and adopted they are given to those who formulate the draft plan or development programme. This is when the methods of technical preparation come into play (Chapters 1, 2, 3).

v)   Once the draft plan or programme has been elaborated, it is examined and amended by various national political bodies. First the national education council or commission, then the government's council, then the national assembly. Finally, the preparation leads to the promulgation of the plan or programme as a law. During this process, the proposed and accepted amendments are reformulated and this sometimes involves a long technical task of making the options more coherent and adjusting the strategies, the costs and the financing of the sector accordingly.

Usually, the programme comprises indications as to the means and methods of implementation and the activities to strengthen instruments to execute the various elements that make it up.