NORRAG NEWS 51

DECEMBER 2014

EDUCATION AND SKILLS POST-2015 AND THE GLOBAL GOVERNANCE OF EDUCATION:

AGENDAS AND ARCHITECTURE

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Network for international policies and cooperation in education and training

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What is NORRAG?

NORRAG is an internationally recognised, multi-stakeholder network which has been seeking to inform, challenge and influence international education and training policies and cooperation for almost 30 years.

Through networking and other forms of cooperation and institutional partnerships, it aims in particular to:

- stimulate and disseminate timely, concise, critical analysis and act as an incubator for new ideas
- broker knowledge at the interface between research, policy and practice

NORRAG's current programme focuses on the following themes:

- Education and training policies in the post-2015 and beyond agenda
- Global governance of education and training and the politics of data
- Conflict, violence, education and training
- International perspectives on technical and vocational education and training (TVET)policies and practice in the global South

For more information, please visit: www.norrag.org

What is *NORRAG News*?

NORRAG News is a digital newsletter that is produced twice a year. Each issue has a large number of short, sharp articles, focusing on policy implications of research findings and/or on the practical implications of new policies on international education and training formulated by development agencies, foundations and NGOs. The niche of NORRAG has been to identify a number of 'red threads' running through the complexity of the debates and the current aid and cooperation discourse, and to dedicate special issues of *NORRAG News* to the critical analysis of these themes.

Some issues of *NORRAG News* have been translated into French and Spanish, as well as into Chinese and Arabic from 2014 onwards.

Other ways to engage with NORRAG:

- NORRAG NEWSBite http://norrag.wordpress.com/
  NORRAG's Blog about international education, training and development aid and policy.

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NORRAG News 51

Education and skills post-2015 and the global governance of education:

Agendas and architecture

This issue of *NORRAG News* (NN51) looks at the countdown to the place of education and skills on the world's next development agenda from 2015 against the backdrop of the global governance of education and training (GGET), or the global architecture of education.

There have been countless meetings, conferences, reports and advocacy events around education post-2015 in the last three years. NORRAG alone has run over 55 blogs on the subject (http://norrag.wordpress.com), 4 working papers and 4 meetings. There have been very many less meetings explicitly on GGET (see workshop report), but arguably those on post-2015 are in fact just one part of the much wider landscape or architecture of global governance.

Viewing post-2015 through the lenses of global governance suggests an awareness of the multiple actors, state and non-state, seeking to influence the education agenda beyond 2015. Our concern in NN51 will not therefore just be with the traditional bilateral and multilateral actors such as DFID, UNESCO, UNICEF, the World Bank and the OECD, but with think tanks, international NGOs, emerging, non-DAC donors, foundations, and edu-businesses.

Though many readers will assume that the post-2015 agenda in education is being driven by some of the traditional players mentioned above, based in the North, potentially influential roles are also being played by countries such as Oman (cf the Muscat Agreement) and by South Korea (cf. the World Education Forum in May 2015). But equally countries such as Bangladesh illustrate a range of state and non-state voices on post-2015.

In this special issue of NN, we are particularly keen to hear BRICS voices. But we also wonder whether there is any room at all for discussions about post-2015 in countries such as Jordan, Turkey, and Iran? Let alone Iraq and Syria.

Some of the stakeholders with the greatest leverage on the shape of education post-2015, beyond those already mentioned, might be the Global Partnership for Education, the Global Education First Initiative, the EFA Global Monitoring Report of 2015, Education International, and the Global Campaign for Education. However, some of those regional organisations most concerned with the learning outcomes of children, such as UWEZO, SACMEQ, PASEC and ASER, as well as the Learning Metrics Task Force (LMTF) will certainly want to bring their voices to bear in these last 11 months before the 2015 deadline.

NORRAG has for almost 20 years been aware of the crucial importance of skills development and training policies. Thus, examining the landscape and architecture of skills development within the post-2015 discourse remains critical. This suggests a contribution from the ILO, the European Training Foundation, the regional banks like AfDB, ADB, and IDB, as well as internationally renowned actors such as SENAI in Brazil, and WorldSkills.

Finally, GGET is of great interest to a good number of individual NORRAG members. Indeed, no less than 80 of them have already offered their opinions about GGET to the editor of NN, and some of these might be ready to expand their ideas into an article for NN51.. We found that many NORRAG members had never actually used the terminology of global governance of education; so we are putting a working definition here, along with some possible issues arising:

A Working Definition of GGET

The global governance of education and training (GGET) is used in this issue of NN as an organising framework for discussing how state and non-state actors secure authority and presence in education. Both formal and informal mechanisms exist by which these actors exert power and influence. Formal GGET mechanisms may include, for example: goals and targets (e.g. EFA Goals); laws, rules, conventions and charters; and, agreements, compacts, partnerships, and initiatives for policy and financial cooperation. What might be termed informal GGET mechanisms also exist. These mechanisms may not have been set up for the purpose of governing or regulating, but they clearly influence stakeholders when it comes to education, and some would argue that the power which they today exert has turned them into de facto mechanisms of GGET. Such informal GGET mechanisms might cover, for example: the influence of "best practice" knowledge and approaches (e.g. rate of return to education, competency-based training, national qualifications frameworks); the influence that grants and loans for education, as well as their associated conditionalities, have in recipient countries; the influence that data and indicators from assessments and testing (e.g. PISA, TIMMS) have, as well as benchmarking and ranking approaches (e.g. SABER, world university rankings).

Foreword

Kenneth King, University of Edinburgh & NORRAG

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Along with 2013, the past year has been one of the most vibrant in NORRAG's almost 30-year history.

Once more, as in the 1990s, NORRAG has been able to bring out a whole book, thanks to the cooperation of the editors responsible for the journal, *International Development Policy*. Issue no 5 is entitled *Education, Learning, Training: Critical issues for development.*

We have had two breakthroughs in the dissemination of *NORRAG News* this past year. Thanks to the support of Oman's Ministry of Higher Education, *NORRAG News* has been available in Arabic, and NN issues 49 and 50 are already on the site.

In October of 2014, *NORRAG News* became available in Chinese, thanks to the active collaboration of Zhejiang Normal University's Institute of International and Comparative Education.

We all know how vital it is that readers can access material in their mother tongue (see Houlmann & Serlavos NN51); so these are real breakthroughs, but they depend on active networking by our new editors, Hana Ameen for the Arabic version, and Wan Xiulan for the Chinese. If you are reading this in English as an Arabic or Chinese reader, do have a look at these first editions in Arabic and Chinese, and give us your reactions.

This has also been a year when NORRAG has encouraged collaborative research with two of our long-term partners, in South Africa and in Argentina, on the area of youth employment and skills development. The outcomes of this will shortly be publicly available.

A few years ago, NORRAG to many people meant just *NORRAG News*, and perhaps an occasional NORRAG meeting, usually in Europe or North America. Now, there will surely be few NORRAG readers who have not enjoyed a provocative NORRAG blog – there have been 188 since we started the blog, in June 2012, thanks to Robert Palmer, our blog czar. Do drop him a line if you have a burning blog idea!

Increasingly, NORRAG is becoming known for its four Programmes of Work:

- Education and training policies in the post-2015 and beyond agenda
- Global governance of education and training and the politics of data
- Conflict, violence, education and training
- International perspectives on technical and vocational education and training (TVET) policies and practice in the global South

Please check these out on the NORRAG site, and see if there are ways you can engage with one of them.

This particular issue of *NORRAG News* (NN51) is being launched before the end of the year in Japan. So it is fitting that there are no less than 6 Japanese contributors, as well as South Korean and Chinese contributors. We shall hopefully have a NORRAG event in Japan, either in Nagoya, Hiroshima, Kobe or Tokyo. It is particularly fitting that NN51 is being finalized in one of Japan's well-known Development Studies Centres – the Graduate School of International Development in Nagoya University. NORRAG has always prided itself in being more than an international education network. Indeed it has been based in a development studies institute in Geneva from the early 1990s. Interestingly, Japan has had a long tradition, unlike many European countries, and unlike Canada and the USA, of international education being a key part of development studies.

As to the content of this NN51, I wonder just how many articles, blogs or reports, NORRAG readers have seen on Education post-2015 in this past year. In NORRAG we consider it important to keep a critical watching brief on what is happening in the long-running drama –Living with Post-2015. So you will also see on the website in December 2014 NORRAG's latest Working Paper, *Post-2015 and the Global Governance of Education*.

We waited until early December in order to catch what the UN Secretary General had to say in his *Synthesis Report on the Post-2015 Agenda*. We discuss this in the Editorial.

Good reading, and good reacting!

Kenneth King

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EDITORIAL
Post-2015 and Global Governance: Complexity, Competition and Cooperation

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Milestones towards Post-2015 in the context of global governance

We called this issue of NN (51) 'Education & Skills Post-2015 and the Global Governance of Education' because we thought that by now in mid-December 2014, we should be getting pretty close to the **finalization** of the post-2015 agenda. We also knew that we would be able to take account of the final review, *Shaping the Future we Want* (UNESCO, 2014a) of ten years of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) in this past November as well as, in December, the *Synthesis Report of the Secretary General on the Post-2015 Agenda: The Road to Dignity by 2030* (UN, 2014). We were aware, in addition, that the Education for All (EFA) Global Monitoring Report (GMR) team would have released their concept note in early December, looking forward to their 2016 report entitled: *Education, Sustainability and the Post-2015 Agenda* (GMR, 2014). There would be no such milestones for global governance, but we thought that the latter would be illustrated by the former.

The final report at the Nagoya meeting naturally asked member states to ensure that 'ESD is maintained as a target in the education goal and also integrated in SDGs as a cross-cutting theme' (UNESCO, 2014b: 2; see Tang NN51). It also reminded readers that the Open Working Group (OWG) on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) had formally 'proposed ESD as one of the targets for the education goal for post-2015' (UNESCO, 2014 a: 10).

The UN Secretary General (UNSG) faced a monumental, historically unique task in agreeing to produce a *Synthesis Report* on the Post-2015 Agenda. Since the debate around the world's new development agenda kicked off in earnest with the Rio +20 Conference of June 2012, there have been a myriad of post-2015 meetings, panels, conferences, reports and blogs, at every level - national, regional, international, high, middle and low. When even the little NORRAG network has run over 100 blogs on post-2015[1], another 100 articles in *NORRAG News* on post-2015, and four Working Papers (Palmer and King NN51), it can be imagined just what a vast archive of post-2015 materials has been generated world-wide in two and a half years. Relatively speaking, the creation of the original Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), some months after the Millennium Summit in New York in September 2000, was child's play.

The Secretary General boldly seeks to cover in part of section two of his 47-page *Synthesis* - 'What we have learned'. This reminds readers of some of the milestones in the 2.5-year post-2015 process. But it is to section three on 'Framing the new agenda' that most readers will turn in anticipation. The SG suggests that there is now an opportunity to recast the goals and targets of the OWG 'in a way that reflects the ambition of a universal and transformative agenda' (UN, 2014: 19). He sees the possibility of maintaining the 17 goals of the OWG process, but the chance to 'rearrange them in a focused and concise manner that enables the necessary global awareness and implementation at the country level' (ibid.).

This is a tall order. How will the SG be able to 'maintain the 17 goals' on the one hand, but yet rearrange them with greater concision, on the other? He appears to have turned to the example of the High Level Panel (HLP) on the post-2015 development agenda for approaching this very challenging task (UN, 2013). The HLP used the mechanism of 'five transformative shifts' to capture the high ground that would then be illustrated in its 12 illustrative goals. Similarly, the SG proposes 'an integrated set of six essential elements'. Their purpose is to help Member States arrive 'at the concise and aspirational agenda mandated by the Rio+20 Conference'. Before detailing the six essential elements, the SG argues that these six key measures imply commitment to a core set of (eight) principles.

1 See one of a series of NORRAG's Post-2015 synthesis blogs: http://norrag.wordpress.com/2014/12/01/education-post-2015-what-destination-whose-journey/ from the post-2015 process

These will, if applied together, bring about 'a truly universal transformation of sustainable development' (ibid. 19).

These eight principles also seem to parallel the HLP process in a way. The HLP had referred to eight 'cross-cutting issues' such as peace, inequality, climate change, cities etc (UN, 2013: 16) which did not have stand-alone goals. Similarly, the SG's set of (eight) principles covered the areas of universality, sustainability, inequalities, human rights, climate change, credible data, global partnership, and international solidarity (UN, 2014: 19).

Bearing these principles in mind, what then are the six essential elements that 'would help frame and reinforce the universal, integrated and transformative nature of a sustainable development agenda'? How would these six essential elements manage to 'maintain the 17 goals and rearrange them in a focused and concise manner'?

These elements turn out to be six one-word items: **Dignity, People, Prosperity, Planet, Justice and Partnership**. Each of these is then elaborated into a statement of purpose. Which is the one that seeks to cover education and skills? It is People. And this item is then elaborated into a statement of purpose. So **People** is expanded **'to ensure healthy lives, knowledge and the inclusion of women and children'.** In other words, under People, the SG has sought to achieve concision by putting together the post-2015 material on Health as well as on Education and Training (UN, 2014, paras. 69-71).

We shall let the international health community comment on paragraphs 69 and 70 on health matters, but paragraph 71 on education does not seem to be exactly a rearrangement of the post-2015 thinking on education 'in a focused and concise manner'. It is worth quoting the four sentences which are intended to illustrate his attempt at focus and concision in the field of education:

> 71. Today, more than ever, the realities of 1.8 billion youth and adolescents represent a dynamic, informed, and globally connected engine for change. Integrating their needs, rights to choice and their voices in the new agenda, will be a key factor for success. It is essential that young people receive relevant skills and high-quality education and life-long learning, from early childhood development to post-primary schooling, including life skills and vocational education and training, as well as science, sports and culture. Teachers must be given the means to deliver learning and knowledge in response to a safe global workplace, driven by technology. (UN, 2014: 21-22)

We have argued above that the Secretary General faced a near impossible task in rearranging more concisely the seven targets from the Muscat Agreement that had been slightly reworked in the Open Working Group's seven targets and three additional elements. But there are a number of problems with this summary paragraph 71:

1. It focuses primarily on the needs of young people and adolescents. Though it mentions life-long learning for young people, there is now, unlike Muscat and the OWG, no reference to the needs of adults, or to the nearly one billion of them, North and South, who lack working literacy and numeracy. This position is reinforced in an earlier paragraph which merely states: 'All children and adolescents have a right to education' (para 69).

2. Skills are handled in a rather confusing way, with the vague reference to relevance, and the reintroduction of the unhelpful term 'life skills' which had created such problems after its introduction in the EFA Dakar Goal 3. Muscat and the OWG had wisely avoided the term completely, but here it is back again, in the synthesis of the SG.

3. Teachers are still mentioned, but it is far from clear how the realities of their own ordinary classrooms might relate to this 'safe global workplace'.

4. Notably absent from these few sentences are the terms Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) and Global Citizenship Education (GCED) which many countries, including Japan and South Korea, had successfully urged be included in Muscat and also in the OWG. This is all the more surprising given the powerful advocacy from the World Conference on ESD in Nagoya less than a month earlier.

There are just a few more references to education and skills elsewhere in the SG's 47 page Synthesis. One important example of this relates to education-and-work. In a world where at the moment the majority of all work in the world is in the informal sector, it is wise that the document should mention 'decent work for young people' – even if older people are neglected. However, elsewhere in the document, there is suddenly the much more ambitious switch from decent work to 'decent jobs' and 'decent employment'. At the stroke of the pen, there is the following pledge: 'Ensuring that all people, including women, persons with disabilities, youth, aged, and migrants have decent employment, social protection, and access to financial services, will be a hallmark of our economic success' (para. 72).

What could the SG have done to education without merely summarizing all the seven targets? Arguably, he could have sought to take the high ground on education and human development by drawing on his eight principles, and notably on universality, inequality and human rights. He could thus have raised the level of the debate about the role of education and skills. Equally, he could have provoked the education community to consider how the Muscat/OWG education targets can have implications for most of the other 16 SDGs, and how, in turn, many of the other 16 SDGs have direct implications for education. For example, the terms, capacity or capacity building, occur in the OWG goals: 2, 6, 8, 13, 15, and 17, as well as in the Education Goal, 4.

Intriguingly, it is precisely this cross-sectoral challenge that Anda Adams had sought to explore with her 2012 paper on *The Education Link: Why learning is central to the post-2015 development agenda* (Adams, 2012; King & Palmer, 2012). Equally, it is exactly this potentially dynamic relationship between education and the other SDGs that the EFA GMR team proposes to examine and monitor in their 2016 report on 'Education, sustainability and the post-2015 agenda'. The Concept Note for this 2016 Report captures the ambitions of the team to move beyond the education silo and the original six EFA Dakar Goals to review education's two-way relations with other major development sectors:

> The thematic section of 2016 report will examine the reciprocal links between education and major aspects of the post-2015 development agenda, and present how the role of education can be re-envisioned to contribute to the ambitious sustainable development agenda. The report will document cross-sectoral initiatives that are cost-effective, contextually relevant and sustainable. Such initiatives, backed by appropriate cross-sectoral indicators, can lead the way for advancing the Sustainable Development Goals. (EFA. GMR, 2014:10; Benavot NN51)

These are just two of many possibilities that would have been open to this special *Synthesis Report*. Instead, there appears to be a missed opportunity to interrogate the human dimension of the proposed sustainable development goals, and to lift the education goal agreements of Muscat and the OWG to a new level. Arguably, at least for the field of education, the Secretary General's Synthesis may have taken us a few steps backward. Not so much along the High Road on a Road of Dignity but along a rather Rocky Road.

SG linking finalization of post-2015 with global governance?

The SG may not have raised the bar any higher on the education debate or agenda, but his *Synthesis* certainly pays serious attention to governance and financing issues. He is keenly aware that there is no point in having a squad of 17 goals and an army of 169 indicators if there is no way of financing these ambitions. So one of the only formal recommendations in his Report is that 'All developed countries should meet the 0.7% target and agree to concrete timetables to meet ODA commitments' (UN, 2014: 29; Rose NN51). He is conscious therefore that **the post-2015 development agenda is inseparable from governance**. Hence the Report makes frequent reference to the necessity of 'effective', 'accountable', 'international' governance. In particular, if there really is to be an integration of the economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainable development, then one of the crucial requirements is the 'reform of global governance mechanisms' (UN, 2014: 16).

Complex connections between the post-2015 education agenda and the toolkits of global governance of education and training

This issue of *NORRAG News* sees the wide-ranging debates about post-2015 as illustrating some of the influence and impact of global governance. The sheer diversity of the multi-stakeholder constituencies promoting and advocating particular facets of post-2015 are clear examples of the complex, international architecture of influence. Menefee (NN51) points to the 'massive institutional network' that can underpin even a seemingly minor international initiative.

But we are not arguing that the post-2015 development agenda in education is merely a small chunk of global governance in action. In many ways, as McGrath (NN51) comments, the post-2015 discourse on education and skills is still largely locked into a rights agenda (also Jeong NN51); whereas out in the 'real world' there are many powerful examples of the global education toolkit or the global skills toolkit in action. Thus the Muscat Agreement holds to the line that 'Through governments, the state is the custodian of quality education as a public good, recognizing the contribution of civil society, communities, families, learners and other stakeholders to education' (UNESCO, 2014c: 2). But this global public good (GPG) vision or aspiration is a world away from what Verger and Altinyelken (NN51) term the 'new culture of competitive performativity' illustrated in the 'managerialist paradigm' with a suite of policies such as 'school-based management, professional leadership development, high-stakes evaluation, merit-based pay schemes, standards-based curriculum and partnerships with the private sector' (ibid).

Equally, the carefully negotiated language of Muscat about the rights to skills and decent work ('By 2030, at least x% of youth and y% of adults have the knowledge and skills for decent work and life through technical and vocational, upper secondary and tertiary education and training') is a far cry from the five dimensions of McGrath's 'VET toolkit' with its systemic level move towards employers (NN51; see also Billetoft NN51). Similarly, the suite of VET initiatives in South Africa have almost all been 'influenced by global debates, policies and models', helping to make it what has been termed 'one of the most advanced skills development plans developed by any nation in the world' (Peliwe NN51); but these policies in practice can be seen 'as less successful if not failing spectacularly' (ibid.). India, too, has undertaken what might compete as the world's most ambitious skills development programme but to what extent that illustrates global governance in TVET is still up for debate (Mehrotra NN51).

The sources of the global governance idea and its tributaries or conduits

The parents of global governance derive from neoliberal ideals associated with new public management; 'efficiency, effectiveness and productivity are its bywords, and these are pursued under the unyielding demands for 'quality' (Auld NN51). Robertson (NN51) outlines the history of the 'thickening' of these ideas as they have become more pervasive. Auld sees 'comparative data' being the 'key conduit for *the idea* of global governance'; but the inevitable simplification associated with quantification underlines in Grek's (NN51) words that there is a 'certain heavy-handedness in commensuration that requires as many exclusions of awkward knowledge as the choices it includes'. This is why, she argues, there is no single 'true' vision to be gained from the leaning tower of PISA. Hence there is no single education toolkit or skills toolkit, no agreed version of what constitutes 'value for money in international education' (see NN47).

The other, earlier parents of global governance in education

Arguably, the original, true parents of global governance concerns in education were to be found in the UN declaration of human rights; and the emergence of education as a global public good illustrates this other face of global governance. It too, Fredriksen (NN51) claims, requires agreements (a toolkit?) among countries in three areas:

> (i)Rules to be respected/goals to be attained to address common concerns; (ii) Mechanism(s) to track progress;and (iii) Measures to stimulate/enforce that those who ratify the agreement meet their obligations.

Promoting such an approach to education through global governance, Kuroda (NN51) sees illustrated in a set of principles, internationally influential concepts, international policies, and international indicators and standards.

The global governance of educational aid

Fredriksen (NN51) recognizes that the effectiveness of the global governance of educational aid 'leaves much to be desired'. The existence of education as a global public good does not somehow magically result in the outcomes of the processes determining the allocation of aid by purpose, education level and country being rational. The same is true of the concepts of education for sustainable development (ESD) or global citizenship education (GCED). Whatever their appeal to particular countries, such as Japan and South Korea respectively, these too will need the support of rigorous review of possible indicators and measurement if they are to hold their own in the now necessary quantification of ideals or target priorities.

Not unconnected with this appeal of the global targets to particular countries has been the rise of a new version of tied aid. The abandonment of the old agenda of solidarity or the 'right to development' (Jeong NN51), and its replacement by 'today's new principles' of 'economic self-reliance and mutual benefits'

(Boeren NN51) has been very evident in the Netherlands, and has its visible counterpart in Japan's current interest in ensuring that ODA also serves the internationalization of its own universities, and brings benefit to its enterprises (Okitsu NN51). 'Aid with a Japanese face' is once again a key priority, and Japanese trade promotion may well be a key element in the new ODA charter of December 2014 (Yamada NN51). Similarly, aid in Norway is increasingly aligned with what are seen as 'Norway's key competences' (Buchert NN51).

Despite the decline in international aid to education in recent years, there are still clearly anomalies with the allocative processes connected to it (Fredriksen NN51). So that on the one hand, Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) only ends up with 27% of all educational aid, but this does not mean that the continent is facing a 'beyond aid' situation. Trudell (NN51) writes that 'the sheer size and scope of externally-funded education initiatives in Africa is astounding' and that 'the amount of money being leveraged in the last decade runs to billions of dollars'. But the issue is not just that, as in South Africa, so many of the education interventions have their origin outside of the countries or the continent, it is rather that there has been too little thinking about their long-term uptake or sustainability. Arguably, this is another face or meaning of education for sustainable development.

Recognising the many faces of the global at the local level

The global governance of education is not of course just about some of the most visible architecture, such as the Leaning Tower. It is also about the myriad ways that global models or global influence can appear at the very local level. This can be negative for instance in the way that pass rates in Benin have been 'embellished' 'primarily to please the numerous international technical and financial partners' (Fichtner NN51). Or it can be positive in the case of the primary school in Clapham in London whose head strongly believes in 'learning from the best' whether in Finland, Singapore, Shanghai, or the rest of the UK. This is not to do with quick-and-dirty policy borrowing, but rather with policy learning, which integrates the new with the old: 'Often our learning has built upon previous learning and sometimes seeing things in an excellent context gives us the confidence to implement or develop and grow an existing idea or concept' (Grove NN51).

Of course, the temptation of the global for the local or national politician is to pluck out of the global garden a plant that might just grow rapidly and transform the local. This is the character of Chilean debates on education – to identify some particular single feature of education in Japan, Singapore, Finland or Korea, 'for quick implementation'. By contrast there are 'few comments about the Finnish experience as a relentless reformer since 1980' (Schiefelbeins NN51). Or that 'an inspiring vision of what good public education should be' had survived 20 governments and 30 different ministers in Finland (Williams NN51)! The success of the recent global success of Shanghai students is the result of a very complex mix of many traditional and modern learning practices. In other words, the secret of Chinese maths education is far from simple (Wan NN51). There is therefore something of a tension between the mutual learning potential of global standards, illustrated in the current exchanges between Britain and China today, and the particular notch on the PISA or other league table (see also Yonezawa NN51), marketed as 'a reliable proxy for a system's stock of human capital and marketed under a relentless narrative of education *quality* and global economic competitiveness' (Auld NN51).

The last laps before September 2015

Though there are only nine months to go till September 2015, there will be a continuation of the intense debates about what is in the creeds of Muscat and of the OWG on education targets. Now, there will be pressure satisfactorily to translate the seven goals into indicators (Raikes NN51), which is clearly both a technical and a political exercise, and not least because some of the aspirations of the seven targets, such as skills, ESD and GCED defy any simple quantification. Can we really expect to find 'globally acceptable indicators' (Yoshida NN51)? The challenge of doing this is powerfully illustrated for the case of teachers, ECD, and GCED by Wulff; Shaeffer & Vargas-Baron; and Bong, respectively in NN51. Additionally, the sheer scale of this exercise in indicator development should be noted; it is not just a question of the 169 targets and their indicators, but for many if not most of the 7 targets there are meant to be targets, **set nationally.** This suggests that across the 17 goals and 169 targets if there are, say, 200 countries involved world wide in this exercise, there could be a possible total of 34,000 targets (Nick Burnett to KK, 14th December 2014). Quite a tall order in terms of global monitoring! But it could keep a few hundred technical experts in secure jobs for the next 15 years (Klees NN51).

In the milestones for these next nine months of 2015, there will be the multiple launches of the EFA GMR in April, then the World Education Forum in May in Korea, and the Financing and Development Conference in Addis Ababa in July. The remaining EFA Assessment meetings, such as for the Arab Region in January, will also take place, and may well promote additional crucial suggestions for the still evolving educational agenda (Khan NN51). Many commentators will want to react to the Secretary-General's few words in his Synthesis on education to try and ensure that the items not actually mentioned in his short paragraph are indeed still on the table. Others again, will note, even at this late stage, that there is no adequate discussion of the absolutely crucial role of educational management or governance in the Muscat listing of education targets (Al Rawahi NN51). Others still, like the UNESCO/Brookings Learning Metrics Task Force will want to emphasise the vital importance of a broad and country-specific approach to what every child should learn in a situation where only numeracy and literacy are mentioned in the Muscat Agreement, and where the term 'curriculum' is surprisingly not even mentioned at all (Anderson NN51). The same may be true of the absence of any mention of education-and-conflict in the Muscat Agreement, and therefore there may be a need to consider the meaning and position of the 'global governance of education in conflict' (Naylor NN51).

Getting the balance right between the principles and the targets

Though we have said that the focus of the Muscat Agreement illustrates the rights agenda rather than the quantitative preoccupations of one perspective of global governance, it should be acknowledged, that unlike Jomtien, the focus is much more now on the seven targets than on the equivalent of the Ten Articles that made the Jomtien Declaration so powerful across the world. We note that there is a section of the Muscat Agreement that is called 'Vision, principles and scope of the post-2015 education agenda' (not in caps). It is less than a page long. And it has received relatively little scrutiny compared to the 'Overarching Goal and Global Targets' (in caps). It was the same with our treatment of the SG's eight principles versus his 'Six essential elements'. We focused on the latter.

In other words, though the Muscat Agreement and its confirmation in the OWG embody the rights agenda, their principal focus is on the targets rather than the principles. And it is the translation of these targets into quantifiable indicators that is now the priority of the policy community. This illustrates the penetration of quantification into the very centre of this apparently rights-based process.

By contrast, the preliminary regional meetings around Jomtien were powerful discussions about principles. Thus, it was, for example, in this process that the insertion of the key phrase for early childhood educators 'Learning begins at birth' was captured in the Article 5 of Jomtien (UNESCO, 1990a).

Hopefully in the remaining nine months of this post-2015 process, there will be more attention given to the organizing principles, vision and ambitions around education and skills, and their interactions with the other proposed development goals. It may be recalled that in association with the preliminary meetings before Jomtien there were available early drafts of *Meeting basic learning needs: A vision for the 1990s* (UNESCO, 1990b). This 167-page document was published within a month of Jomtien, and it remains an invaluable base of evidence and of research for the Articles and Framework for Action of the Jomtien Conference. By contrast, there does not appear to be anything beyond a four-page list of contents available at the moment for what is currently called 'Framework for Action on Education Post-2015' (UNESCO, 2014d).

The evidence base for a multi-stakeholder discourse on education post-2015

The constituency responsible for the forthcoming framework for action will neglect at its peril the kind of investment that the Inter-agency Commission for Jomtien made in the evidence base for *Meeting basic learning needs*. When DFID wished to explore a new set of priorities, it too encouraged serious research on reviews of globalization, skills development etc. (Levesque NN51).

Ideally the framework for action will need to complete the task that the UNSG began with his *Synthesis*, looking at the evidence base as well as the rights base for the new, proposed set of education targets. In doing so, it will not only be able to draw on the very rich literature already available, for example, for early childhood development investment, and the other target areas. For ESD, for instance, it will source ideas from *The future we want* – the final report of the decade-long process of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) (Tang, NN51; UNESCO, 2014a).

But it will also need to draw on the massive data bases linked to the major civil society organisations. As Macgrath (NN51) has persuasively shown, there are extraordinarily detailed evidence bases associated with the *Annual Status of Education Report* (ASER), *Uwezo* in East Africa, and CAMPE in Bangladesh, to mention just three.

But at a very different level, this Framework for Action will need to take account of key players that are not based in the global North. This will mean paying attention to what the BRICS' ministers of education are proposing in South-South cooperation (Akoojee and Monks NN51; Niu NN51), including a possible North-South-South role with UNESCO. At the same time China with its Forum for China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) is connecting directly with the African Union and with its *Common African Position on the post-2015 development agenda* developed in January 2014 (Zhang NN51). This is not to argue that there is a Southern vision about post-2015 that has been neglected but is exceptional. In fact the post-2015 debate has so far been dominated by the North (King and Palmer, 2013).

Rather, it is to urge Southern countries to engage critically with those who often speak on their behalf, but also to recognize that a global vision can sometimes be a valuable antidote to national parochialism or clientelism (Manzoor NN51). The global perspective can provide a commentary on a country like India that takes great pride in its Right to Education Act, and yet note the absence of any benchmark for learning (Varghese NN 51). Even PISA can play its small part in a large country like Brazil where Dore's diploma disease is very much alive and well today (Castro NN51).

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ESD Outcomes from Nagoya

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UNESCO, in collaboration with the Government of Japan, organized the **World Conference on Education for Sustainable Development** (ESD) from 10-12 November 2014 in Aichi-Nagoya, Japan. A number of stakeholder meetings were also held in Okayama the week before. The event attracted more than 1,100 participants from 150 countries including 76 Ministers and Vice Ministers, showing the very strong interest of Member States in this important subject. The Conference, through plenaries, workshops and exhibitions, celebrated the achievement of the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014) and set the agenda for ESD beyond 2014.

The *Final Report on the UN Decade* and a *Global Action Programme (GAP) on ESD beyond 2015* were launched during the Conference while the outcome document *Aichi-Nagoya Declaration* was adopted at the end of the event. According to the GAP, the future activities on ESD will focus on five Priority Action Areas: advancing policy; transforming learning and training environments; building capacity of educators and trainers; empowering and mobilizing youth; and accelerating sustainable solutions at local level. Furthermore, a resolution will soon be adopted in the plenary session of the UN General Assembly in New York which will a) take note of GAP as follow-up to the UN Decade; b) invite Governments to implement the GAP; and c) invite UNESCO, as the UN lead agency for ESD, to coordinate the implementation of the GAP.

For further information: www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco-world-conference-on-esd-2014/

From Thin to Thickening Global Governance of Education

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Key words: *global governance; international organisations; corporations; competitive comparison*

Summary: *It is critical to view global governance through an historical lens which traces the gradual thickening of global governance over a 50 year period, its transfer from international relations to other sectors including education, and the increasing number of actors both state and non-state associated with it.*

Conceptualising global governance

There is a tendency in accounts of 'global governance' to view it as a phenomenon of the 1990s emerging out of the maelstrom of the 1970s' global economic and political crisis. However, the post-war Bretton Woods' institutions (such as The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund [IMF], the United Nations Educational and Scientific Cultural Organization [UNESCO] and the International Labour Organization [ILO]), along with the OECD, had already begun to acquire what we can refer to as 'thin' global governing capability in the post-World War 2 period. This capacity was to become more crucial from the 1990s onwards; a period of time widely viewed as the new global era (Held et al., 1999; Mittelman, 2004).

The term global governance first emerged in the mid-1970s as a way of talking about the need for the regulation of interdependent global relations in the absence of an overarching political authority. Overbeek (2010: 697) argues the early roots of the term were considerably more radical than its current incarnation which tends to be aligned with the global rule of capital. Overbeek (op. Cit: 697-8) suggests that early advocates, like Richard Falk (1975), focused "…on the shortcomings of traditional state governments in confrontation with problems that transcended the reach of individual states and on the inherently undemocratic nature of whatever international coordination of policy does occur". In his view, governing at a global scale would go a considerable way to overcoming these challenges. Throughout the 1970s and 80s, however, national states continued to be the dominant units for governing.

This was to change in the 1990s, where it gained currency as a respectable concept following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the workings out of neoliberalism as a political project, and the significance of new technological developments – notably digital. In relation to the former; "…the defeat of the Soviet challenge to the Western (primarily United States) claim to represent the common good of all humanity fundamentally altered the terms of debate on international politics. With a global alternative system out of the way, it became possible to promote a depoliticized and watered down version of "global governance" as the ideal consensual and non-adversarial manner to manage the world's affairs" (Overbeek, 2012: 698). In relation to the deepening and widening of neoliberalism as a political project, the capacities and sovereignty of national states and the world order, on the other, were being transformed as a result of processes broadly associated with the pressure to remove barriers to freer trade (Wilkinson, 2002). Nation states were no longer the only (if they ever were), or the most significant, building blocks in the world order. Rather they were being joined by a range of other actors exercising new forms of transnational authority. This development reached its apogee in the report of the international Commission on Global Governance (CGG) published in 1995. Finally, the rapid development of digital technologies has transformed many aspects of social life as a result of new forms of communication and inter-connectedness.

A large and distinct global governance literature emerged out of these developments, with global governance being defined by Rosenau as 'governance without government' (cf. Rosenau and Cziempiel, 1992). The CGG's own definition of global governance is also highly quoted: as "The sum of the many ways in which individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action may be taken (CGG, 1995: 2). However, this is an apolitical definition in the sense that power is underplayed, there is a pluralist conception of actors and interests, and structural power is absent. As many observers of these processes point out, power is asymmetrical, interests are often aligned with capital and big business, and the restructuring of contemporary education can be tied to changes in the strategies and structures of global capitalism.

From 'Thin' Global Governance…to…

In writing on the global governance of education, Mundy (2007) argues that in the post WW2 period the ideas of 'education as development' and 'standard setting' were shared global aspirations. However, the over-riding logic during this period was that it was the sub/national state which would undertake these tasks. Thus, during this period, the role of international organisations like UNESCO and the ILO was to help structure a normative understanding of what educational development could and should be about (levels, inputs, processes) to support and boost national education, economic and social development.

Over this period the World Bank and the IMF played an increasingly important role – especially in relation to development. By the end of the 1960s, the Bank was lending to a diverse range of countries with diverse social and economic goals –largely shaped by a view that investments in education were investments in the development of human capital. However it was in relation to neoliberal policies introduced in the 1980s – widely known in the development world as 'the Washington Consensus' (Williamson, 1993) - that considerable hostility was directed at the Bank and its conditionality clauses. The Bank's model for policy included a sharply curtailed role for government in education provision and a preference for cost recovery, decentralisation and privatisation (Mundy, 2002).

…Thickening Global Governance of Education

Evidence suggests that since the mid-1990s we have seen a thickening of global governance institutions, on the one hand, and global governing technologies, on the other. Yet registering the presence of global institutions cannot be read off as representing a concentration of power globally. For instance, the establishment of the World Trade Organisation in 1995 and the launch of the General Agreement on Trade in Services, has so far had a checkered history in terms of power and influence on the education sector. Similarly, the huge expansion in international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) – estimated at more than 25,000 (Karns and Mingst, 2004), reflects the outsourcing of activity by national governments, and therefore these are often tied to national development priorities and agendas.

Arguably it is the OECD which has advanced the global governing agenda in education the furthest, driven by its collection of data on education systems, students, teachers, adults, and in relation to developing countries. Like the release in October 2014 of their Education GPS – GPS of course standing for Global Positioning System - the OECD has sought to promote a set of tools that diagnoses a country's education performance and provides policy advice as to how to rectify the situation. And it is the Indicators and Analysis Division (IAD) within the OECD, guided by global policy entrepreneur Andreas Schleicher, now Head of the Education and Skills Directorate, which has become particularly powerful in shaping the tools for assessment and the policy advice to follow. Like the PISA tables, countries are compared with other countries by placing them in rank order. This enables a country to thus make "comparisons with other countries in order to develop more effective policies to improve teaching and learning" (OECD, 2014a: 32).

"Education GPS" we are reminded "…is *the* OECD source for internationally comparable data and analysis on education policies and practices, opportunities and outcomes. Accessible any time, in real time, the Education GPS provides you with the latest information on how countries are working to develop high quality and equitable education systems" (OECD, 2014b). Three services are offered. Users can analyse by a selected country and explore a variety of themes and types of data to create customized country reports. Users are also invited to compare different countries' education systems and their levels of success on providing high quality education. Finally, users can also seek policy advice from the OECD's research and policy archive.

Not to be outdone, the World Bank has promoted its own global governing tool – SABER - a *Systems Approach for Better Education Results* which it launched in 2010. SABER has a number of policy areas that it is now collecting data on – including teachers' work. Three elements feature in the SABER toolkit: policy mapping, policy guidance and policy comparison.

The OECD and the World Bank are not the only prominent players on the global stage. Increasingly they have been joined by an ambitious and adventurous set of corporations and foundations keen to open up new education markets around the globe, and to probe emerging markets, all with an eye to new ways to shape minds and markets. Pearson Education, McKinsey & Co, KPMG, Deloittes, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Hewlitt Foundation, the Brookings Institution, GEMs, Education Fast Forward, Promethean Planet, Laureate, Kaplan, Navitas….the list goes on. Many of these players are active in powerful spaces, such as the World Economic Forum, and in setting agendas for post-2015 goals for education.

The globally-competitive learner, teacher, and education system, for the economy

In contrast to the earlier period of 'thin' global governance with its focus on education as development, this thickening of global governance brings with it an intense focus on learning and the learner, and how this might be linked in a causal way to the performance of the teacher and from there to global economic competitiveness. The engine that keeps this new global governing system moving in a dynamic, forward, direction is a complex architecture of technologies that are driving and guiding performance. Both the students' and teachers' practices and performance are guided by the logic of 'competitive comparison' – as each player is constantly placed in a hierarchical relation to the other. These are folded inside what the OECD have called its Education GPS, and into other recent efforts by the multilateral world to develop global learning metrics – though this is still a project in motion and attended still by considerable commotion! Part of the trick in these global governing systems – which override national sovereignty and thus the space for democratic decision-making – is to increase the hand of the global agencies, whose diagnosis and prognosis are part of a virtual circle between framing, representing, materialising, institutionalising, and reproducing the globally-competitive learner and teacher in order to deliver a globally competitive economy.

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Development Inc. and the Ghost in the Machine: the Idea of Global Governance

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Key words: *post-2015; quality; governance; PISA; 'best practice'*

Summary: *This paper reflects on the idea behind global governance and the implications of the post-2015 shift from 'provision' to 'quality'. It raises concerns about the introduction of PISA for Development and the rise of the development industry. Finally, it suggests that talk of global governance as an agenda to be managed is misconceived.*

Though global governance in education is often attributed to any of a number of world powers or international organisations, in most cases a common idea has in some way infused the array of actors performing the function. I therefore begin by clarifying the origin and essence of the idea, before examining how this manifests in its various outlets (conduits and distributaries). Finally, I consider the relation between the post-2015 goals and global governance, focusing on the shift from 'provision' to 'quality' and (adapting Ball 2012) the rise of *Development Inc*.

First, regarding origin, the idea (or collection of ideas) I refer to is the rise of neoliberal ideals, primarily in England and the US, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, and the associated shift towards New Public Management (NPM). Second, regarding essence, and paraphrasing Baroness Thatcher, the idea does not believe in society, let alone a global society. It is individualistic and atomizing, and thrives on a combination of markets and competition. Business management is its logic, efficiency, effectiveness and productivity are its bywords, and these are pursued under the unyielding demand for 'quality'. These standards of quality are used to develop the accountability measurements necessary to legitimise governance.

In the context of contemporary processes of globalisation and the move towards a global knowledge economy, the demand for improved comparative datasets in education has elevated these principles to the transnational level, bringing the authority of international reference frames to governance as part of the 'comparative turn' (Grek 2009). PISA data has emerged as a key source, promoted by the OECD as a reliable proxy for a system's stock of human capital and marketed under a relentless narrative of education quality and global economic competitiveness.

This aspirational rhetoric draws us into an unending quest, aptly characterised as the 'will to quality' (Pongratz 2008); a perpetual cycle of comparison and improvement (or change). These measurements both reflect the idea and exert a normalising force, framing debates and establishing priorities. We are thus encouraged to view our existence through a shifting matrix of numbers, recasting debates on values as technical problems to be solved. Comparative data therefore serves as a key conduit for the idea, and the post-2015 shift from 'provision' to 'quality' will further extend its flow into the context of international development.

PISA for Development will be anchored to the post-2015 goals, expanding the OECD's influence and allowing us to measure 'quality' and therefore track 'progress'. The first rounds will identify 'winners', 'losers', and then 'improvers', galvanizing the search for 'what works'; the Trojan horse will open its hatches and knowledge companies (distributaries: e.g. McKinsey; Pearson) will emerge to put each system's house in order, selling their expertise and educational services (often both: what conflict of interest?) to give systems the edge against their competitors. Beneath the slick marketing and technocratic language of development packages, we find ideology and intuition dressed up as scientific 'best practice', and confirmatory comparisons drawn in as empirical affectations (Auld and Morris forthcoming).

They will create a measurement and then orient the system towards improvement on that measurement, using any gains in outcomes to demonstrate the value of the enterprise. Legitimacy is thus cultivated through the production of data, the monopolisation of expertise and the management of knowledge. The quest for quality will unfold in an endless cycle of testing and reform,marginalising other interests and development goals and (re)directing resources towards this narrow conceptualisation of progress. Meanwhile, it is a feature of the NPM that we are encouraged to look beyond the broader imbalances of power that underpin (global) economic inequality, recasting it as a function of the poor 'quality' of our education systems, our schools and our teachers, or a culture of low achievement; pushing blame down and demanding more of the individual rather than the whole.

Focusing on the idea behind global governance opens up a series of related insights. First, it acknowledges the normalising force exerted by global dissemination of the idea, while allowing for the agency of actors across diverse contexts. Second, the idea and its outlets are not necessarily a homogenising force, as ideas are (re)interpreted across both contexts and levels. Third, just as it pushes out, the idea also pushes down, both on those working in the industry (ripples?) and those experiencing it 'on the ground'. Fourth, global governance is not something 'out there', wielded by world powers and corporations, but is something which we are living and of which we a part: the ghost and the machine are not distinct. We are subject to its mechanisms and we reinforce (or resist) it with our actions. Finally, and from the above, given its complex and amorphous character, talking of global governance as an agenda to be managed seems misconceived; the idea is not under our control at all; we merely subscribe to the frame and reinforce its order.

As an outsider looking in, I have tried to provide a foundation for reflection on the concept of global governance. The idea is neither benevolent nor evil, after all, but it takes many forms and they are not equally legitimate. Clearly national development agencies and those working in the field must play realpolitik or risk being dismissed as ideologues. Yet the post-2015 shift risks guiding education towards an unaccountable industry that both perpetuates and profits from the 'will to quality'. By way of contrast, I draw attention to research which encourages a broader view of the development process (Rappleye 2010) and which acknowledges the reality of our conditions while contemplating the ethics (and implications) of contemporary globalisation processes (e.g. Unterhalter and Carpentier 2010).

I close with two questions, first for reflection, and then, as we move forward: (1) are these measurements valued primarily for their utility in marshalling real progress, or for the role they will play in legitimising the development industry? And, (2) what are the real effects of interventions (i.e. unintended consequences), beyond the preferred measurements of quality?

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GGET MEANINGS AND UNDERSTANDINGS

Global Governance of Education and Training in the Age of Globalization: The Growing Importance of Cross-Border Externalities of National Education Policies

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Key words: *global education governance; externalities of national education policies; aid effectiveness*

Summary: *Growing globalization means that national educational policies increasingly have multiple cross-border effects. To harness the positive and mitigate the negative effects requires more effective global governance systems in the education and training sector, including for promoting more effective use of education aid.*

Growing interdependence between countries means that national policies increasingly have impact beyond national borders. As a corollary, to stimulate positive - or to limit negative – cross-border effects requires collective actions. This need is easy to understand when it comes to addressing climate change, spread of infectious diseases (e.g. ebola) or global economic slowdowns. In such areas, various types of global governance systems have been developed to promote "Global Public Goods" (GPG)-type of actions or to avoid "Global Public Bads". The key driver for such cooperation is that effective outcomes require collective action.

In the education and training sector, addressing cross-border effects of national policies was not the key driver for the Education for All (EFA) and education Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). These were driven by other GPG concerns, especially promoting human rights and socio-economic development including poverty alleviation. But, as noted below, there are many reasons to expect that the need for collective action to address cross-border effects of national policies will increase in the education sector as well. In turn, that will mean a growing need for global governance systems that go beyond the human rights dimension to include such effects.

A global governance system requires agreements among countries in three areas: (i) Rules to be respected/goals to be attained to address common concerns; (ii) Mechanism(s) to track progress; and (iii) Measures to stimulate/enforce those who ratify the agreement in order meet their obligations. Following this three-prong approach, in the education sector, countries have agreed on:

i. **Global goals** (EFA, MDGs). Much of the global governance discussion now focuses on the post-2015 follow-up to these goals. However, in addition, many treaties/ conventions/ charters/ protocols have been agreed over the last several decades to govern international cooperation in the education sector in a wide range of areas. The UNESCO website on such legal instruments[1] lists 19 agreed since 1960, including the 1960 UN "Convention against Discrimination in Education". To this must be added many "standard-setting instruments", such as the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED);

ii. **Monitoring mechanisms**. These include the EFA Global Monitoring Report and various MDG monitoring reports. Monitoring of standard-setting instruments is done through separate mechanisms set up by UNESCO for such each instrument;

iii. **Enforcement mechanisms.** This is the most complex challenge since implementation is the responsibility of sovereign states. So far, enforcement relies mostly on a combination of: (a) Aid to help developing countries reach agreed goals; (b) "Institutional peer pressure" through the outcomes of the monitoring; and (c) Increased pressure from voters and civil society to hold governments accountable for progress in improving access to good quality education.

Global governance in education increasingly needs to address cross-border effects of national education policies. In fact, Article 26 of the 1948 "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" already recognizes one important such effect: "It

1 unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=12949&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

[education] shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace".

UNESCO plays a key role in operationalizing this component of the Declaration. For example, its program on "Global Citizenship Education" helps countries promote values, knowledge and skills needed to be responsible global citizens and remove barriers to cooperation in resolving the interconnected challenges of the 21st century. A key aspect of this is to revise curricula and textbooks that often reinforce stereotypes, exacerbate social divisions, and foster fear and resentment of other groups or nationalities. Fostering global citizenship is also one of the three goals of the "Global Education First Initiative" launched by the UN Secretary-General in 2012.

Education has multiple other cross-border effects and these are growing in step with increased interconnectedness among countries. Globalization is not only shaking up most sectors of the economy; it also accelerates global mobility of students, academic staff and skilled labor. Over the last decades, migration of skilled labor has been especially high for doctors, nurses and teachers moving from poor to richer countries. This "brain circulation" creates losers and winners. However, over time, "brain drain" may turn into "brain gain" for countries that manage to reverse the migration flow and attract investments from its diaspora. Further, remittances impact upon both the supply and content of education in the migrants' home countries. Poor opportunities for education and employment at home is also a force driving the migration of low-skilled workers.

Better global education governance is especially important for poor, small states that often are ill-equipped to harness the benefits and limit the risks caused by other countries' national policies. As noted, the most complex part of global governance arrangements is effective enforcement. For the MDGs and EFA goals, the enforcement -- such as it is -- focuses on developing countries. Will this change for the post-2015 goals?

The growing cross-border impact of national education policies also raises important questions regarding the effectiveness of global governance of education aid. The outcomes of the processes determining the allocation of aid by purpose, education level and country leave much to be desired in terms of resulting in strategic, evidence-based use of this very scarce resource (see Fredriksen, 2011). In particular: in 2011, Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) received only 27% of all education aid, down from 36% as an average for 2002-2003. And despite solid research evidence on the positive impact of women's education on children's schooling, health and nutrition as well as on women's empowerment and productivity, practically no aid is used to support second chance programs for the 30% of SSA women aged 15-24 years who in 2015 are projected to be illiterate.

The international community must urgently review the ability of the existing global aid architecture to provide the global education aid governance needed post-2015. If not rapidly bridged, the gap in basic human capital development between most SSA countries and the rest of the world could have increasingly serious negative cross-border effects as illustrated by the ebola epidemic and the flow of migrants across the Mediterranean. And the gap is growing since, despite SSA's good progress in many areas over the last decade, other developing countries did even better. As a result, SSA is projected to have 47% of the world's illiterate women aged 15-24 years in 2015 (up from 20% in 1999); and it had 52% of the world's out-of-school children in 2011 (39% in 1999). SSA also accounts for 49% of the world's children dying before the age of 5 (19% in 1970) and for 32% of the world's children stunted from malnutrition (15% in 1990). In 2050, SSA is projected to account for 38% of the world's newborn (30% in 2015). Unless drastic actions are taken over the next decade, around 1/3 of SSA's labor force would likely be illiterate in the 2020s and 2030s, and more than 1/3 of SSA's children would be born to illiterate mothers. **How can the global aid governance structure become more successful in helping SSA countries break this vicious cycle of inequity and poverty?**

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Four Dimensions of Global Governance in Education: Implications for Developing Countries

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Keywords: *international principles; influential concepts; international policies; international indicators*

Summary: *This categorizes the diversified activities of global governance in education into four types to show how they function. The implications for participation in, and ownership of, global governance by developing countries is explored.*

Four types of global governance in the field of education and the current situation

> *1. Global governance by formulating principles through international laws, conventions and charters*

The earliest efforts of the international community to promote global governance in the field of education were to clarify the principles of education, in the Constitution of UNESCO and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that education is a basic human right and that education contributes to achieving peace. The principle of education as a basic human right has been repeatedly confirmed by various legal frameworks, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, and has had a significant impact on domestic laws and educational policies of many nations. Aside from these global agreements, there are regional agreements on education such as the Regional Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and Degrees in Higher Education in Asia and the Pacific.

> *2. Global governance by developing and proposing new internationally influential concepts*

There are also many cases in which international organizations and other actors have taken initiatives to propose new concepts and directions of education to the international community. Although these are not legally binding like international conventions, they have had a significant impact on educational policies and reforms of various countries by creating political trends. The "life-long education" and "recurrent education" proposed by UNESCO and OECD in the 1960s are good examples from earlier days.

The World Bank and other organizations conducted research on "rates of return to investment in education". This claimed to show that investment in primary education has high social returns. This greatly contributed to securing educational funds to promote Education for All (EFA). On the other hand, while much focus was given to EFA, the policies on higher education in developing countries were criticized and lost their direction in the 1990s. To address this, a new direction was suggested in *Higher Education in Developing Countries*, published by the joint task force of the World Bank and UNESCO.

In the 2000s, the governments of developing countries and experts on development economics expressed concerns that quantitative expansion of education might not always contribute to economic growth. Eric Hanushek, however, demonstrated that improvement in the quality of education, not quantity, promoted economic growth. His findings had a significant impact on the policy trend surrounding the MDGs and the discussions on the post-2015 framework. The specific policies to promote EFA and the educational MDGs were discussed and consolidated, mainly based on UNESCO's *EFA Global Monitoring Reports* and various other research reports conducted by UNICEF and the World Bank.

> *3. Global governance by building consensus on international policies through policy dialogue at international conferences and by formulating frameworks for financial cooperation*

With regard to global governance in education, the most commonly used approach today is to build consensus on the international goals of education and to formulate frameworks for policy and financial cooperation. An earlier example is the International Conference on Education, a forum of education ministers, which was held in Geneva to bring about international cooperation in education with the purpose of maintaining and achieving peace between the two wars. UNESCO's International Bureau of Education has continued to convene this conference once every few years.

4. Global governance by establishing international indicators and standards and conducting monitoring

In recent years, establishing international educational indicators and standards to be monitored has come to play a greater role in the global governance in education. Needless to say, UNESCO and other organizations have collected and published educational statistics over the years, and international statistics in education have always been important tools of global governance. Based on these statistics, new indicators have been created and used for policymaking of EFA and the MDGs, including the EFA Development Index, the MDGs' Official Indicators and the Human Development Index. These tools have also played significant roles in global governance.

Implications for developing countries

What are the impacts and issues of global governance in education on the educational development of developing countries?

First, global governance in education has advanced EFA in developing countries by establishing the recognition that education is a basic human right and by positioning education as an important sector for socio-economic development. This is, without doubt, a positive achievement of global governance in education.

Questions, however, remain. Have the governments of developing countries, civil society and educators been able to participate fully in the process of formulating global governance in education? Have the educational needs and opinions of developing countries been reflected in the process of formulating global governance? Malawi, for example, accepted the global policy of promoting universal primary education by making it free just after the Jomtien World Conference. As a result, with the rapid expansion of the enrolment in primary education, the quality of education dropped significantly. This case shows that global governance is not held accountable for its results.

In order to address these issues and questions, it is necessary to invite active participation of the governments of developing countries and civil society in the process of formulating global governance and to communicate the local educational needs and opinions to the international community. For this purpose, the international community must also make sure to devise appropriate processes. Regional governance must be actively promoted, too, as it is relatively easier for developing countries to participate in the formulation process. Regional governance cannot only complement global governance but also function as a countermeasure against domination of global governance. Furthermore, developing countries must consider how to selectively use the approaches of global governance in determining and implementing their national policies.

Seeing from the Tower Top: PISA and the New Governing Panoramas

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Key words: *OECD; PISA; education; numbers; data; global governance; indicators*

Summary: *'Governing by numbers' is ubiquitous in global governance – but what does this mean for education policy making? How are new education governing panoramas produced and what is the role of different policy actors in this endeavour?*

International education assessments and their products are not unique to the field of education; they are part and parcel of a global governance regime that sees quantification as central to knowing and hence governing societies. This is not new of course; there is a certain historicity in the relationship between quantification and government, and a lot still needs to be learned from a historical sociology of practices of commensuration.

But what do we mean when we suggest that tests like the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) have a governing effect? What is new about the impact of quantification in the field of education? Critical insights into the practices and politics of international assessment regimes suggest that the analytical lens has to be both epistemological and ontological. On the one hand, we need to understand the series of value judgements required as well as the ignorances such tests produce; there is a certain heavy-handedness in commensuration that requires as many exclusions of awkward knowledge as the choices it includes. On the other, we also need to critically examine what education itself becomes as a result of these processes of simplification. This is where the governing effect lies. In other words, social realities are not only made visible through quantification, they are also made; they are constructed and reified through the process of counting. Understanding the role of governing through the use of data in ontological terms, i.e. the rise of the new global education policy eco-system, is essential in interpreting the symbolic power of 'killer' charts and the implications of their creation.

Methodologically, how are we to investigate the building of such governing panoramas? How have large international testing regimes, such as PISA, become such successful powerhouses of education policy worldwide? If we were to 'read' their story from its beginning, all the essential building blocks were already there: an education industry; numerous national experts and statisticians; the believers in linking education with the labour market, as well as its critics; the indicators that the OECD had already been preparing since the 1970s; other international studies like the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS); the previous OECD International Adult Literacy Survey and Adult Literary and Life Skills Survey studies; and Eurostat and Eurydice data. The OECD, through the imposition of quantification, simplicity and measurability, managed to persuade that its statistical reasoning was not simply the conventional, partially constructed representation of very complex and different contexts but rather the objective reality of education 'performance'. Nonetheless, the OECD was not alone in this endeavour: other soft governing practices, such as the Open Method of Coordination, were also introduced; the surveillance of national education systems through indicators and benchmarking would change education policy making in Europe for good. There was necessity for the production of data to feed into this new policy instrument; such data came aplenty through the avalanche of numbers PISA produced.

In other words, PISA took advantage of a historical moment in time when the conditions were ripe for its birth. Although OECD-led, PISA has primarily been a collective project which – back in 1997 – reflected the *fin de siècle* of educational systems as we knew them. Both national policy makers, as well as the European Commission through its actors and agencies, became the key pillars for building the PISA tower - however leaning its critics may claim it to be. The PISA charts and ranking tables offer new panoramas for observing and governing education globally; how 'true' a vision one can have from the top of a leaning tower is an irrelevant question. It is –and has always been- about the perspective we take.

Global Education Governance – How Real?

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Key words: *Global Governance of Education and Developing Countries; PISA; Learning Metrics; WTO/GATS*

Summary: *The writer agrees that global governance of education is real and will increasingly impact developing countries. It can have positive and negative effects. It is necessary to be wary of influences of global forces represented by diverse phenomena including PISA, learning metrics and WTO/GATS.*

Global education governance – is it something real or a figment of the fertile imagination of Kenneth King and Robert Palmer? The duo has drawn attention to it with a two-part blog (NORRAG Newsbite, 3rd and 5th November, 2014) under the title "The Elephant in the Post-2015 Education Room…" and has affirmed that it exists. They also promised a longer article to explain all its facets (See NORRAG Working Paper #7). The authors meant to refer in the title to the overwhelming size of the animal. But it also evokes the story of the proverbial elephant and the blind people; i.e., what is seen lies in the beholder's sensory capabilities.

King and Palmer granted that the term "global governance" is not commonly used in reference to education; nonetheless, it is there, they assert, and its strong presence will be felt increasingly in the future.

As King and Palmer put it, it is "an organising framework for discussing how state and non-state actors gain political authority and presence in education." The global education actors "create formal and informal mechanisms by which they exert power and influence." There must be an acronym for any credible idea, which, as offered by King and Palmer, is GGET (Global Governance of Education and Training). GGET includes: goals and targets, laws, rules, conventions and charters; as well as, agreements, compacts, partnerships, initiatives for policy and financial cooperation; and one may add, measurement criteria and methodology (King and Palmer, 3rd November 2014).

Now that it exists and the power of its influence is likely to increase, the question must be asked - is it, or can it be, benign and useful, especially for developing countries? The answer cannot be an unqualified yes or no. Those who may have a role in influencing decisions in developing countries and all who are interested in agency and empowerment of people must be wary. Those who see learning and flourishing of human capability as the means of establishing dignity and rights of all must watch how GGET - in concept and practice - plays out.

Developments in at least three areas have to be watched. The hype about and influence of the OECD-sponsored Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA) is likely to be non-relevant or counter-productive for many developing countries. If placed in a grossly uneven playing field in global competition, based on the questionable premise of an international comparative achievement metric, the poor countries are likely to be pushed in the wrong direction about what they need to do for moving towards quality-with-equity in their education systems (Meyer and Benavot, 2013).

In the same vein as the glorification of PISA is the determination of "what every child [in the world] should learn" by the Learning Metrics Taskforce out of Brookings Institution. It is intended to be participatory and sensitive to diversity of the world, but is at serious risk of reflecting a dominating paradigm of epistemology and a particular view of what is worth learning and measuring (Center for Universal Education, 2013).

The third cautionary signal is about the more than incipient influence of the educational market place where education is traded like other commodities and is attempted to be brought under the regulatory regime of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and General Agreements on Trade in Services (GATS). A back of the envelope calculation suggests that only school education (excluding non-formal and informal education) is at least a five trillion dollar business, which the marketeers would like to regulate in the name of trade liberalization. The GATS charter looks upon education, if not offered as wholly free public service (which is seldom the case), as fully subject to its jurisdiction (Robertson, 2006).

"Squaring the circle" with global goals and targets in education and development and the diverse national/local circumstances is a continuing challenge (Ahmed, 2014). But I hasten to add that the developing countries, for that matter, all countries, need the countervailing forces of a global view, and the debate and discourse it generates, against within-country parochialism, divergent interests, and power relationships.

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Global Education Governance: Who is Heard and Who Listens?

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Key words: *externally funded interventions; learning outcome rationales; evidence of impact; unsustainability*

Summary: *Fifty years after the independence of most Sub-Saharan African countries, national education systems in Africa are still heavily influenced and financially aided by those Northern cultures and institutions that have shaped global education governance. Too little is known about the impact or sustainability of these myriad initiatives.*

Externally-funded education interventions, long a feature of African education systems, have become increasingly part of the landscape in recent years. This is partly due to a new focus on measuring early-grade learning, and in particular reading achievement, among large donor agencies such as USAID, DFID, the World Bank, AusAid (now DFAT) and the Global Partnership for Education. In addition to these, francophone bilateral and multilateral donors are currently funding an 8-country education initiative in francophone Africa; called *ELAN*, it focuses on the development of early grade learning initiatives, in African languages and in French. The nature and the resourcing of these various initiatives, as well as the values that underpin them, clearly indicate that such interventions are enacting the goals and values of global education governance.

Observing several of these initiatives in Africa, and in some cases taking part in them as a consultant or project partner, have given me cause to wonder about some things.

1. First, the sheer size and scope of externally-funded education initiatives in Africa is astounding. Few if any African countries have been excluded, and the amount of money being leveraged in the last decade runs to billions of dollars. In Malawi alone, at least six externally designed and funded education initiatives have been implemented in the past eight years – and these are just the ones that have had some early-grades reading instructional component. Presumably areas such as teacher capacity development, infrastructure development and the education management information system (EMIS) have received similar attention.

2. Equally notable is the degree to which national education systems are being shaped by external practices and priorities. Given that formal education is a sociopolitical system begun in the global North and imported into Africa over the last 100+ years, it should not be entirely surprising that the expertise in making these national–level systems "work" is also primarily held by the North.

   Many, even most, of these interventions are funded and carried out by people – Africans and non-Africans alike – who want to see an education system that more effectively serves the nation's citizens. So in my view, individuals' motivations are not at all in question. Even so, it is difficult to describe most of these externally-funded education interventions as originating in the informed desire of the nation's citizens.

3. And of course money talks. I haven't heard of too many externally funded project proposals that were not well received by the national or local partners. That doesn't necessarily indicate long-term strategic buy-in to the proposed innovations, but rather a felt need for the resources that accompany the initiative.

So the biggest uncertainty, in my view, is sustainability. What is the long-term uptake of the innovative strategies and systems being rolled out and resourced? How many interventions have a clear long-term impact on learning outcomes, say, 10 years after the intervention has ended? And if the long-term uptake is meager, why is that? The sustainability of externally-shaped projects depends on the degree to which such projects catalyze local and national initiative (and resourcing) for the long term. From what I have seen, this outcome is not extremely common.

It seems clear that national education systems in Africa are heavily influenced by those Northern cultures and institutions that have shaped global education governance. The nature of the long-term impact on the target audience, however, is very much in question. Positive, sustained change, in education or any other system, can result only from dialogue, deep understanding, and mutual respect for others' values and perspectives. Money must not be a conversation partner, but simply a tool for sustainable change.

Early Childhood Development, Minority Ethnic and Linguistic Groups and Disability: Will They Be Overlooked in the Post-2015 Agenda?

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Key words: *Post-2015 agenda, ECD, ethnic, disability*

Summary: *Early childhood development and vulnerable young children with delays and disabilities or from ethnic and linguistic minorities lack adequate emphasis within the current EFA and SDG post-2015 agenda. Existing ECD targets deserve strong support and should be maintained, with greater attention paid to vulnerable young children.*

To me, the term global governance of education and training (GGET) refers to formal education and also to the foundational period of early childhood development (ECD) that extends from preconception to the first years of primary school. However, during extensive post-2015 consultations, relatively little attention has been paid to ECD and especially vulnerable young children with developmental delays, disabilities and those from minority ethnic and linguistic groups. Few members of the formal education community have supported expanding services for parents and young children even though the ECD community strongly supports the expansion and improvement of formal education. A notable exception has been The Learning Metrics Task Force of the UIS and the Center for Universal Education (Brookings, 2013).

Despite overwhelming evidence that high priority should be placed on investing in preconception, prenatal education and care, and early childhood education and development (Göksel, 2008; Grantham-McGregor et al, 2007; Heckman, 2007; Heckman and Masterov, August 2006; Kilburn and Karoly, 2008; Vargas-Barón, 2008), several global and regional forums on post-2015 'targets' did not list ECD targets. Members of the ECD community challenged international organisations that overlooked ECD and consequently we have regained a small foothold for ECD in the Post-2015 Agenda.

This situation is partially due to inadequate organisation, financing and political clout on the part of the ECD community. For example, few ECD representatives were able to participate in regional consultations. In contrast, large international organisations for educational advocacy have had the means to advance primary, secondary and technical-vocational education and teacher training. Ideally, all formal education groups would espouse ECD as vigorously as we have supported formal education since Jomtien.

At the World Education Forum of 2000, EFA Goal One, ***"Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children"*** confirmed the global importance of ECCE/ECD within the field of education[1]. At that time, it proved impossible to secure agreement on an ECD target. Although an ECD goal was not included among the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of 2000, several ECD indicators and targets were listed for 7 of the 8 MDG Goals (Vargas-Barón, 2005).

Since 2000, the ECD community has sought to maintain the ECD Goal for EFA and has called for an ECD Goal in the MDGs/SDGs. However, during 2013-2014 the position of ECD regressed significantly from its former global status. Support has diminished despite the existence of a far more robust evidence base and the identification of many effective ECD indicators.

Within the UNESCO-led EFA exercises of 2014, EFA Goal One has been eliminated. Some initial EFA position papers did not even mention ECCE. As of November 2014, EFA is slated to have one 'Overarching Goal:' ***Ensure equitable and inclusive quality education and lifelong learning for all by 2030*** (UNESCO, August 2014). One general ECCE 'target' is recommended: ***By 2030, at least x% of girls and boys are ready for primary school through participation in quality early childhood care and education, including at least***

1 Instead of ECD, UNESCO uses the term early childhood care and education (ECCE), which is intended to have the multisectoral attributes of ECD

one year of free and compulsory pre-primary education, with particular attention to gender equality and the most marginalised (UNESCO, May 2014).

To replace the MDGs, the Open Working Group (OWG), established to propose Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), did not include an ECD Goal among the 17 SDGs listed. Under the overarching education goal, one 'target' is proposed for ECD: ***By 2030 ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for primary education.***

It is critically important to retain this SDG target. Were it to be eliminated, nations might reduce their investments in ECD to the detriment of child rights and national productivity, especially amongst Group of 77 nations, which often have high rates of fragile birth status, developmental delays, malnutrition, chronic illnesses and disabilities.

Although it is not very visible at the international level, a groundswell of support for ECD exists in many nations. As of September 2014, close to 100 nations have either adopted ECD policies or are developing them (Vargas-Barón, for 2015). Increasingly, ministers of finance and planning are keenly interested in investing in services for young children. At an IDB meeting held in Costa Rica in 2007, 40 economists and finance ministers ranked ECD first among a list of 29 highly effective social and economic investments (Verdisco, 2008). Finance ministers in all world regions are expanding national investments in ECD. Increasingly, policy and business leaders are aware that investing in ECD yields compelling short-, medium- and long-term benefits. **They understand that future national productivity depends upon expanding investments in high quality, equitable and accountable ECD systems. But will they press their country representatives to retain the sole SDG target for ECD?**

Other key elements of inequality currently overlooked during the run-up to post-2015 include young children from minority ethnic and linguistic groups and children with developmental delays and disabilities. A fierce tension exists between GGET and national governance with respect to the relevance, quality, equity and accountability of education at local levels.

The importance of policies regarding culturally derived curricula, mother tongue-based and multilingual education has been little discussed. Abundant research has revealed that children and parents must learn in their mother tongue during early and preschool education, their first years of primary school, and initial adult literacy programmes (Ball, 2011). Many dropouts, grade repeaters and low achievers lack culturally relevant and linguistically appropriate educational services, resulting in high levels of internal inefficiency and unnecessary educational costs.

In many countries, developmental delays, atypical behaviours, and disabilities are only identified and addressed upon school entry. This is too late to significantly improve their development. Some assert that because few children are affected by these conditions, countries need not be concerned about them. Some state that it is too costly to provide developmentally appropriate early childhood intervention (ECI) and inclusive education. However, the number of children affected by these conditions is not a tiny minority. In countries with high rates of stunting, low birth weight, fragile birth status and inadequate health services, the number of children requiring intensive and individualised services can be from 20% to 45%. The cost of providing ECI services is much lower than costs of later special education and rehabilitation services. Without ECI services these children usually become unproductive citizens.

Through strong advocacy it is hoped that ECD, especially for vulnerable and marginalised children, will be maintained within EFA, the SDGs, and the GGET agenda. G-77 nations are expected to contribute to this campaign.

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The Complexity of Global Governance of Education and Training (GGET): Competition Behind Cooperation

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Key words: *Confucian culture countries; British teachers in China; Western and oriental cultural exchange; barriers to cultural cooperation; global competition; complexity of global governance system*

Summary: *For some countries, nations, regions or cultures, global governance of education and training (GGET) does not sound so good. It is also a complicated problem for related researchers. Among the interested parties, both cooperation, either compulsory or voluntary, and inevitable competition or even conflict exist.*

GGET depends on and promotes the international study and cooperation

Countries with great education systems have their dark sides. Likewise, countries with weak education systems have their islands of excellence. It is necessary to recognize this fact. Studying from each other is the instinct of human beings; since modern times the countries and regions within the circle of Confucian Culture have paid close attention to the development of students' individuality and creativity in the western developed countries. Meanwhile the developed countries also noticed the significant teaching of math, science and reading in the countries and regions within the circle of Confucian Culture but only in recent years.

The trend of globalization can promote such kind of mutual learning, and the objective practice of GGET is favourable for the mutual supplementation between the oriental and western teaching traditions. The Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is exactly one such example. Due to the extraordinary performance of the students from Shanghai, China in the most recent PISA round, over 70 British teachers were sent to study in Shanghai in September 2014. This is the first time in the past 100 years that the British Government has sent its teaching staff to study in China. After six months' observation and studying, those teachers put forward their reasons for the success of Shanghai math education: teachers' confidence in and expectation for the students; the strong specialism of the teachers; the extent of in-service training and collective sharing among teachers; the traditional math teaching methods and belief of China; the step-by-step progress and variation; and, stable and consistent policies (Minxuan, 2014). This studying activity is promoted by both the British government and the OECD.

Since the reform and opening-up, China has insisted on keeping an open mind in the cultural education and ideological concepts in order to learn from any advanced and feasible theoretical suggestions and practical measures in the world. This partly accounts for the important achievements made by China in those fields after the implementation of reform and the opening-up policy. As a matter of fact, China knows the world (including western countries) even more deeply than the latter knows China for the most part. This provides space for the GGET development.

Based on global wisdom, GGET can display a beautiful vision of cooperation and a win-win situation. Governments across the world, international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international intergovernmental organizations, and educational institutions, based on global experience, lessons and problems confronted by the world, can gather oriental and western wisdom to plan short, medium and long-term development blueprint, help the countries and regions with weak governance capacity to improve the education and teaching ability as well as the countries in the world (including developed countries) to learn from global excellent education experience. All these are undoubtedly significant for the global development in education and training governance.

GGET will be confronted with barriers of national culture traditions as well as competition in international soft power

The limited practice of GGET prove that GGET is confronted with an especially complicated environment. The rights and responsibilities of global governance subjects remains to be further discussed, divided and defined, the expenses for global governance has no guarantee yet, and it is still necessary to explore the reasonableness and scientific basis of global governance approaches.

The primary questions include: what about the current "global education system"? What are its major characteristics? Who controls the system? What understanding have human beings gained about it? Are there common education regulations and institutional basis across the world? And what are the major differences in those regulations and institutions of the system? And we should also try to answer how much the GGET can change the controlling power and how many differences in the regulations and institutions can be reduced. Here national cultural traditions are a barrier for GGET, because they have formed through thousands of years' development. They contain both good essences but also dregs. The GGET policies can by no means be applied to all countries nor can they do whatever they want to do in any country. Their effect relies on the adequacy of differences between the policies and the educational tradition and culture of specific countries and nations.

In the annual substantive meeting of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations held in Geneva on July 11th 2011, the former deputy secretary general of the United Nations in charge of economic and social affairs, Sha Zukang, said the current "global economic governance system" needs reform urgently, and the power of discourse of developing countries should be enhanced. He added the economies across the world were increasingly connected and they more and more dependent on each other. On the other hand, the existing global economic governance system was established 60 years ago, which can hardly adapt to the new trends and new changes. In his opinion, this system failed to function duly in a series of material problems such as maintenance of financial stability, and promotion of multilateral trade process. By comparison, such mechanisms as the G20, APEC and the BRICS have become increasingly important in international affairs.

Then has a relatively complete "GGET system" been formed in international society? Who are the leading actors in this system? What is the motivation for the development of the system? What are the major objectives? What is the functional mechanism? How about the effect? Who is responsible to draft the criteria for judgment? What is the basis for the drafting of such criteria?

What are the operating space and limits for this GGET system? Where is the boundary between the GGET and state sovereignty in education? Which fields of GGET are purely technical and involve no politics? Are there such fields?

In practice, potential ideological and value conflicts exist objectively among GGET subjects. There is competition to some degree in the GGET discourse system, especially in the ideological sphere. Different educational concepts originate from different social and cultural backgrounds which are born in different social ideologies. The ideologies are connected with certain political and economic benefits. Some countries set out to disguise or elevate their own ideology to be universal values of the world through the media and scholars with discourse hegemony, and they use ideology as a kind of weapon to grasp and confront other cultures and ideologies, and to seek their own political and economic benefits.

It proves that behind the competition for discourse power in GGET, there is competition in national soft power. The competition affects the national soft power in return.

To sum up, GGET is a quite complex problem. Among different countries, nations and cultures, there is cooperation and mutual assistance as well as discourse power contention and soft power competition.

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Governing Teachers in the Era of Global Managerial Reforms: Paradoxes and Shortcomings

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Key words: *Global Managerial Education Reforms; Teachers; Governance*

Summary: *The way global managerial education reforms usually treat teachers is profoundly paradoxical because, rhetorically, they conceive teachers as determinant agents for education quality and attribute new responsibilities to them but, at the same time, disempower them and undermine their professional status, autonomy and professional identity.*

A global movement of reforms has transformed education systems worldwide in the past decades (Salhberg, 2006), emphasizing a mix of market and managerial policy solutions as the most effective way to solve old and new educational problems. The main objectives of this managerial approach to educational reform are to improve countries' competitiveness by increasing both students' learning outcomes and the economic efficiency of education systems. Managerial reform advocates insist that the relationship between spending and results in education is weak and that school governance solutions should be at the center of educational reform processes (Bruns et al., 2011). Accordingly, these reforms focus on how schools should be organized, financed and made accountable, and on how conditional incentives should be introduced into the education system to reward or punish actors according to their performance.

There is not a single approach to managerial reforms. They vary according to the emphasis they put on the market, on the state and/or on networks in the regulation of the education system. However, what all these reforms have in common is that they tend to fragment the education system in smaller organizational units (usually the school), at the same time they introduce accountability mechanisms and a new culture of competitive performativity into the system. Some of the most well-known policies being implemented under this managerialist paradigm are school-based management, professional leadership development, high-stakes evaluation, merit-based pay schemes, standards-based curriculum and partnerships with the private sector.

The policy interventions designed in the context of managerial reforms have the potential to transform teachers' work in several ways. Teacher evaluation and related accountability policies aim to enhance the visibility of teachers' work vis-à-vis both the state and the rest of society; merit-based policies aim at regulating teachers' salaries according to their performance; standards-based reforms detail what teachers have to learn and teach; partnerships with the private sector favour the deregulation of teachers' labour; professional leadership development introduces a more clear separation of roles and hierarchy between principals and teachers; and school-based management reinforces the role of teachers as managers and, in contexts of vulnerability, even as community workers. Thus, these types of education policies have the potential to alter teachers' income, duties and responsibilities, and the way their labour is regulated, evaluated and perceived by the state and society. Managerial reforms challenge the professional status of teachers, and reshape teaching as a profession. Due to their disciplinary character, managerial reforms do not only change what teachers do, but also who teachers are or are supposed to be (Ball, 2003). Nevertheless, the way teachers are conceived and treated in managerial reforms often involves a multitude of paradoxes and shortcomings.

Managerial reforms seek to apply business models into educational practice. By doing so, they aim to modernize and de-bureaucratize education systems. However, in those countries where these reforms are implemented, teachers complain about the increasing amount of bureaucratic work they need to face, which eventually becomes an important source of job dissatisfaction (Fitzgerald, 2009).

Advocates of managerial reforms join the international discourse about teachers' performance as a key determinant of education quality; this is the reason they put teachers at the center of their policy ideas and interventions. However, although this type of reform continuously stresses the importance of teachers, it simultaneously disempowers teachers in several ways. As we observed in a recent multi-country research, managerial reforms are promoted in many countries in a top-down way and do not sufficiently take into account teacher's perceived needs, preferences and opinions (Verger et al., 2012). In fact, on many occasions, managerial reforms convert teachers into objects of intervention and assets to be managed, and rarely conceive them as subjects of educational change (Welmond, 2002; Ginsburg, 2012).

It is also paradoxical that managerial reforms request more responsibilities from teachers but, at the same time, advocate the de-regulation of their labor. In other words, teachers are supposed to do more things than before (and demonstrate better results), but within poorer working conditions. On occasion, global education reformers directly vindicate the deregulation of teachers' training, certification and recruitment procedures, for instance, via contract teachers or charter schools, since they are expected to allow governments to expand schooling - and, tentatively, do so without affecting education quality - in a cost-effective way (see Bruns et al., 2011).

Nevertheless, under on-going managerial reforms, teachers are losing something more than labour rights, since they are also losing their professional autonomy and their status in society (Sahlberg, 2006). This is the consequence of the teaching profession becoming more subjected to public blame and to often-intrusive external evaluations. Managerial reforms, despite the rhetoric around school autonomy, undermine teachers' autonomy in front of the state via the standardization of the curriculum and the centralization of mechanisms of control and evaluation. Among other implications of these measures, teachers' activity becomes more firmly dependent on a pre-defined set of standards of practice and very prescriptive teaching materials. These measures promote well-known practices like narrowing the curriculum content to tested subjects, fragmentation of knowledge into test-related topics and increased use of teacher-cantered pedagogies (Au, 2007), and imply that pedagogic innovation and the potential creativity of teaching-learning processes become more restricted (Hargraves et al., 2007).

A final paradox around managerial education reforms is that they are being disseminated globally despite the lack of conclusive evidence on their effectiveness. For instance, merit-based policies for teachers have been introduced in many locations and it has not been tested yet that these policies can alter teachers' motivation in the long run or in a sustainable way. On their part, contract teachers' policies have been adopted to reduce teachers' absenteeism in several countries, but as the last EFA Global Monitoring Report showed, they tend to undermine educational quality due to the poor training of these teachers. Because of this reason, this report recommends alternative and more systemic policy solutions to governments (see UNESCO, 2014)

To conclude, we are aware of the fact that many might find global managerial discourses in education seductive, particularly because they promise to solve the complex problems that many education systems face, especially in poorer contexts, in a cost-effective way. Nevertheless, policy-makers, practitioners, aid agencies and other education stakeholders would do better by engaging on educational change processes that are, on the one hand, grounded on a solid diagnosis of the education realities and problems prevailing in the contexts they intervene (instead of uncritically relying on blueprinted global policy solutions) and, on the other hand, more participatory and respectful in nature with teachers' needs, motivations, and professional identities.

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Global Governance of the Post-2015 Education: Now is the Time to Re-engineer it

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Key words: *Post-2015 education agenda; development agenda; global governance*

Summary: *The post-2015 education agenda faces difficult questions: the priority over the present Education For All (EFA) goals versus new focuses; education as a right or for development; the involvement of a wider range of stakeholders; and, identifying good indicators. For these to be addressed and the agenda to be effectively implemented, coordination requires a stronger and more open global governance structure.*

More than they were 15 years ago, global discussions are strongly influenced by the global discussions on the future development in the context of formulating the post-2015 agenda. This poses a fundamental question: what and who should guide the future shape of the global governance of education? The following is my personal reflection, partly informed by my experience of serving as a co-vice chair of EFA Steering Committee (SC) since early this year.

The work of SC to discuss the strategic orientation on the post-2015 education agenda provided a basis of the Muscat Agreement that was adopted at the Global EFA Meeting held in Oman this May. The Agreement states the overarching goal of the post-2015 education agenda is "Ensure equitable and inclusive quality education and lifelong learning for all by 2030". It maintains our commitments to the existing EFA goals but at the same time, for the new education agenda to be universally relevant, sets more ambitious targets to satisfy educational needs of the new era. I am sure NORRAG readers are well informed of the Agreement.

A number of questions arise here. Number one: for countries that are still off-track in achieving the present EFA goals, the newly proposed targets may seem to be overly challenging, but lowering the hurdles will lose the interest of educationally more advanced countries. Then, how can we hit the right balance?

Number two: should the new education agenda put more emphasis on the rights-based approach or on the developmental approach? Obviously, this shouldn't be a dichotomy, but politically and financially, it forces us to make a hard choice. Already there is a risk that the importance of the Muscat Agreement could be overshadowed if the post-2015 development agenda finally adopts different educational targets. Ideally, debates on the development agenda should be based on a shared view on the way we should lead our life for the next generation and beyond. Our education community strongly holds that "equitable and inclusive" are key concepts of life for which quality education should provide a foundation, i.e. knowledge, skills, values and attitudes. Education for Sustainable Development can and should emit its messages more strongly. But others may well view education as a means to achieve their goals. So the key challenge here is how to align two parallel debates on the post-2015 education agenda, on the one hand, and the post-2015 development agenda on the other.

Number three: while the scope of the future education agenda gets wider and deeper (more outcome-oriented and focused on learning), a wide range of stakeholders at different educational levels and from different constituencies (state and non-state, public and private) need to be involved. Is it acceptable for the conventional education players (such as SC with the present membership) to set the orientation? Certainly and eventually, all parties must be involved for the new agenda and its corresponding Framework for Action to get implemented. But, if involving much needed stakeholders is not so easy at the global level, can it happen naturally at the country level?

Number four: as we emphasize more on outcomes, including educational outcomes, is it realistic to expect that we share common "educational outcomes"? Can we identify globally acceptable indicators for them? We need to bear in mind that those indicators can strongly influence the discussions on the costs to achieve them, and discussions on indicators are likely to influence the notion of results – the basis of results-based financing which is rapidly becoming a dominant modality of development financing. We will have to find very good indicators if we are to avoid the situation where education targets get dropped in the lead up to the heated discussions in the UN in New York in September 2015.

Clearly, the post-2015 education agenda will require a different type of global governance structure: a stronger and more effective coordination function coupled with a Davos-type of more open forum that allows these concerns to be addressed. But we can't afford to fail!

Global Governance by Numbers? A Local Perspective

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Key words: *Governing by numbers, local arena, primary school, ethnography, Benin*

Summary: *Based on one year of ethnographic research in a rural primary school in northeast Benin, I show how the organising framework of global governance influences the local level through shifting numbers and counting procedures.*

Is there such a thing as global governance in education that can be studied on a local level? If we understand the global governance of education analytically as an organising framework through which state and non-state actors 'steer' education systems in a direction considered as 'good' by defining and assessing targets, norms and 'best practices', we can certainly trace the mechanisms and effects of this mode of governance – and its conflicts with other modes of governance – empirically in a local arena (cf. Olivier de Sardan, 2009).

During one year of ethnographic research carried out in a rural primary school in northeast Benin in 2012/13, I observed these influences directly through the engagement of NGOs, the demand for school statistics by international organisations, and the negotiation and transformation of school statistics and assessment rates by local and national actors.

For example, to benefit from its "Girls' Education and Community Participation" project financed by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the international NGO World Education asked parents in the village to provide a list of names of children to be enrolled in school, thus promoting community participation following the rules of an "associated mode of governance" that draws on community participation, common for NGO work (cf. Olivier de Sardan, 2009: 5, Fichtner, 2012)[1]. The school principal was not very happy to lose his grip on the production of enrolment rate statistics, which are an important asset for accessing material and financial support (including books and school canteen provisions) from state and non-state actors. He found it "outrageous" that NGO workers would use parents rather than himself and his teaching staff as an interface. However, by following the rules of the game, the NGO was able to provide desks for the new first grade, which was not yet officially authorised by national authorities and therefore not profiting from state funds. This class was housed in a straw shed built by parents and taught by a community teacher recruited and paid for by parents. It functioned like a privately subsidised community class under NGO and parental governance within the confines of a public primary school.

Another example of how 'steering' norms (as shared, evaluative expectations of behaviour) provided by global players influence the local level is the annual negotiation of national primary school exam (CEP) success rates. According to the national decree N° 011, article 20, from 2008, pupils successfully pass the exam by achieving minimum criteria in at least six of the eight subjects tested, which are: 1. Reading comprehension in French, 2. Written expression in French, 3. Mathematics, 4. Social Education, 5. Science and Technology, 6. Plastic arts (drawing or tailoring), 7. Presenting arts (storytelling, poetry or singing), and 8. Physical Education (République du Bénin 2008). The "minimum criteria" are 50% of the 20 points available, i.e. 10 points. However, in the past two years (at least), test scores were so low that the Ministry of Education decided to allow pupils to pass the exam with minimum criteria in four of the eight subjects tested, thus producing a national success rate of 86% in 2013 and 89% in 2014. The success rate in the village school where I conducted my research was 98% despite the fact that some of the pupils who had passed the exam could neither read nor write in French. According to my interview partners the exam rates have been 'embellished' primarily to please the numerous international technical and financial partners, who are actively supporting the Beninese education system since its democratic and competency-based renewal in the 1990s. The results do not reflect the actual knowledge and competencies of the Beninese pupils, which could serve as an indicator of the system's quality. Rather, they point out its

1 In fact, "even at the Ministry level it is hard to have sound statistics; this is the reason why NGOs rely more on community-based organisations" to get their data, one of my interview partners in Benin told me.

integration in a web of influence and political power based on an unfailing "trust in numbers" (Porter, 1995; Languille, 2013).

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The Making of Crisis and Alliance

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Key words: *alliances; crisis; agriculture; agendas; realism*

Summary: *The current situation of 'global governance' is anarchic, and successful alliances are ones that build themselves around narratives of crisis to capture resources during agenda-making efforts like the Post-2015 Agenda.*

In the midst of World War II, Karl Polanyi was writing that the development of the modern bureaucratic state was part of a 'double movement' occurring in parallel to the rise of the market capitalism. The state helped trigger capitalist growth, but grew to soften the blows from the destructive socio-ecological displacement that was unleashed. The world entered the Atomic Age within a year of *The Great Transformation*'s first print; governance was needed not only to absorb the social displacement of industrialization but also to mitigate the chances of an extinction event triggered by a single miscalculation.

Polanyi's 'double movement' has largely stopped. Whatever term we might use to describe the modern era, no political container has evolved large enough to manage the speed and intensity at which the world has changed. Mearsheimer (2008) describes the global arena as, "an anarchic system [where] there is no night-watchman for states to call if trouble comes knocking at their door". Lack of coherent management sows the seeds of crisis, from which spasms of 'global governance' emerge.

Our anarchic international system is an arena where the disciplined *realpolitik* of alliances and seizing agendas positions groups to win 'global governance' resources[1]. The first step in alliance-building is the careful construction of a crisis. Tellingly, the Chinese word for crisis, *weiji* (危机), 'danger machine', is meant to juxtapose the danger and opportunity. This construction takes a real problem and gives it 'spin', and offering both an origin story and a technical solution. Delivering the solution becomes agenda-building.

Alliance-building shares features with protection racketeering. Independence from a successful alliance leaves actors 'in the cold' and vulnerable to the constantly shifting development, aid, and governance priorities. A successful crisis-mobilized alliance that has monopolized part of the 'agenda' offers a share of the captured policy and funding rewards. Joining the alliance with the right catechisms of the crisis allows actors to share hoarded funding, connections, and resources that go with delivering the solutions.

The agricultural development sector's recent successes, including with the Post-2015 Agenda, illustrate this well. The sector sprang back into life during the 2007 food price crisis and quickly pivoted to an even larger future crisis, usually dated as 2050[2]. My PhD research studied a relatively small program sending African extension workers to the Philippines Rice Research Institute (PhilRice), organized by the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), and funded by Japanese (JICA).

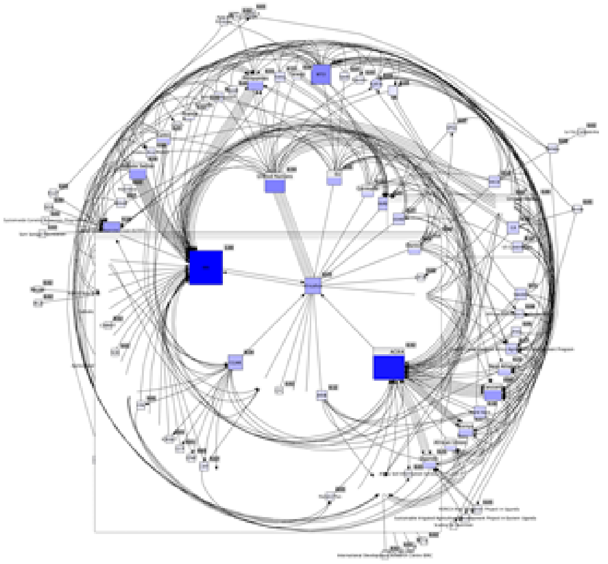
What is of note to those interested in 'global governance' is how massive the institutional network behind this small program was: it is part of a larger project, the Coalition for African Rice Development (CARD), which itself is part of the Gates Foundation-led Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA). I found nearly 200 groups connected by more than 500 links behind an obscure project to bring 25 Africans to a remote research centre (see Figure 1). It took the form of a machine mobilizing people, institutions, funding, and 'agendas' with great centripetal torque.

Aside from the questionable political economy of global development resources distribution, we should be concerned about how these crisis ma-

1 For instance, the Post-2015 Agenda might be calculated as being worth $2.4 trillion. That is the official amount of 2013 Official Development Assistance, roughly $160 billion, multiplied by fifteen years.

2 I have analyzed the problems of their model of this crisis or NORRAG readers in *Out of Place: Education and the Political Economy of Sustainable Development Goal Six* http://norrag.wordpress.com/2014/03/13/the-sdsns-proposed-indicators-for-the-sdgs-some-commentaries-on-the-treatment-of-livelihoods-and-skills/

Figure 1 The Agricultural Alliance Mapped



chines build walls of social closure to facilitate opportunity hoarding. It makes it risky to question the simplistic catechisms of what the crisis is and how it must be solved. This can produce extraordinary levels of intellectual homogeneity where there should be debate. This homogeneity is especially worrisome if the problems where global resources and policy-alignment are most needed require diversity of tactics and perspectives.

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EDUCATION POST-2015 AS A PART OF THE GLOBAL GOVERNANCE OF EDUCATION

Post-2015 Education Goals Need to Target Finance

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Key words: *post-2015; finance; inequality*

Summary: *Despite progress towards education goals over the past 15 years, wide inequalities in access and learning remain. To address this, post-2015 goals need to include specific targets for domestic and external financing on education.*

Much has been achieved over 25 years of Education for All (EFA). Notably, progress in getting children into school accelerated since goals were set in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000. However, millions of the most disadvantaged children remain out of school, or in schools of such poor quality that they are not and will not be learning the basics by 2015. An important reason for the failure to reach the 2015 goals was the lack of a specific target for financing education. This has meant that governments and international agencies have not been held to account for ensuring sufficient resources were available to achieve their collective promises. Learning from this experience, it is vital that post-2015 goals are accompanied by financing targets to ensure they can be met.

The 1990 Jomtien declaration that set the scene for EFA recognised the need to protect education spending in the light of structural adjustment programmes and debt burdens, as well as the need to identify new sources of financing. However, it fell short of making any concrete financing commitments. The 2000 Dakar framework went a step further, affirming that 'no countries seriously committed to education for all will be thwarted in their achievement of this goal by a lack of resources'.

This affirmation gave the impetus for the formation of the EFA Fast Track Initiative that was established in 2002, due to a recognition of the lack of progress in education since Jomtien which was attributed in part to insufficient donor resources and lack of effective coordination of donor efforts. The re-branding of the EFA Fast Track Initiative to become the Global Partnership for Education extended its role not only to mobilizing resources and strengthening country planning processes with the aim of ensuring effective use of resources, but also to take on a wider global advocacy role.

Despite these advances between Jomtien and Dakar, financing was still not included as a specific target within the Dakar Framework for Action. This omission meant that there was no possibility of knowing whether sufficient resources would be available for the six EFA goals to be achieved.

In reality, domestic resources increased even in many of the poorest countries, but significant funding gaps remained to achieve the goals by 2015. While aid resources increased in the earlier part of the Dakar period, they began to fall by the end of the period. And the decline in aid to education was more rapid than to other sectors. This has resulted in a large financing gap that the EFA Global Monitoring Report has estimated to reach US$26 billion per annum for the poorest countries. This has left some of the poorest countries vulnerable to reductions in resources, rather than predictable, long-term flows of funds needed to ensure the achievement of education goals. In addition, insufficient attention was paid to redistributing resources within countries to populations that were most left behind.

While the EFA goals lacked specific financing targets, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were even more vague in their aspirations related to resources. The eighth MDG on developing a global partnership merely stated 'more generous official development assistance for countries committed to poverty reduction'. Even so, there have been important developments over the fifteen-year period, starting with the 2002 Monterrey conference on financing and development, and subsequent declarations on aid effectiveness initiated in Paris in 2005. More recent broadening of debates to cover other sources of finance, including from the private sector and non-traditional donors has, however, weakened the focus on development effectiveness as some of these new funders do not want to commit to principles such as transparency.

In the light of these trends, it is reassuring to see space dedicated to 'financing our future' in the UN Secretary-General's Report on *The Road to Dignity by 2030*, laying the groundwork for the post-2015 sustainable development goals. The new

Report recognizes the financing targets proposed by the Open Working Group on domestic and international public and private financing, although it does not go as far as endorsing them all. It does, however, state the need for public funds to 'positively impact the poorest and most vulnerable in all societies' (p27).

The Report emphasizes the importance of donor aid to play a catalytic role, ensuring more effective and better targeting of resources. And this is one of the few areas in the whole Report where a concrete recommendation is actually made: namely, urging member states to agree that all developed countries should meet the 0.7% target for aid commitments, and ensuring the proportion allocated to least developed countries does not decline. This is an important statement in the light of the recent downturn in aid, and the fact that some of the largest donors (notably the US) have not committed to the 0.7% target. Indeed, if the US were to spend 0.7% of its GNI on aid, and allocate 20% on education, the entire $26 billion financing gap would be filled by this alone. It is also encouraging to see the Report reiterate the Paris aid effectiveness principles of accountability, transparency and country ownership.

There is much detail in the Report on the importance of domestic funding and other potential sources of finance, which is all encouraging to see. There will be a further opportunity to move forward with the post-2015 agenda for financing at the Addis Ababa conference on financing and development, a follow-up from the Monterrey one. It is notable that Addis Ababa is happening in July, before the finalization of the post-2015 goals which will be agreed in September 2015.

Given the experience with the previous set of education and international development goals, the Addis Ababa declaration needs not only to endorse the target for all donor countries to commit at least 0.7% of GNI to aid with a focus on the least developed countries, but also to be clear about the resources needed to achieve the 17 goals. Specific financing targets should be set in relation to each of these goals, taking into account both domestic and different sources of external funds. Such targets should pay attention to the distribution of resources within countries such that they reach populations furthest from the goals, and so most in need of support. And there should also be a commitment to ensure that all sources, whether domestic, aid or the private sector, adhere to the effectiveness principles to ensure money is well-spent. Only then will it really be possible to say that global leaders are committed to ensuring that no country will be thwarted in its achievement of each of the new international development goals due to lack of resources.

The Challenge of Monitoring the Post-2015 Education Goals and Targets

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Key words: *Global Monitoring Report (GMR); Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs); Post-2015; Dakar; Incheon; Framework for Action; World Education Forum; Development Education*

Summary: *To address the global challenges of the 21st century there is a need to align the post-2015 education targets with the proposed Sustainable Development Goals. Monitoring education in a lifelong learning perspective, as well as the links between education and other development sectors, will be a complex undertaking.*

The recognition of mutuality and interdependence drives much of the post-2015 development vision. Rather than an agenda dictated by rich countries to poor or conflict-affected countries, the post-2015 agenda is based on principles of universality. The goals, and the role that each nation plays in achieving them, are meant to be shared.

Synergy across different development sectors is the order of the day. Rather than advocating for separate policies in poverty reduction, environmental protection or gender empowerment, an overarching framework is being pursued to address the global challenges of the 21st century. In the case of education, the parallel Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goal (MDG) processes are being forged into a more coherent and aligned strategy, one with the overarching goal of inclusive, equitable and quality education and lifelong learning for all.

Such an integrated strategy makes sense. However, one should not understate the obstacles—financial, political and otherwise—that countries and the international community face in putting this strategy into practice. Monitoring the post-2015 education agenda will be one of these challenges. The preceding monitoring framework of the MDGs was slow to be implemented; not until 2005 were the first monitoring reports[1] published, which provided a concise record of progress towards each MDG target.

A delay in developing a new monitoring framework would have deleterious consequences. The SDG agenda will need guidance from on-going monitoring and evaluation just as much as it will need clarity from the charge of its initial vision. A lack of assessment, exchange and critical reflection over any length of time would thwart implementation and collaboration.

Of equal importance to timing is the form and shape of monitoring. Here, there is a useful precedent. The EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR) received its mandate from the Dakar Framework for Action in 2000 to monitor progress of the six EFA goals and education-related MDGs. Launched in 2002, the GMRs have monitored progress, analysed policies and promoted informed dialogue among members of the international education community and high-level EFA coordination groups—all based on the latest evidence from a range of sources.

Given the broad scope of the post-2015 development agenda, a document of considerable breadth and depth is needed. The document should be informative enough for high level policy makers from different sectors; of sufficient clarity and expertise to animate the exchanges of government officials, donors, NGOs and development agencies in education; and thoroughly comprehensive to cover links with other aspects of the SDG agenda.

Such a report will share some characteristics of its predecessor, but the operation should also evolve. One distinct advantage of the GMR was its editorial independence; this principle should be upheld. The Report's new remit will necessarily change because its readership will have expanded in terms of geographical coverage and sector focus. For more universal and cross-sector relevance, the report will need to renew its analysis and reporting of global education issues in ways that appeal to this wider constituency. For example, the monitoring of equity is a shared and unifying concern across development sectors and will be prominent in any new report. Measuring gender parity at all levels of a national education system is a key aspect of gender equality, a separate SDG goal. A

1 http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/reports.shtml

post-2015 report will also need to examine how different types of education contribute to, and are affected by, other development sectors. It will also need to identify indicators that link education and other development priorities.

Clearly, a post-2015 report must expand its monitoring capacity to another level. The proposed SDG education goal and targets are broader in scope and ambition than the Dakar EFA framework. Anchored by the concept of lifelong learning, the new education agenda includes more education levels; different modalities—formal and non-formal, state and non-state provision—and new content and ideas, some of which have yet to be fully developed. As processes and mechanisms are put into operation to address wider targets and broader concepts (some contested), they will require new measurement metrics and monitoring tools, to be addressed in new ways.

A question remains about the mandate of a newly constituted global monitoring report of education. A post-2015 monitoring report should be clearly linked to the SDG agenda in the same way the post-2000 GMR was related to the EFA agenda. The mandate for the GMR derived from decisions made at the World Education Forum in Dakar. Who will re-envision and give the charge for future global education monitoring? The May 2015 EFA meeting in Incheon, Korea will certainly address this issue; so, too, should the United Nations' General Assembly in September of 2015. With donor support and a new mandate, the post-2015 report team can coordinate actions among stakeholders to ensure a smooth transition from the former to a new education monitoring model.

It is an exciting moment to observe and to participate in these transitions. I hope that the international development community will recognize the ways in which the education sector, through the GMR, has provided a sound, useful and effective model of monitoring. It is a model worth reproducing in other development sectors because of its flexibility, research base, independence and careful balance of evidence with advocacy (achievements recognized in successive external evaluations)[2]. Indeed, the international education community should offer the GMR as an exemplar for addressing the challenges of monitoring the post-2015 sustainable development goals.

2 http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/ED/GMR/pdf/External_evaluation_GMR_final.pdf

Dakar vs. Muscat on Early Childhood Care and Education

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Key words: *Education for All, early childhood care and education, pre-primary education, post-2015 development agenda*

Summary: *Over the last 25 years, early childhood development has become increasingly visible in the formulation of the global education development agenda -- i.e., Education for All. The growing demand for measurable goals and targets in this agenda has led to a number of suggestions for how further progress towards universal, comprehensive, and quality ECD can be best assessed.*

The Jomtien "dimension" in regard to early childhood development (ECD) – "expansion of early childhood care and developmental activities, including family and community interventions, especially for poor, disadvantaged and disabled children" – arose out of a strong lobby which insisted, as the Background Document maintained, that "learning begins at birth" (unlike the first draft which had learning begin when children enter primary school). This was a considerable victory given the plethora of other issues demanding attention at Jomtien and the still nascent field (and science) of early childhood development in international development discourse.

Based on the experience of the 1990s, this dimension underwent several important changes in its reincarnation as Dakar Goal 1: "expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children". These included:

- a focus not only on "expanding" (access) but also on "improving" (quality)
- the addition of the word "comprehensive" which reflected the realization, reinforced over the decade, of the importance of an integrated set of health, nutrition, care, and education interventions
- the replacement of "care and developmental activities" (now replaced by "development") with "care and education", thus emphasizing somewhat more formal approaches to ECD – and UNESCO's preferred term
- the replacement of the specified categories of "poor" and "disabled" by the more favoured word of the time, "vulnerable"

One change that did not occur was the inclusion in the Goal of any more measurable indicators of progress. "Expanding" and "improving", especially in regard to something as vague as (ECCE), which can include, *inter alia*, crèches, daycare centres, play spaces, and kindergartens/pre-schools (each category often managed by a different ministry and/or a range of private and community-based providers), cannot easily be assessed, especially in regard to the equally vague concept of "the most vulnerable and disadvantaged". The result has been internationally comparative data on Gross Enrolment Rates for pre-primary programmes (the NER is more complicated to calculate) and the percentage of children entering primary school with some kind of ECCE experience. Occasionally this includes teacher/caregiver-child ratios, teacher/caregiver qualifications, and, through household surveys such as the UNICEF MICS, very important data on disparities arising from socio-economic class, majority/minority ethnic status, and urban-rural location.

The Muscat Agreement on EFA, reflecting the consensus that the post-2015 development goals must be more measurable, has proposed an ECCE goal as follows: "By 2030, at least x% of girls and boys are ready for primary school through participation in quality early childhood care and education, including at least one year of free and compulsory pre-primary education, with particular attention to gender equality and the most marginalized." "Disadvantaged" and "vulnerable" have been replaced by "most marginalized" (which, given the absence of a dedicated gender goal, is combined with "gender equality", and "improving" with a clearer statement about "quality". But what is most significant is the addition of two seemingly measurable indicators:

- a given **percentage** (presumably determined at national level) of girls and boys ready for primary school ("readiness" itself a complex concept!) through participation in ECCE, which includes…

- at least "**one year**" of free and compulsory pre-primary education.

So is this progress? On the one hand, yes – it is obliging governments for the first time ever to ensure that a given percentage of children (especially the marginalised) obtain a minimum of one year of free, compulsory pre-praimry education, presumably of good quality. On the other hand, it might persuade governments that one year is enough (when more than one is needed, especially for the most marginalised) and, by making it compulsory (presumably on parents to send their children to pre-school rather than on governments to make it readily available), it appears to assume that organised ECCE programmes are somehow necessarily better than the home and family, and it therefore devalues these as the primary providers of care, development, and early education.

This entire discussion, of course, may be irrelevant if, as some desire, there is not a specific target on ECD in the post-2015 agenda! Thus, to be continued… but fingers crossed!

The Learning Metrics Task Force 2.0: Taking the Global Dialogue on Measuring Learning to the Country Level

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Key words: *Post-2015; Learning; Assessment*

Summary: *In the second phase of the Learning Metrics Task Force (LMTF), the Task Force expands its membership and is working with 15 countries to catalyze national dialogues on learning and measurement issues.*

The Learning Metrics Task Force was convened in 2012 to tackle one piece of the post-2015 education puzzle: how we can track progress on learning at the global level. Convened by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics and the Center for Universal Education at the Brookings Institution, It was positioned within the context of other efforts to inform the broader education and development agendas, such as the Sustainable Development Solutions Network, the UN Secretary General's Global Education First Initiative, the EFA Steering Committee, Open Working Group, and the UNSG's High Level Panel. The LMTF did *not* aim to narrow the scope of education goals to focus on learning alone, nor did it seek to propose a comprehensive set of indicators for the education sector, a task which the EFA Technical Advisory Group on post-2015 indicators is assigned.

To determine what types of learning measurement are both feasible and desirable for tracking progress at the global level, the Task Force reviewed existing empirical evidence and global discourse on learning and conducted a broad, public consultation in three phases. Teachers, education ministry staff, and youth comprised the majority of the more than 1700 consultation participants in 118 countries. Through this consultation and dialogue with a high-level Task Force, the LMTF came to a consensus on a framework of seven learning domains, recommendations for global measurement areas, and a process by which to support countries to improve their assessment systems in order to improve learning outcomes. These recommendations are being taken into account as the EFA Technical Advisory Group formulates its list of indicators to monitor the education targets identified by the Open Working Group and the EFA Steering Committee. Indeed, nearly all of the LMTF areas of measurement appear in some form in the recent proposed indicators now available for public consultation, among a much broader set of education indicators.

When the LMTF consultations were finished and the final recommendations report published, we were contacted by numerous colleagues who had participated in the LMTF consultations and wanted to continue this dialogue at the country level. In some countries, it was the first time there was an inclusive national dialogue on learning. In others, the previous conversations on learning had been focused only on one or two domains, typically reading and mathematics. The LMTF provided a platform to discuss learning more broadly. For the LMTF Secretariat, we knew that we had explored only the tip of the iceberg on the controversial and often divisive topic of learning assessment, and much more work needed to be done at the global, national and local levels.

The third technical report of the LMTF describes some of the issues raised in these national consultations. Participants around the world converged on some of the same issues, and we heard over and over that much data is collected that does not lead to improved learning. They described a lack of technical capacity for assessment, including among teachers, as a key barrier to measuring and improving learning. They also mentioned that the domains captured in national examinations are limited and therefore curtail the content covered in the classroom, as teachers feel pressure to teach only the subjects covered in the exams. Participants expressed a desire to think through these challenges and potential solutions with other countries around the world that are grappling with similar issues. In response, the LMTF began to think about ways to leverage the collective expertise of those who participated in the first phase of the Task Force to support a nationally-driven but globally-informed process to critically look at learning and assessment issues.

In July of this year, 15 countries applied and were selected as "Learning Champions" under the auspices of LMTF 2.0. National stakeholders will be working over the next 18 months to adapt LMTF recommendations to their national contexts and priorities in Argentina (Buenos Aires), Botswana, Canada (Ontario), Colombia (Bogotá), Ethiopia, Kenya, Kyrgyz Republic, Nepal, Pakistan, Palestine, Rwanda, Senegal, Sudan, Tunisia, and Zambia. A key component of the Learning Champions initiative is broad inclusion in guiding policy decisions, including but not limited to teachers, students, government officials, civil society, and development agencies. Countries will share what they are learning with the Task Force and other Learning Champions, in addition to other countries in their regions and the global education community.

Learning Champions are seeking to develop new solutions to their unique educational challenges, because as my colleague Dzingai Mutumbuka of ADEA pointed out in a blog earlier this year, there is no one-size-fits-all approach to such a complex issue as improving learning. In Kenya, this means taking a critical look at the national examinations system in the context of a growing number of non-governmental efforts to measure learning. In Bogotá, the Secretary of Education is exploring how to showcase its system of assessing citizenship education and scale up innovative assessment in the physical, socio-emotional, sports, arts and cultural domains under the auspices of an existing education quality initiative. There remains much to be learned on the different ways assessment helps (and in some cases hurts) learning and we hope that the lessons from these 15 countries can be used to inform efforts to expand learning assessments in order to improve children's learning experiences.

In addition to the Learning Champions, the LMTF is opening up its membership to any interested organization working toward the common goals set out by the Task Force in LMTF 2.0 and willing to coordinate and share knowledge. The LMTF 2.0 goals include: developing measureable indicators; working with governments and other national stakeholders to improve learning and measurement; informing the post-2015 education agenda; and developing a platform to ensure that that assessment tools, technical expertise, and data are more accessible to low- and middle-income countries.

Please email learningmetrics@brookings.edu for more information.

Post-2015 Education Action Framework and the Civil Right in Education

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Key words: *civil rights; right to learn; post-2015 education*

Summary: *A civil right is a basic condition that makes participatory development possible. People forgot that the right to learn was a civil right, which made education lag behind other sectors.*

As we are approaching the close of the first global cycle of the Education for All movement 1990-2015, the action framework for the post-2015 global education agenda is rising to the top of international education discussions. The Asia-Pacific UNESCO education conference in August 2014 in Bangkok was substantively the first occasion for international discussion on the action framework – that is to say the framework of international development cooperation for post-2015 education. The World Education Forum in Incheon Korea next year will be the place to finalize the discussions. When it comes to the action framework for the global education agenda, people used to talk, for a decade or more, just about monitoring and measurement of educational progress. However, it is more the fundamental principles than the technical job of monitoring and measurement that is really important in framing actions and implementation activities for the post-2015 education agenda. Considering the action framework for the post-2015 global education agenda, one has to give attention to three streams of global movement that have taken place during these last decades.

First, international players in the world of development cooperation have advocated participatory development. It is exactly the issue of global or domestic governance in development sectors. Several features reveal the governance in a sector: power and responsibility with their distribution, decision making and its implementation process, mode of cooperation among influencing actors and groups, nature and ways of participation, and so on. Governance is a relatively new issue particularly in education. As far as the governance in education is concerned and as we want participatory development in post 2015 global education, it is this time that we the educationists have to talk on 'participatory governance' and on the other side of the coin, 'human rights-based development' in education.

The second stream is the shift to learning. Learning became the *ratio essendi* (core rationale) of 21st century education. Reflecting the trend, the overarching goal of the EFA movement incorporated learning in parallel with education. According to the recent development of the learning theory, self-directness is a prominent feature of learning. Cognitive science, on the other side, found that the human mind exists in the form of embodied cognition. The self-directness of learning and the embodied nature of mind made it necessary to re-conceptualize the structure of the fundamental rights in education. Thus learning became an integral part of personal liberty and a civil right in its very nature so that learners, parents, and civil groups could participate in the governance of education.

The third stream is the emphasis on the right to development. In 1986 the UN General Assembly issued the declaration of the right to development. In fact, development itself has been secured since 1966 as a fundamental human right as provided by the first articles of the two UN covenants on the human rights. International consensus was again built in 1986 on the right to development. One must note that the right to development inevitably includes the individual right to personal development, in other words, the right to learn. It is in fact a question of common sense among educators. In that respect, the right to learn is the civil right that is the very basis of the development of education. The right to learn depends on the right to development and eventually on the fundamental individual right to pursue happiness.

The above three streams should be the starting points in reframing the framework of action for post-2015 education agenda. The concept of participatory development inevitably includes the emphasis on the right to learn as a civil right as the very ground for participation in development. In that sense, participatory development means 'rights-based development'. To summarize, the threefold logical relation among 'participatory governance' and 'human rights-based development' and 'right to development' forms the foundation of international development cooperation activities in education. In addition the exercise of the right to learn by individuals is not only the core of educational governance but of the participatory human development which currently the international community has emphasized in every developmental sector. In that sense, learning in the 21st century is a prime 'civil and political right'.

On the list of developmental sectors in global development agenda in general, education has been lagging far behind other sectors. The achievement in EFA goals and targets was relatively poorer than expected and again poorer than the progress in other development sectors. The so-called **Fast** Track Initiative, now known as the Global Partnership for Education was necessary because of the lagging behind in educational progress. Why was there lagging behind? It's the states' failure. States usually did not perform well enough to be 'the custodian of education' as frequently expected by the global education community. Nonetheless, the global education community still used to insist on the state as the custodian of education in the course of the post-2015 education discussions as in the following:

> While the state is the custodian of education as a public good, the role of civil society, communities, parents and other stakeholders is crucial in the provision of quality education. (EFA-SC joint proposal April 2014)

> The state is the custodian of quality education as a public good, recognizing the contribution of civil society, communities, families, learners and other stakeholders to education. (May 2014 GEM Final Statement *The Muscat Agreement* para 8)

These statements reflect the common sentiment and widely shared awareness in the current education community in general. The two confusing statements, depending on obsolete assumptions about modern national education, would refer particularly to the governance of education for post-2015 education. They seem to want continuous state failure again and again even after 2015 accompanied by repeating fast-tracks for education. The fatal ambiguity in the above statements comes from the absence of the civil right concept in education. People used to say "Education is a fundamental human right" in the same way they say "Water is a fundamental right"; but even a child knows education is fundamentally different from water. Such a statement nonetheless has been repeated in the EFA declarations at Jomtien and again at Dakar, and again and again in the above mentioned EFA-SC joint proposal and the Muscat Agreement. Who possesses the right and in what way? The repeated statements intentionally kept blurring the subject of the alleged important human right and learners' active role. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Covenant B) still does not recognize education as a civil right. The old notion of the right to education defined in the international covenant on economic social and cultural rights (Covenant A) cannot afford the current global development of education and learning for all because education itself is still just seen as a valuable good and a graceful opportunity offered to learners. While people just repeat that "education is a fundamental right" in the context that the UN covenants were split into the Covenant A and the Covenant B, people forgot about the right to learn as a civil right. It results that the alleged right to education lost the power to encourage participatory development in education. This is the fundamental reason why education has lagged behind other development sectors.

The World Education Forum at Incheon Korea can be the best opportunity to reframe the governance of education by re-conceptualizing the right to learn as a civil right. The Global Citizenship Commission in UK raised the issue of revising the old set of UN norms of human rights to reflect new millennium concerns. One must note that the UN Human Rights Council was newly established in juxtaposition to the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. The Human Rights Council should address not the right to education as a economic social and cultural one but eventually the issue of the right to learn as a 'civil right'. The UN *Rapporteur Special* on the right to education can play a decisive role therein.

Global Citizenship Education (GCED) and Curriculum Governance in Korea

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Key words : *GCED; curriculum; governance*

Summary: *GCED, if given play to its critical aspect, might work potentially as a double-edged sword within Korea.*

The Korean government is relieved by now as it has successfully achieved to insert the GCED into the possible agendas for the World Education Forum 2015. Both the Muscat agreement of May 2014 and the Open Working Group in July 2014 secured GCED as one of the goals to pursue beyond 2015. Looking back to just one year ago when GCED emerged as Korea's priority, somewhat opposed by the suspicious eyes of some members of the international development community, the successful maneuvering of the candidate agenda to a concrete one, certainly though with help from many parties, really deserves a self-congratulation for its own hard works in diplomacy and advocacy.

However, the success is just an overture and the main acts are still to come. There are mixed signs of hope and fear. First of all, the concept and definition of the GCED are still discussed in policy circles and academia as well. It is not clear yet to Korean education policy makers how the GCED is differentiated or related, if you like, to its clones or its other family members such as education for international understanding, peace education, EFA, and ESD. The concept and definition of GCED will determine the course of action and implementation thereafter. This is a matter both of substance and of conflict as well; it will guide the curriculum content, resource allocation, and values and ethics orientation in Korean schools.

In this regard, it must be noted that the GCED or GCED-like activities in Korea so far have been kept to the non-formal education sector such as NGOs or extra-curricular activities of various groups, some of which are even opponents to the government. In fact, the national curriculum mandated by the government almost disregards GCED, although the Framework Act on Education in its article 2 states that "the purpose of education is to enable every citizen to lead a life worthy of human and to contribute to the development of a democratic country and realization of an ideal of human co-prosperity by ensuring cultivation of character, development of abilities for independent life and necessary qualities as a democratic citizen under the humanitarian ideal." Will the GCED agenda at Incheon invigorate this clause into practice in schools?

Ordinary Koreans, education experts, and curriculum stakeholders all acknowledge the sensitivity of any changes in the nation's curriculum. Moreover, a change in national curriculum for such topic as GCED is likely to move to political debate as well as conflict of interests. It is particularly so, if GCED include criticisms of the current state of global politics, economy, and of education which is infested with inequalities, biases, and wastefulness. While outside the realm of the government-controlled curriculum, the critical side of the GCED might instill "conscientization", breaching the interests of the establishment in a globalized Korea. As a result. the Korean government might have to persuade with more difficulty those who are against free trade associations, free trade, and opening of labor market.

Arguably, this is the other side of the globalization. By now, it seems to be apparent that the Korean government used to recognize only the sunny side of the GCED, i.e., fostering the global citizenry in Korea who would be benefitting from the globalized economy in this seemingly democratic world. However, the hidden cost of bringing-in the GCED in this turbulent globe is not so much acknowledged by this small number of policy makers. They will soon realize that the GCED now and future is a potentially double-edged sword. The only practical hope is how fast and how well they would master this instrument.

Global Governance of Education: How, Why, and for Whom?

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Key words: *Post-2015; EFA; MDGs; GPE; world system*

Summary: *Global governance of education is a fact of life. It operates through a variety of coordinated and uncoordinated mechanisms. But why do we have increasing global governance and in whose interest is it operating?*

The most compelling evidence that there is increasingly strong, almost hegemonic, global governance of education is the almost unbelievable uniformity of global policies towards education, including rapid forms of privatization, emphasis on testing and measurement, focus on the three Rs, and the rhetoric of quality over access. Some erroneously argue that these are simply common problems being solved by the best ideas, best practices, winning out around the world. World Culture Theory (WCT) often implies this, but it does so without any understanding of why or how this homogenization is taking place.

Some of the mechanisms by which this is happening are clear. Bilateral and multilateral agencies are all drinking the same Kool-Aid, pursuing the same directions. The World Bank's explicit and implicit conditionalities, OECD's marketing of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), the Fast Track Initiative (FTI)'s and now the Global Partnership for Education (GPE)'s benchmarking and criteria, have all pushed the world in one direction. I often place particular emphasis on the World Bank's influence. Since the 1980s, it has been the ideological centre promoting, legitimating, and enforcing this agenda in developing countries. But developed countries are following very similar agendas, and that cannot be laid at the feet of the Bank.

For me, the explanation is tied to the increasingly hegemonic, monolithic, and integrated world system in which we live. Structures of capitalism, patriarchy, racism, and more, intersect and intertwine. These structures, by their very nature, maintain and legitimate a world of vastly unequal power and conditions. These structures do change and evolve and, despite their dominance, are always challenged. The liberal era, in many countries from the 1930s to the 1970s, saw public policies, protests, and movements to temper the inequalities of world system structures. In education, the rhetoric was to greatly expand access and quality through government taxation and spending.

For many political and economic reasons, that liberal era was brought to a close in the 1980s. Neoliberalism, a philosophy antithetical to government and in favour of unregulated business and markets was promulgated and continues until today. The world system has become more unequal than ever, social services have been cut to the bone, and employment is increasingly insecure. On the surface, Education for All (EFA) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) contradict the every-person-for-themselves-in-a-competitive-market ideology of neoliberalism, as do the current post-2015 efforts. But these efforts are necessary to legitimate a brutal, unfair world system. Which they continue to do even when they are more rhetoric than reality.

Of course, many point to the progress made. But a more sober accounting shows that none of the EFA goals have been achieved (even halving extreme poverty, where supposed success is based on mis-measurement). And now we are about to postpone these goals (again, in the case of EFA) to 2030. Universal Primary Education has been promised by the international community since the early 1960s. If we achieve it by 2030, it will have taken 70 years! This is a goal that could be attained, with quality, in a few years. This is not a serious effort. Take FTI and GPE: FTI mobilized relatively few resources and GPE may finally be able to offer about $1 billion a year – but the (under)estimate by UNESCO is that $26 billion a year is needed. Again, this is not a serious effort.

I usually point out that I believe most people are well-intentioned. Few want this world of severe marginalization to continue as is. But people justify their privilege, believing it is deserved, and the policies they see as sensible are ones that do nothing to jeopardize their position; in fact, they do quite the opposite with, for example, privatization, justifying and even financing the education of their privileged children. We are not all in this together, and our privileges come at the expense of those who are marginalized. Relying on markets to generate and allocate jobs and income has resulted in over 3 billion people living at the margins of our society. It is hard to imagine a system more inequitable or inefficient.

I am not against the post-2015 efforts. As I said, they are well-intentioned and the goals are laudable. But they have for the most part been formulated by elites, maybe even for elites. Reading the UNESCO Technical Advisory Group's latest report on goals, targets, and indicators, I couldn't help seeing it all as a social welfare program for experts, who will spend the next 15 years developing and applying hundreds of measures of success. I fear that the cost of this effort to get a better education thermometer will leave few resources over to understand why the child is sick and what can be done to remedy that. And, again, the incentives are more to show that something is being done rather than putting in the resources and efforts to actually change things.

All that said, I am still an optimist. EFA and MDGs, like all other initiatives and policies, are contested terrain. There will be and are many efforts from below, social movements and global organizations representing millions of people, like Education International and the Global Campaign for Education, that challenge business as usual. It won't be easy. The world system is extraordinarily resilient – still, it has many contradictions and cracks in it. But, as one of my students said in class the other day, it may take a "perfect storm" – growing dissatisfaction with present conditions, growing pressures from below, and willingness from above to recognize the failure of past initiatives and to consider alternatives.

NATIONAL OR GLOBAL GOVERNANCE OF EDUCATION: THE ANOMALY OF UNIVERSAL GOALS BUT NATIONAL TARGETS?

From Right to Education (RTE) to Right to Learning

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Key words: *Rights; compulsory education; learning deficits; School Management Committees; non-detention policy*

Summary: *The Right to Education (RTE) Act in India is an enabling Act for people to realize other Rights. The Act promises free and compulsory education to all children in the age-group of 6-14. The Act helps in improving access to education of marginalized groups and those in remote areas. However, in the absence of a focus on student learning, the RTE is becoming an Act for the right to schooling rather than a right to learning.*

Education plays an enabling role in an individual's social life and it enables people to access information and services provided by various agencies. The RTE Act is an enabling Act for people to realize other Rights. With the passage of the RTE Act in the Parliament in 2009 India[1] became one of 135 countries to make education free and compulsory to all children. The RTE Act in India guarantees all children between the ages of 6 and 14 the right to free and compulsory elementary education.

Free education in the Act implies that the government will bear the cost of elementary education of all children in the age-group of 6-14. The schools will not levy fees from students and the students will be provided with uniforms, textbooks, mid-day meals, transportation etc. The Act also makes provision for reserving 25 per cent of seats in private schools for students from economically weaker sections. The cost of universalization of elementary education will be a shared responsibility of the state and central governments.

The Act expects compulsory enrolment of all those who seek admission and mandates year round admission, no capitation fees, easy transfer certificate and non-denial of admission to any child for lack of evidence of birth, age etc. Further, a child once admitted will not be detained in any class and will move to the successive grades till the child completes the elementary level of education.

1 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parliament_of_India

All schools shall constitute School Management Committees (SMCs) comprising of local authority officials, parents, guardians and teachers. RTE also mandates that 50 per cent of the members in SMC will be women and parents of children from disadvantaged groups. The SMCs shall form School Development Plans, monitor the functioning of the school, the implementation of RTE and the utilization of funds received from the government.

The RTE Act, no doubt, has helped expand elementary education in India. During the period 2010 - 2013 the number of schools increased by 49,000 while the increase during the four year period prior to the implementation of RTE was only 42,400. The net enrolment rate in primary education is 88 per cent in 2013-14. The annual drop-out rate in primary education has declined. More importantly, a major share of the new admissions is in rural areas and from disadvantaged families. However, the implementation of the Act is uneven across states. It is felt that implementation is slower in states where the share of non-enrolled children is high.

The Act, no doubt, stipulates norms and standards for establishing a school. But the focus in schools seems to be more on developing infrastructural facilities such as drinking water, toilets and kitchens than on other items identified by the Act. While some of the states are reluctant to share the financial burden and expect the cost should be borne by the central government, others are making their share of contribution and it results in faster implementation of the Act.

The Act prescribes minimum qualifications for teachers, does not approve of appointment of contractual teachers and elaborates on the duties of the teachers. However, many a state is not in a position to bear the financial burden of appointing full time teachers and hence continues to rely on contract teachers.

One of the important areas where the Act is silent is on learning outcomes. The Act has not prescribed any benchmark for the level of learning to be attained by the students who complete the elementary level of education. In the absence of such benchmarks, monitoring of the teaching learning process becomes difficult. The issue of student learning is compounded by the non-detention policy whereby all students, irrespective of their learning levels, are permitted to transit from one grade to the next higher grade. It can be argued that this non-retention policy, combined with the absence of targets for learning achievement, can be a source of widening inequalities in learning.

Some of the recent surveys have shown that levels of learner achievement are not only low but have, more alarmingly, actually declined in the post-RTE period. For example, as per the Annual Status of Education Report survey of 2013, the proportion of children in grade 5 in government schools who can read a grade 2 level text decreased from 50.3 per cent in 2009 to 41.1 per cent 2013. The learning gap between students in public and private schools also widened in India. While around 44 per cent of grade 3 students in private schools could do subtraction, the same among the government school children is only 19 per cent.

The poor level of learning is indeed alarming and it points to the persistent learning crisis in primary education in India. The increase in enrolment combined with shortage of teachers and non-retention policy contributes to learning deficits which accumulate grade by grade. This cumulative learning deficit may be a constraining factor for these children to pursue education beyond the compulsory level.

The changes in enrolment are not matched with the recruitment of teachers. Many schools report a lack of qualified teachers. It is estimated that the teacher shortage is to the tune of more than one million. Many states have been relying on so-called para-teachers to teach in the primary classes. The non-availability of qualified teachers further reduces the possibility of maintaining, if not improving, the quality of education provided in the schools. In the absence of measures to ensure learning outcomes, RTE is becoming an Act for the right to access schooling rather than a right to successful learning.

Are Brazilians Masochists? Why do they Insist on PISA?

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Key words: *Brazil; PISA participation & results; rationales; culture of national evaluation and testing; improvement*

Summary: *Brazilians insist on PISA, despite poor results. The consolidation of a culture of education evaluation is one reason, but not the only one.*

Kenneth King has asked me why Brazilians insist on participating in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), despite the terrible results that come out for Brazil every time. In fact, some countries have given up because of their rankings. Do I know the reasons? Anyway, it is worth speculating on possible causes.

The facts are clear. When the first results were presented, in 2001, Brazil was the bottom in a group of 32 countries. To be fair, it joined a league of big dogs. At best, it hoped to beat Mexico. But it did not.

Subsequent rounds of PISA saw a repetition of the same dismal performance. In the last round, out of 65 countries Brazil ranked between 54th and 60th depending on the particular subject. The good news is that at least 5 countries fared worse. The bad news is that more than 50 did better. Therefore, the question persists: why stay with it?

A first thought is that Brazil has a very open society. Debate and bitter controversies are part of political life. PISA results do not produce a higher level of decibels than other issues and scandals. In that respect, the country is different from Mexico, Russia and Argentina, where governments often suppress information or shy away from obtaining it. Kudos for Brazil.

Another relevant aspect is the very wide acceptance in Brazil of evaluations and rankings of students, schools or territories. In fact, few countries in the world can match such a wide and comprehensive system of evaluations, ranging from the second grade of primary to PhD programs. Not only that, but results are public and easily available on line. As a broad generalization, one can state that the quality of tests and the logistics of application range from fair to very good. Notwithstanding, some tests still have shortcomings.

Second grade students take a test, still on an experimental stage, to verify how well they can read and write. All fourth, eight and twelfth grades, public school students take a national test (*Prova Brasil)* and institutions are ranked according to the scores obtained.

At the end of secondary education, students take another test (ENEM), in Portuguese, Mathematics and now in Science. Schools are ranked according to the average scores obtained by their students. Also, most public universities use ENEM's individual results in order to select those that will be accepted.

In addition to these tests, Brazil has a unique examination, at the end of the university cycle. It is based on the curriculum of each corresponding career. Individual results are not public, but programs are assigned a grade, based on the points obtained by its students. This controversial initiative seems to have had positive results, particularly in the case of proprietary colleges (covering 75% of total enrollment).

The oldest evaluation initiatives focus on Master and Ph.D. programs. From the late seventies, all post-graduate schools came under the scrutiny of CAPES (the Education Ministry's agency in charge of post-graduate studies in the country). Publications, credentials of faculty, peer reviews and other data are combined to produce a single number, measuring the excellence of each program. In addition to the prestige attached to high grades, the quota of fellowships of each program is a function of the scores obtained.

Considering all this, PISA is not such a big deal. Stakes are much higher for the other components of the evaluation game, in many cases, pitching one institution against the others.

Finally, perhaps one of the reasons for not dropping out of PISA is the fact that being a lousy performer in Education bothers Brazilians, but not too much. Poor PISA results created turmoil in

Germany, for an entire decade. Ultimately, it led to significant improvements.

Brazilians feel embarrassed by their abominable position, but not enough to make life miserable for those in charge of Education. In so many words, if the disaster it identifies was taken more seriously, perhaps PISA would be dropped.

The silver lining is that, ever so slowly, the implications of the PISA disaster are being digested by Brazilian society. It is taking years, but it may be bringing some positive results. In terms of increasing absolute scores, Brazil did better than just about any other country.

Catch-up and Identity: Development and Impact of University Rankings in East Asia

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Key words: *university rankings; catch-up; Asian identity; East Asia*

Summary: *University rankings have become very familiar tools for the measurement of prestige and performance in the process of the developments and transformations of higher education in East Asia. For top universities in East Asia, the international rankings are still a tool mainly for catching up, but the pursuit of their original identity as Asian universities is gradually increasing.*

Asia is the largest region in the world in terms of population and cultural and linguistic diversity. This region has also experienced rapid development of higher education systems, namely, an increase in student enrollment, quality improvement in teaching and research, and the emergence of various types of non-traditional higher education, i.e., strong and massive private higher education systems, distance and online education provision, and wide use of transnational education. Asia is also the region that has sent the largest number of students and academics to other regions, and now, some of the countries are becoming the main receivers of the students and academics from within and outside of the region.

In the process of these developments and transformations of higher education in Asia, university rankings have become very familiar tools for the measurement of prestige and performance, especially in East Asia. Domestically, these rankings are being utilized as a selection tool by students in choosing the most desirable universities in terms of prestige. For example, in Japan, students were very sensitive about university prestige even before World War II, and the rankings based on student selectivity increased with the emergence of mass higher education in the 1960s and 1970s. Other countries, such as China and Korea, also developed domestic league tables and rankings based on the demands of students competing for entrance into selective and prestigious universities.

As to the international rankings, the goal has been to improve international recognition. At the beginning of 1990s, the international university ranking published in *The Gourman Report*, published by Dr. Jack Gourman from USA, drew the attention of Japanese university leaders and politicians about the importance of achieving international university prestige. This ranking fueled the campaign for an increase in public investment in university research, specifically the policy trends for strengthening science and technology investment. At the end of the 1990s, *Asiaweek*, a Hong Kong-based magazine, published "Asia's Best Universities", the rankings of universities in Asia Pacific region, mainly for improving international recognition of the top universities of this region.

Since 2003, the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) has been published by Shanghai Jiao Tong University. ARWU's initial purpose was to establish world-class universities in China by making visible benchmark indicators for catching up with the top universities in North America, Europe, and Japan. This type of benchmark and ranking exercise has also been done in other countries. For example, in 2001, Seoul National University published a benchmarking report that compared top universities worldwide. The Higher Education Evaluation and Accreditation Council of Taiwan (HEEACT) began the Performance Ranking of Scientific Papers for World Universities, and this ranking was taken over by National Taiwan University in 2014.

At the same time, the effort to develop the Asian university ranking has also continued to seek the regional identity of world-class universities. *Chosun Ilbo*, a Korean major newspaper company, collaborated with the Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) in making university rankings in Asia. The *Times Higher Education* also publishes Asia University Rankings adding to its World University Rankings. However, at this moment, the regional identity of top universities in Asia appears not to be well-defined or discussed in either regional rankings or world rankings. For East Asian top universities, the international rankings are still a tool mainly for catching up, but the pursuit of their original identity as Asian universities is gradually increasing.

Learning from Global Best Practice: The Case of an Inner City London Primary School

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Key words: *Consistency; professional development; focus; quality*

Summary: *At Belleville we seek to learn from the very best educational systems and schools, including from our colleagues in Singapore and Shanghai.*

I was recently asked why we at Belleville spend time, energy and money learning from global best practice and what impact this journey had upon our inner city primary school?

> *"Without data you are just another person with an opinion" (Andreas Schleicher)*

We at Belleville pride ourselves on having a relentless drive for improvement. We seek to provide the very best for the pupils we serve. We believe that as educators we need to both learn and share our learning. This is our philosophy and our belief. We are proactive in seeking to learn from the very best and we seek to be generous in sharing our learning with anyone who might be willing to look, listen or discuss. We believe that if we are to provide the very best we can for the children, we need to learn from the very best.

In England head teachers have immense power to shape their schools, their ethos, their structures and most alarmingly their futures. Thus Belleville's journey of seeking to learn from the best is inseparable from my personal journey. At each stage of my career I have sought to learn from others and to share this learning. It is no coincidence that as a teacher and younger head my studies included a MA Dissertation about how schools implemented the science national curriculum, a UK Department for Education Best Practice Research Scholarship looking at how excellent schools improved and National College Research Associateship focused on what made excellent schools successful. Similarly, my advocacy of schools supporting schools significantly predates the now much quoted term "self-improving school system." The belief that schools improve schools and teachers improve teachers is firmly but not exclusively held. At each stage of my career I have worked with and learned from others. Belleville is a National Teaching School, we have created and facilitated many inter school networks, we have close links with schools across the borough, London and England and annually take heads and deputies to visit outstanding schools across the country.

I have always sought to understand and learn from systems. For example, I trained and became an Ofsted Inspector and later a School Improvement Partner so that I could understand the English system and how it is judged and theoretically improved. If we are to provide the very best for our children then we need to learn from the very best. We have developed excellent relationships with many outstanding English schools. We need to go beyond the norm and as Stephen Cottrell states, "Let us dream a vision that stretches beyond our usual horizons. But let us not settle for a small vision, one that fails to inspire or terrify."

PISA is the, or at least a, key international evaluator of educational systems. There is a clear pattern in which specific systems and areas outperform others. East Asia is clearly an area of excellence. With this in mind I have sought opportunities to visit specific countries. In recent years, as a National Leader of Education, I have been blessed with the opportunity to travel to and learn about schools in Singapore and Shanghai. I have subsequently arranged for senior members of our school team to visit the same countries. Based upon the PISA data and building on our desire to learn from the best we also took a party to Finland which was at the time the highest performing European educational system. We also encouraged reciprocal visits and are proud to have hosted many visitors from these countries. As I write we have a maths teacher from Shanghai working in our school, next week we will greet old friends and ten principals from Singapore to our school and in March 2015 we will be taking a party of colleagues to learn in Singapore, which is in my opinion and to paraphrase the Carlsberg advertisement, probably the best education system in the world.

We are advocates of the appreciative enquiry approach, introduced to me by Professor Geoff Southworth (then of the National College for School Leadership), to inter school and international learning. We focus on what can be learnt and what can be achieved rather than using culture, finance, etc. as an excuse for not implementing improvements. We believe it is not for us to judge others but to educate ourselves and those we serve.

Our learning from these visits, associated reading and conversations is immensurable. A key question is, however, how has this impacted on the lives of the 850 three to eleven year old children who attend Belleville School? There are so many influences from our work with schools in England and abroad that to try and untangle them is to in some way dismember our school. I believe that most of what we believe and know developed out of multiple sources. Often our learning has built upon previous learning and sometimes seeing things in an excellent context gives us the confidence to implement or develop and grow an existing idea or concept. There are many areas where global best practice has impacted upon our school. There are three key strands: Strategic; Professional development and Pedagogy; and Challenge and opportunities.

Strategic:

- We have learnt much from the clarity of purpose, accessible messages and excellent presentation provided by our Singaporean colleagues.
- We have sought to apply this when we articulate our schools aims, priorities and targets.
- We use and share a clear school improvement mantra
- We keep the school priorities and logic, year on year, irrespective of the turbulence in our system.
- We are ambitious in our desire to implement improvements knowing that whatever we do others are already performing at a higher level.
- We have confidence that we have a good knowledge base and the capacity to reflect before acting.
- We are confident in the approach we adopt and that this would work in other contexts but we know to "Say not, I have found the truth, but rather, I have found a truth." (Kahlil Gibran)

Professional development and pedagogy:

- We set challenging targets and we recognise that colleagues in East Asia achieve significantly higher outcomes.
- We focus on excellent professional learning and development for our teachers.
- We have developed and used clearly structured professional learning communities.
- We seek the opportunity to learn from and implement an interpretation of the Singaporean approach to mathematics.
- We have separated the role of developer from evaluator in our professional development and teacher appraisal.
- We are not restricted to limiting observations to a single person and so we have a number of people, sometimes as many as a dozen, observing a teacher at one time.
- We have developed programmes for guided observations, guided visits and now guided school evaluations.
- We have developed coaching for and by our team.

Our confidence has grown so that we proudly state our belief that, "the quality of an education system (or school) cannot exceed the quality of its teachers" (McKinsey) and to place this at the core of our strategic thinking.

Challenge and opportunities

- Not to accept limits to the potential of children, knowing that in other countries and systems children perform to and at a higher level.
- To give children the key learning objectives as homework before covering the objectives in school.
- To employ specialist teachers for the core subjects.
- To create a structured programme of "Open lesson" observations and guided professional dialogue.
- To introduce teacher research groups.
- To challenge ourselves to learn more from global best practice and to have the confidence to implement what works and what is in the children's best interests irrespective of current fads and turbulence.

Whose Evidence, Whose Priorities? Civil Society Organisations and the Global Governance of Education

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Key words: *Education for All; civil society organisations; global educational governance; policy advocacy*

Summary: *Civil society organisations are increasingly valued for their ability to gather evidence on the status of education in developing contexts. This evidence is used for political advocacy at national, regional and global levels; it is also used by international donors looking to assess how effectively their funds are being used by governments in developing countries. Although civil society advocacy has the potential to improve the efficacy of education policy, current funding trends may limit the democratising potential of these efforts.*

Over the past several decades, education has begun to be framed as a global rather than a purely national issue. The scope and influence of global initiatives like the Education for All agenda and the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) highlight that, in "developed" and "developing" countries alike, education policies are increasingly shaped by decisions and discourse emanating from the global level. At the same time, many countries are undergoing processes of political decentralisation, and responsibility for managing school systems is frequently being downloaded to sub-national levels.

In this increasingly multi-scalar policy-scape, civil society organisations (including, but not limited to, nongovernmental organisations, community associations, teachers unions and faith-based groups) are emerging as key players in educational governance. Although these actors have long played a role in education service-provision, particularly in developing countries, they are now commonly assuming roles as educational advocates. Civil society organisations (CSOs) are influencing education policy at local, national, regional and global levels in myriad ways: by campaigning for increased spending on public education, engaging citizens as policy advocates and monitoring government accountability, progress and commitments to education sector plans.

Gathering data on education access, quality and spending at local and national levels is a crucial part of CSO advocacy efforts. These actors are increasingly asserting themselves as legitimate policy players by accessing evidence that is hard for policy-makers to obtain. For example, the *Annual Status of Education Report* (ASER) is a widely-influential household survey carried out across rural India by the NGO Pratham Education Foundation, and, since 2009, in East Africa, there has been a similar survey by the NGO, Uwezo. *Education Watch* is a citizen-led Education for All monitoring project conducted by the NGO network ASPBAE and by CAMPE in Bangladesh. *Education Watch* has highlighted the lack of progress many Asian governments have made on their EFA commitments and has been cited in national and regional policy documents.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the role CSOs play in gathering grassroots evidence on education has attracted the attention of international donors. Donors are increasingly valuing CSOs as watchdogs which can monitor the implementation of the poverty reduction strategies and the use of donor funds at country-level. In this way, funding civil society advocacy can be seen as a donor strategy to counter-balance support to developing country governments, a way to minimize the risk of financial mismanagement or corruption.

Donors generally fund advocacy work through "local funds" – funding that is intended to help civil society organizations monitor government progress on international agreements, gather data on education provision and spending, and to act as "watchdogs" that will hold these governments to account. These funds are commonly managed and dispersed by large international NGOs, keeping the funding agency at arm's length. The Civil Society Education Fund, for example, places funding in the hands of the Global Campaign for Education (GCE), which is led by a number of high-profile international NGOs. The GCE channels funds through established regional organisations, which then disperse the funds to the national CSOs in their network. The large regional CSOs also act as managers and facilitators, assisting national partners to conduct their advocacy work, to gather robust evidence and to frame their results in a way that will resonate with policymakers and donors.

This chain of advocacy-funding appears to be an effective way to increase the capacity of national CSOs to engage in education advocacy. But it raises considerable questions about who exactly sets advocacy agendas and how the flow of funds impacts on the sort of evidence that is gathered. Does the emphasis on CSOs as "watchdogs" holding their governments to account reflect the priorities of these CSOs and the communities in which they work? Or is this more a reflection of what international donors are willing to fund?

Funding mechanisms like the Civil Society Education Fund also involve considerable issues of power between national CSOs and the large regional and international organisations which manage and disperse funds. What is the selection criteria for national CSOs to receive funds? What role do the larger CSOs play in setting the advocacy agenda? How is data gathered at the national-level used in regional and international campaigns, and what voice does this give to the local communities from which evidence was drawn? These questions need to be addressed if we are to understand how the turn towards supporting civil society advocacy can contribute to progress in Education for All and the post-2015 education agenda.

MEASURING THE POST-2015 EDUCATION LANDSCAPE

Indicators for Universal and National Coverage of Goals and Targets

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Key words: *national assessments; global monitoring; equity*

Summary: *National assessments of learning will play an important role in monitoring progress towards new global goals for education by serving a central role in guiding national implementation and allowing a greater emphasis on equity.*

The post-2015 development agenda asks for significant changes in how we conceptualize and measure progress. The proposed post-2015 education targets present a broader and more comprehensive emphasis on learning; beyond education, a set of targets is proposed that is inter-sectoral, meaning that education is not only a desired end in itself but also a contributor to the achievement of targets for women's empowerment, environmental sustainability and poverty reduction. As we head into this new era, new and different action will be required at all levels – with perhaps the most important action to be undertaken at the national level, where most decisions affecting education are made, such as policies and funding for teachers, what to prioritize in curricula, and how to promote school quality. Recently, the Technical Advisory Group for Post-2015 Education Indicators, convened by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, released a report outlining existing indicators and measurement issues to be addressed to accurately track proposed targets. The report is available for consultation now.

Measurement plays an important role in providing feedback on whether and how targets are being reached. Globally-comparable data, or indicators with similar meaning and relevance across contexts, have been useful in tracking progress towards Education for All goals. Dramatic increases in data availability took place over the last decade, with more countries agreeing to collect and report comparable data on enrollment, completion, and expenditures in education through administrative systems. These data were complemented by surveys on participation in education and to a lesser extent, learning. Despite the progress, several important aspects of education system performance and outcomes were not measured well in the last decade, including lack of emphasis on quality in education, inadequate data on equity in participation and learning outcomes, and limited data on learning outcomes, especially across all domains of learning and within populations at risk for exclusion.

In the next era of education, how can global and national measurement work together to address gaps in data and spur effective action at all levels? Below are four areas to consider:

First, national monitoring plans will be central to tracking progress. A core set of indicators for global tracking will likely be proposed as part of the proposed post-2015 education framework. This set will reflect globally-comparable data that is available now, and will likely be limited in scope, not including many areas with significance for country action. Data are arguably most valuable when they provide useful feedback to decision-makers on what is working and why. Identifying which questions are of greatest significance, and what data could help inform decisions, can then be used to define national priorities for data collection and analysis. Indicators for global tracking are essential for tracking trends, but they are necessarily broad in scope and by design are not directly responsive to local context, which would lessen their relevance across settings. This small set of global indicators is expected to be supplemented by national data, to be defined and expanded by national governments, NGOs, and other stakeholders to be responsive to national issues and ultimately, will be central to making progress.

Second, equity in education may be especially important to measure at the national level. Factors influencing equity in education (which children and youth are not enrolling in school, for example, and whether the rights of children with disabilities are being protected) are likely to vary considerably from one country to the next, due to differential effects of policies, cultural influences, and other contextual factors. Getting good estimates of equity may require using multiple sources including household surveys, administrative data, and independent research studies, a combination that is rarely available at the global level. Together, these data can be invaluable in providing more nuanced and detailed examples of action at the national level, and moreover, triangulation of global indicators with national data can provide insight into the value and meaning of global indicators.

Third, cooperation between international, regional and country efforts can lead to efficiencies in developing new global indicators. Good measurement requires careful delineation of what construct should be measured and how, as well as an investment in testing items within a range of contexts. Given the demand for new indicators, there is a great need for cooperation and sharing of expertise and resources across countries to develop new ways of measuring. The results from national studies can then be used to propose new indicators for collection at the global level, especially when several countries or regions work together to define and test new indicators. Innovations in measurement, such as the introduction of common cores of items for measuring learning, have the potential to significantly increase efficiency of measurement, and require strong cooperation among national and regional entities.

Fourth, provide resources for national data systems. As part of the proposed education agenda, it is essential to provide financial and technical support to national statistical offices and education ministries to support capacity development, especially as demands for data on learning and diverse sub-populations increase.

In sum, a global agenda arguably requires globally-comparable indicators; without knowing whether goals are being reached, a global agenda is impeded in its ability to spur action. But this should not detract from the importance of national measurement: at the heart of effective monitoring, data should be responsive to demand, and produced for those who will use it to make decisions to improve education, which necessitates accurate and reliable data at the national level. As we move towards 2030, innovations in measurement and data collection will likely place even greater emphasis on national data, with global tracking across all areas drawing increasingly from national data sources.

Further reading:

UNESCO-UIS consultation document on the post-2015 global education indicators

http://www.uis.unesco.org/Education/Pages/post-2015-education-indicators.aspx

The Politics of Organizing and Regulating Chilean Education Post-2015

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Key words: *education policies; governance; reform; regulation; planning; cost effectiveness; decision making; globalization.*

Summary: *The last decades have seen a spectacular expansion in education enrolments in Chile, but also increasing differences in performance among students according to their socio-economic status. The period of rapid growth in global net primary enrolment began as early as the 1960s, but eventually national tests showed that the education system does not give all students the same chances to succeed. Since 2011, student street demonstrations in Santiago have been demanding opportunities for quality education for all students. These demands have produced many proposals for and discussions about education reforms, but there is no national consensus on specific policies that can guarantee success for all.*

Over 3,500 classrooms were built in 1964-5 to enrol 186,000 children of school age that wanted to study in public primary education and 20,000 youngsters that demanded public secondary education. At the same time, free school meals were provided in public schools and some subsidies were assigned to non-profit private schools. By 1970 near 95% of each population cohort had access to primary education (from 85% in 1964). However, public schools offered only a 4.5 hours daily schedule, while private schools usually offered a longer schedule (6 to 7 hours per day).

In 1981, Chile established a voucher system (demand-led subsidies) for both public and private schools. Eventually 500,000 families in middle and middle-high socioeconomic status transferred their children from public schools to private-subsidized schools. Therefore, these schools increased their share of primary enrolments from 32% in 1990 to 55% today and the public sector reduced their share from 60% to 38% in the same period. Paid-private schools, which cater for the upper 20% of the socioeconomic distribution, keep their share of near 8% of enrolments.

The design of TIMSS and PISA studies of international comparative performance triggered the attention on objective measures of achievement by types of schools. In 1994, Chile was informed that 40% of their 4th grade students were not able to understand literal information provided in a short text.

No differences in achievement were observed among the three types of schools when comparisons were controlled by socioeconomic status. However, the fact that public schools mainly cater for low and medium low socioeconomic levels while private-subsidized schools cater for medium and medium-high levels generated significant differences in average scores for both types of schools. The lower achievement scores of public schools have been underlined in local mass media and such messages seemed to convince casual readers that public education was low quality. This misleading information to public opinion about the differences in quality would be the driving force for the shift of enrolments to private-subsidized schools; for the recent street demonstrations; and for the difficulty in reaching consensus on effective strategies.

To improve learning and teachers' salaries, funds were allocated to extend the schools' schedule to 6 hours per day and by 2002 two thirds of the public and subsidized schools had implemented the extended schedule (funds were also allocated to improve initial teacher training, but no improvements were implemented).

In these previous reforms, the government succeeded in tackling issues that mainly required strong investment of public resources. Chile could expand facilities for universal access, provide textbooks and meals, extend time available for learning, raise teachers' salaries, provide extra funds for schools attending students with special needs, and implement national achievement testing. However, it has not been able to face professional concerns such as sound initial and on the job teacher training, allocation of teachers in each school, or coaching students with special needs. In other words, it has been able to fix the 'hardware' problems of education, but not the 'software' ones, when many imprecise elements must be taken into account at the same time (to define priorities and sequences of actions involved in the chosen solution).

A few examples of 'software elements' may illustrate the complexity of the task: (i) Amount of a common core curriculum that should be implemented by all schools; (ii) Amount of resources for textbooks and learning materials available for each course or program; (iii) Research reports on the impact of textbooks and learning materials on students' achievement; (iv) Prevalence of frontal teaching (aimed to the average student) when inclusion policies are implemented; (v) Criteria for admission when applications exceed the number of places available; (vi) Teachers' professional autonomy according to the quality of their initial training; (vii) Scholarships and loans to bear the need to contribute to family income, or (viii) Information about the relative impact on salaries of education and socioeconomic levels.

The difficulty of taking into account too many interrelated elements and events explains that still three-quarters of Chilean adults aged 15 to 65 fail to attain the literacy level considered by experts as a suitable minimum skill for coping with the demands of modern life and work (IALS-OECD, 2000). It may also explain why the "best teacher to teach reading in each school" seldom teaches in first grade or why 4th grade students write less than 10 pages of creative writing per year.

In summary, there are many isolated partial improvements, but not enough to give all students fair chances to succeed. For example, student loan repayment options now include a maximum amount of money (10%) taken off the salary. In addition, there are some simple but effective interventions (such as the peer-assisted reading practice) and a huge number of proposals are being discussed in Congress, political parties, think tanks, NGOs and research centres. Given the lack of clear patterns for developing education, the future might be highly influenced by the major international leaders in education.

The cases of Finland, Korea, Singapore or Japan are frequently mentioned in present debates on Chilean education and some particular aspect (salary, autonomy, class size or little variation in outcomes) is usually proposed for a quick implementation. However, there are few comments about the Finnish experience as a relentless reformer since 1980 (rather than as a highly visible and quick innovator) or its ethic of disciplined patriotism.

Although there is a present consensus on an educational vision of equity, inclusiveness, humanity, and creativity, education post-2015 faces a new set of complex alternatives and there are few successful reforms that can be implemented in a developing country. A few examples illustrate the magnitude of the challenge for decision-makers: Local or central control of the system; single or multiple models for initial teacher training; upgrade present trainers or send them abroad for doctoral training; increase all teachers' salaries or only those meeting certain standards; or promote traditional or 'flipped' classrooms. Professional subjective (Delphi) estimates of feasibility and impact of each alternative could help to reach consensus on the purpose of education for the next decade and to bring together government policy and public engagement.

Returning to Basics: One of the Keys to Securing a Bold and Broad Set of Indicators for Education Post-2015

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Key words: *Post-2015; transformative agenda; education reform; indicator development*

Summary: *A truly transformative agenda for education Post-2015 can only be achieved if the current processes of developing indicators are informed by a larger guiding vision for what we want the world's peoples to achieve through education by 2030. Treating these processes as a purely political or technical exercise risks confining us to already existing options and closing off other transformative possibilities.*

With a little over nine months before the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are due to be agreed, the UN Open Working Group on SDGs (OWG) formulation and the UNESCO Education for All (EFA) Steering Committee "Muscat Agreement"[1] share a common goal and the proposed targets cover much the same ground. The next phase in the SDG process is the development of indicators to measure progress toward established targets. Some of the questions that arise in this indicator development phase include: How can issues of equity best be incorporated into the framing of the indicators? How can quantitative and qualitative concerns be balanced in the formulation of indicators for the new framework? Can the classroom processes and outcomes that are truly transformative be adequately captured in the targets and indicators for the new framework? What are the implications of the current targets for defining, indicating and assessing learning post-2015? During this 'indicators development phase', the debates and discussions have become increasingly technical with attention to essential properties of indicators, challenges of measurability and the like. As these discussions intensify, this writing is aimed at urging a step back for a moment to examine the larger ambition that this part of the process emanates from. It is the development of a new framework grounded in sustainable development and that holds as one of its central aims, eradicating poverty by the year 2030.

Pasi Salhberg (2011) observes that one of the contributing factors to the success of the Finnish education system is that education reform was guided by 'an inspiring vision of what good public education should be'. This commitment, he states, was so deeply rooted that it transcended political partisanship, surviving 20 governments and nearly 30 different ministers of education. This means that the focal point for change was articulation of the purpose and rationale for education. This served as a touchstone for action – a reference point against which reform actions would be gauged and tested. This type of raison d'etre has been largely absent from the education debates in this Post-2015 space. This absence is perhaps due in part to 'the unfinished business' of the EFA Goals or the education Millennium Development Goals and the sense created by this unfinished agenda that the next logical step is, of course, to devise a plan to complete these outstanding benchmarks before casting our gaze farther afield.

So far, the process of settling targets, and now defining indicators that would measure and assess progress toward those targets, has been largely a technical and political exercise. The current OWG framework[2] which will form the subject of inter-governmental negotiations starting in January 2015 has proposed 17 goals and 169 targets and the concerns expressed by traditional donor countries, in particular, have been urging pragmatism and the need for a practical and actionable agenda that focuses on the needs of the vulnerable and most marginalized in very practical ways. In the education space, these calls for a practical approach threaten to gut the current OWG proposal of 7 targets and 3 means of implementation and the Muscat Agreement's 7 targets of any robust or progressive elements.

For instance, the conceptual challenges of defining 'relevant and effective learning outcomes' proposed in OWG target 4.1 or its equivalent Target 2 under the Muscat Agreement raise concerns about the possibility that the agenda might de-

1 http://www.uis.unesco.org/Education/Documents/muscat-agreement-2014.pdf

2 http://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/1579SDGs%20Proposal.pdf

fault toward what is easiest to measure (i.e. numeracy and literacy) rather than a broader array of learning outcomes that we all care about. Some of the questions that arise include: What 'relevant learning outcomes' should be included along with numeracy and literacy? How might an appropriate balance be achieved? What unintended consequences might result from a narrow construction of 'relevant learning outcomes' focused primarily on minimum standards of numeracy and literacy? One further example arises in the case of OWG target 4.7 and its Muscat Agreement equivalent target 5 which call for knowledge, skills, values and attitudes needed to promote global citizenship education or education for sustainable development. These concepts lack agreed definitions and there is considerable overlap between education for sustainable development and global citizenship education. Accordingly, the learning outcomes in these areas defy neat measurement. Some of the questions that arise in relation to these targets and developing indicators relating to them are: How could/should these outcomes be measured given how difficult they are to quantify? Are there proxy indicators that might serve to open the door on the social and cultural outcomes of education which the targets attempt to capture?

The 'common sense' discourse of aiming for a practical and actionable agenda appeals to many operating in and around the space of these post-2015 debates, particularly when one considers the possibility of ending up with hundreds of indicators across the range of new development goals. However, what is missed in this quick grab at logic and 'common sense' is that the alternatives we reach for within this global development space become confined within already existing possibilities with the consequent closing off of other transformative possibilities (Popkewitz, 2000; Sanyal, 2014). In other words, when we descend into the technical exercise of indicators' development and lose sight of a larger guiding vision, we fail to engage the calls for developing a new sustainable development agenda that is truly transformative. The end result becomes an agenda that in reality is far removed from our articulated vision and that takes as self-evident a range of fixed options and closes off other possibilities.

I suggest that if we begin our concerns from an enlarged and philosophically grounded space of what the aims and purpose of education should be for the world's peoples, such that it is rooted in sustainable development and aims to eradicate poverty by the year 2030, the discourse we engage in even in this moment of the technical indicators development exercise might be radically different. Moreover, what vision or ambition for education in 2030 must we hold if we are to achieve this overarching aim?

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Momentum for Education Beyond 2015: the Case of the GCC and Yemen

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Key words: *Education for All; Post-2015 agenda for education; Education in GCC and Yemen*

Summary: *The article provides an analysis of progress made since the Global Education for All (EFA) Meeting (GEM) in Muscat in May 2014, takes stock of EFA progress in the Arab States with a focus on the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries and Yemen, and highlights some priorities to set an education post-2015 agenda for the Arab States to be discussed at The World Education Forum in the Republic of Korea in May 2015.*

At the Global Education for All Meeting (GEM), governments, education partners and civil society met in Muscat in May 2014, and proposed an aspirational, transformative, and holistic post-2015 education agenda of universal relevance with a focus on equity, quality, learning outcomes and lifelong learning.

As a follow up to the 2014 GEM, UNESCO is currently engaged in several inter-related processes aimed at assessing national progress in the six Education for All (EFA) goals, and shaping the future education development agenda in the Arab States, including the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries and Yemen. Reflections, debates and research are on-going at global, regional or national levels to shape a future agenda of education that is responsive to today's challenges in this region. UNESCO transmitted the Muscat Agreement to the United Nations Secretary General and co-chairs of the Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals (OWG) of the United Nations General Assembly. It was also distributed to Member States of UNESCO to enable their preparations for the global and regional level consultations on post-2015 education agenda, leading up to the World Education Forum 2015 and the high level UN Summit in September 2015.

With the deadline to the EFA goals approaching in 2015, UNESCO in close collaboration with Member States is taking stock of national progress towards the six EFA goals and targets to identify priorities for a post 2015 agenda. Preliminary analysis of regional trends in the EFA national reports suggests that EFA is clearly an unfinished business. While the Muscat Agreement prioritizes most of the challenges, there are priorities in the Arab States that still need to be addressed in the post-2015 education agenda in the region. A central priority is educational quality and improved learning outcomes. It is not enough to enrol children in school; educational quality and improved learning outcomes are imperative. Teacher policies are a priority in education policy agendas internationally and regionally and play a key role in improving school results. An integrated capacity development framework for teacher preparation, deployment, and career development is recommended. There is a growing recognition of the benefits of early childhood education and care, and an emphasis on transition to secondary education, especially for girls. Equity is central, with emphasis on marginalized communities, poor households, learners with physical and learning disabilities, and those living in rural and remote areas, especially girls. Finally, there are suggestions for re-definition of Arab Education beyond school attendance and performance on tests and exams. Arab education systems should be transformed in such a way as to provide all students, with opportunities to be innovative, able to adapt to and assimilate change, and be able to continue their learning. According to the review of EFA in the region, evidence from the EFA reports suggests that the impact of armed conflict on education has been detrimental in many countries in the region, both those in conflict and refugee-receiving countries (i.e. Syria crisis); therefore, one critical point that the region could put forward to the post-2015 agenda is education for resilience, that is strengthening education systems to prevent potential conflicts and mitigate the risk of conflict on education goals.

Within the context of the GCC States, despite the progress made over the past decades in developing educational systems, results in quality of learning outcomes are low when compared to other countries at similar income levels. In response to these challenges, UNESCO Doha is conducting a research study to provide a critical analysis of the performance of education in the GCC, and provide recommendations for improving the quality of learning outcomes to enable evidence-based decision-making. The study, "Momentum for Education Beyond 2015", funded by the Qatar National Research Fund, for the period 2014-2016, aims to analize and identify the challenges and opportunities for improving Educational Quality and Enhancing the Performance of Education Systems in the GCC; and to gather information on the challenges that must be addressed to set the post 2015 education agenda.

As a next step, the Arab Region Conference will take place in January 2015 in Egypt to bring together Ministers of Education, planners, and policy makers to make evidence-based decisions to set a post-2015 education agenda. On the basis of the national EFA reviews conducted by the countries, it is expected the Arab Region Consultation will take stock of EFA progress, gain insights on lessons learnt for the future, and provide an opportunity to examine regional trends, challenges and priorities. The regional recommendations on education post-2015 agenda will feed into the global development agenda and inform policy dialogue and the international framework for action to be discussed at The World Education Forum in Incheon, Republic of Korea on 19-22 May 2015.

The Right to a Good Teacher

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Key words: *teachers; teacher shortage; indicators for teachers beyond 2015*

Summary: *This article explains why a teacher target is a necessary and perfectly feasible feature of the post-2015 education agenda.*

"Don't worry; you know it is thanks to teachers that all of us got here", the government advisor said. It was the last session of negotiations of the UN Open Working Group and our efforts to strengthen the teacher target did not seem to pay off.

There is overwhelming consensus on teachers as a cornerstone of quality education; yet the current education agenda did not pay any attention to teachers, neither did the UN process. While references were made to the importance of qualified teachers throughout the Open Working Group process, it was only once the Means of Implementation targets were introduced that a (rather weak) target on teacher training emerged.

While it is understandable that the education targets were considered one too many already, we know that more than 27 million teachers will be needed to achieve universal primary education by 2030. And this is only at primary school level. There are countries where less than 50 % of the teachers are trained, and others where the training itself is limited to 2-3 weeks. The chronic shortage of teachers is by no means an issue for so-called developing countries only; about half of the U.S. teachers leave the profession within the first few years. We also know that it is the most marginalised students that tend to lose out on having a good teacher.

Teachers are at the centre of the inputs versus outcomes debate within the broader post-2015 process. But an outcome-focused agenda is also one that sets up both countries and kids to fail; we can continue to measure the failures in terms of learning outcomes but that in itself is no guarantee for improvement. We need to look at the factors that make education possible. Paradoxically, the same people that talk about skills for work seem to think that teachers don't need any training to teach.

The Muscat Agreement, on the contrary, proposes a robust teacher target: *By 2030, all governments ensure that all learners are taught by qualified, professionally-trained, motivated and well-supported teachers.* Education International fought hard for a target that goes beyond the obvious characteristics of training and qualifications to also include working conditions and support structures.

We understand *qualified* as encompassing the minimum level of formal education background needed to enter the profession, while *trained* refers to the minimum level of pre- and in-service preparation. Obvious indicators here are the percentages of teachers that are qualified according to national standards and the pupil-teacher ratio. In this way emphasis is on national standards and, thus, the development of strong national education systems. The gender and distribution of these teachers must also be taken into account.

Motivated and *well-supported* are of course concepts that leave room for interpretation, but our understanding is that the former should focus on working conditions, while the latter looks at professional support. The best data on teachers' motivation and support would probably be gathered through surveys, consultations and other forms of self-reporting, but there are other options too.

While salary is an obvious indicator it has to include other forms of financial and non-financial benefits, and be placed in a context to be relevant. It would be important to look at indicators like average teacher salary relative to poverty levels, or percentage of teachers that are paid below average pay or live below the poverty line. The ILO has a number of decent work indicators that would help shed light on working conditions, such as job tenure, precarious employment rate, working poor rate, and collective bargaining rate.

At the same time, motivation should also be understood to include issues such as pedagogical autonomy and planning time, classroom resources and learning environments, and more work will have to be done on possible indicators for that.

Another important element to capture is the involvement and participation of teachers in the development of education policy.

The principal indicator for *well-supported teachers* would be the incidence of regular continuous professional development or percentage of teachers who received job training. In addition, it would be important to find ways of highlighting whether the professional development is offered for free, and whether there are any career development prospects. Teacher turnover would also be an interesting proxy for support.

Regardless of what happens over the next year, it seems to me that quality and equity will be the overarching priorities of the new global education agenda. Even if, in the worst case scenario, the new agenda frames teachers only as a means of implementation, some of the indicators outlined above will have to be used to operationalise *quality* in the other education targets. By 2030, all learners must be taught by qualified, professionally-trained, motivated and well-supported teachers.

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Seven Targets for Education & Skills Post-2015: Is there a case for target 8?

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Key Words: *education for all, educational systems, education administration*

Summary: *Arguably the current Goal and seven targets from Muscat Agreement in the area of education fail to note the absolutely crucial role of professional management or good governance in project success. Perhaps an eighth target is therefore needed.*

In 2000 the world embarked on an ambitious journey to raise educational access for all by 2015[1]. The logic of this was that better education would help to alleviate poverty, improve health outcomes and improve economies in general. Educators across the globe started focusing their attention on the Education for All Goals; they planned, lobbied and implemented. There were many projects and initiatives to improve access and equity in education across the globe. Much has been achieved but as is documented in the last *Education for All Global Monitoring Report (*2013/2014)[2] 'not a single goal will be achieved globally by 2015'; the targets have therefore eluded many developing countries.

In the 2014 UNESCO General Education Meeting Final Statement, The Muscat Agreement[3], countries endorsed the overarching Goal to 'Ensure equitable and inclusive quality education and lifelong learning for all by 2030' and proposed seven targets to be met by 2030. Five targets were output targets and two targets were input targets. The input targets were target six 'By 2030, all governments ensure that all learners are taught by qualified, professionally-trained, motivated and well supported teachers' and target seven 'By 2030, all countries allocate at least 4-6% of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or at least 15-20% of their public expenditure to education, prioritizing groups most in need; and strengthen financial cooperation for education, prioritizing countries most in need'. The inclusion of input targets signals a move towards considering education and skills post-2015 as systems, taking into account inputs, processes and outputs of education to produce the intended goal.

Many medium to high income countries with small populations, such as Oman, have achieved improved rates of access and equity in their educational systems over the past 14 years and are now struggling to address issues of quality and outcome standards. In a recent joint review, by the Ministry of Education Oman and the World Bank, of Oman's Grade 1 to 12 Education, recommendations were proposed to further improve the system which addressed five areas 1. Focusing on quality; 2.Expanding participation in specific areas; 3.Developing an appropriate teaching force with strong pedagogical skills; 4.Improving education relevance and 5. Management and financial implications. In relation to the fifth area Oman allocates a significant proportion of its civil ministries' recurrent budget to the education sector as a whole (including higher education) as human resource development is a high priority for development. It is estimated that around 17.5%[4] of the government recurrent civil ministries budget is allocated to education as a whole or approximately 4.3% of GDP[5]. Financial support for educational development has been a driver for the impressive achievements made so far in education, but in order to improve on the gains made so far and achieve the goals of Education and Skills post-2015, the issue of management needs to be addressed.

For Education and Skills Post-2015 to be successful there is the need to consider the vital role that management plays in developing an efficient and effective educational system. Many developing countries are committed to improve their educational targets but fail to do so due to weak governance and management which thwarts important initiatives and projects from being successfully implemented and integrated into the educational

1 Education for All, Dakar 2000

2 UNESCO Global Monitoring Report, 2013/2014

3 UNESCO Global Education for All Meeting, The Muscat Agreement, May 2014

4 pg. 239, Education in Oman. The Drive for Quality. Ministry of Education and the World Bank, 2013

5 World Bank, Public Spending on Education (%GDP), 2009

systems, thus reducing their impact on improving educational outcomes. Many initiatives begin well but lose steam along the way and grind to a halt due to weak management, monitoring and follow-up. In order to address this is there not a need for another input target to be added to the Muscat Agreement?

Target 8

By 2030, all governments ensure that education systems are staffed by well-qualified, professionally trained, motivated, educational managers at central, local and school level

It is time to start setting global goals to improve national educational systems as a whole through improved governance and management so that these systems can in turn be more responsive to national and global targets. Developing countries need to develop a critical mass of qualified educational administrators to staff and further develop national educational systems to ensure that education and skills targets post-2015 are more likely to be achieved.

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AID'S RELATION WITH THE POST-2015 EDUCATION AGENDA AND LANDSCAPE

Education and its Prospects in the Post-2015 Discourse: The Focus on Global Citizenship Education (GCED) and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)

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Keywords: *Japan; ODA reform; sustainable development; ESD*

Summary: *Facing the global move toward the post-2015, the government of Japan is currently revising the ODA charter and called the Council to discuss the direction of Japanese international cooperation. The paper introduces the latest debates on the ODA charger and educational cooperation in relation to the global and Japanese domestic contexts. The Government of Japan has recently co-hosted the international conference on Education for Sustainable Development with UNESCO. The paper will also discuss the potential value of ESD in providing the foundation not only for the education agenda but also for broader post-2015 sustainable development goals.*

One of the difficulties of setting the post-2015 agenda is the fact that the focus areas are much more diffuse than during the period when the Education for All development goals and Millennium Development Goals framed the discourse and practices of international educational development. In the past several years, many donors have revised their education-sector assistance strategies, including the World Bank (2011), USAID (2011), DfID (2010), and the government of Japan (2011). One commonality to their strategies is the broadening scope from an exclusive focus on universal basic schooling to other aspects of basic education or to other subsectors such as secondary, post-secondary, or technical and vocational education.

In the case of Japan, in 2010, JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) compiled a brochure to present the framework of Japanese educational cooperation until 2015. Subsequently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has publicized "Japan's Education Cooperation Policy 2011-2015". In the process of developing these documents, a wide range of stakeholders in JICA, ministries, academia, and some civil social organizations were involved in the discussion about the strengths and priorities of Japanese operations in this field. These were the first official policy documents which specifically focused on Japanese cooperation in education since the Basic Education for Growth Initiative (BEGIN) was announced in 2002. BEGIN focused on basic education and attempted to demonstrate the Japanese contribution to EFA and its areas of strength, such as in-service teacher training or education for post-conflict nation-building, in relation to its aid philosophies to support the self-help efforts of the assisted countries and to share Japanese developmental experience. These policy documents in 2010 and 2011 were meant to serve as the operational framework for the transitional period between EFA and post-EFA.

Starting from July 2014, the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) has gathered the Council on International Educational Cooperation to discuss the direction of Japanese international cooperation, particularly that by MEXT. Simultaneously, JICA has launched an internal process to review the 2010 policy document, in view of the global shift to the post-2015 agenda. These movements also coincide with the major revision of the Japanese ODA Charter, which will set the fundamental principles and framework of Japanese ODA, including education. The ODA charter was first decided by the Cabinet in 1993 and went through some minor revisions in 2003. This year (2014), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs summoned the Expert Council on ODA, which met four times from March to June. The proposals of this Expert Council, after being modified in response to the comments from the public and ministries, will be the basis of the revised ODA Charter, which will be adopted at the end of this year.

There is a substantive debate over the focus of the ODA Charter as it has clearly shifted. The current Charter highlights Japan's roles in humanitarian assistance and poverty reduction. However, the proposal from the Expert Council suggests expanding the scope of international development cooperation to trade promotion, cooperation (particularly economic) through non-ODA channels, and proactive support to peacekeeping forces. While the scope is enlarged, less weight is given to humanitarian and social development. Rather, the emphasis is on economic aspects of development which are mutually beneficial for the recipient countries and Japan. In this context, the direct reference to "education" is minimal, except for the industrial human resource development which is closely linked with economic cooperation.

The global discourse on the post-2015 agenda is directed at broader international values, such as sustainable growth, in contrast to the domestic debates which are increasingly driven by diplomatic and economic national interests. Such divergence between global idealism, on the one hand, and pragmatism and egocentricity at the national level, on the other hand, is experienced by the professionals of educational cooperation not only in Japan but in many countries. At the same time, there is a commonality between the global and the national discourses these days; at both levels, education tends to be considered as a seamless part of various development activities, but not as much as a clear-cut, stand-alone field. In the broadening scope of development discourse both internationally and nationally, education is likely to be seen as an indispensable foundation which cuts across various issues, thinly stretched and not at the forefront.

Thanks to lobbying through various channels globally, it is almost assured that one of the Sustainable Development Goals, which will be adopted at the UN summit in September 2015, will be about education. Even so, within that education goal, there will be branches of sub-goals which cover wide areas, from universal access to quality basic education, adult literacy and skills, preparedness of teachers, educational finance, and global citizenship education (GCED) and education for sustainable development (ESD). In sum, in the current discourse on international development, education is a field which tends to be stretched and blurred not only in relation to other developmental fields but also within itself.

Given such fragmentation, there is a need for a common philosophical foundation which would overarch the compartmentalized and diversified educational programs which are classified into different parts of the broad map of the post-2015 agenda. I believe GCED and ESD have potential to provide such an overarching framework. The goal of GCED is to empower learners to engage and assume active roles both locally and globally to face and resolve global challenges (UNESCO 2014a), while ESD aims to have every human being acquire the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values necessary to shape a sustainable future (UNESCO 2014b). Albeit with different wording and some difference in the issues of focus, both of them promote students' active learning to foster citizens with knowledge, skills, attitudes and values, who can contribute to achieve a sustainable, just and peaceful world.

The Muscat Agreement was announced after the Global Education For All Meeting in Muscat, Oman, in May, and will be the basic document for consultation among stakeholders of educational cooperation to feed ideas for SDGs. In this agreement, GCED and ESD together were made to be one of the seven pillars of the overarching educational goal. Although ESD and GCED are listed on the same level as six other pillars, in fact they are more at the fundamental, philosophical level of educational thinking and have the potential to bring other goals together under a coherent and higher goal of developing the values and attitudes of global citizens. The challenge, which is the flip side of their potential, is how to translate these philosophically profound ideas into practices and to develop indicators to measure achievement. This challenge has to be seriously faced by specialists, so that the goals and practices of educational cooperation, which cross-cut and stretch out to various fields of development, will not be reduced to fragmented tools of human resource development but be a coherent endeavour to cultivate values and attitudes for sustainable development in the minds of citizens globally.

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Japan and Africa: a Post-2015 Education Perspective? Discontinuities and continuities

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Key words: *Japan; JICA; post-2015 education policy; Africa; TICAD V*

Summary: *Japan's post-2015 education cooperation in Africa is likely to make a renewed emphasis on post-secondary education based on public-private partnership, while commitment to basic and secondary education will continue with heightened focus on learning outcomes.*

Japan's strategic engagement with Africa with emphasis on private-sector-led growth

Japan's post-2015 policy direction for education in Africa will reflect not only on-going global discussion on post-2015 education agenda, but also its overall ODA policy towards Africa, which is undergoing unprecedented changes. TICAD V (Fifth Tokyo International Conference on African Development) in 2013 marked a notable shift in Japan's engagement with Africa from the one only premised on aid to the one designed to facilitate trade and investment. "Private sector-led growth" was set out in the outcome documents of TICAD V, Yokohama Action Plan 2013-2017. The "private sector-led growth in Africa" discourse offers a reasonable justification for strengthened involvement of Japanese firms in African development. It is also well in tune with the growing realisation within the DAC community that development should go "beyond aid" and that sustained economic growth requires partnership with various actors including private sectors (Menocal and Denney 2011).

Japan's new strategic engagement with Africa is partly a response to Africa's perceived changing economic landscape as "new growth centre". It is also partly a response to the growing diplomatic and commercial presence in Africa by its neighbouring countries such as China and South Korea.

Implication of Japan's strategic engagement with Africa for post-2015 education cooperation

Higher education and Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) were the two pillars of Japan's education aid to Africa up to 1980s. This trend changed in the following period, with increased focus on basic education, echoing the global commitment to Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Japan's recent emphasis on private sector-led growth in Africa discussed above is likely to make a renewed focus on post-secondary education for post-2015 period. Strengthening higher education cooperation is also a response to the global discourses of knowledge-based economy and innovation for growth.

Higher Education

Japan's renewed focus on higher education in Africa is exemplified in the "ABE Initiative" (African Business Education Initiative for the Youth), which is a new scholarship scheme launched by the Prime Minister Abe in 2013. It plans to offer a total of 1,000 young Africans for the period of 2014-2019 to study at Master's level in Japanese universities and to experience internships at Japanese firms. While intending to develop Africa's potential industrial human resources, it also aims to establish a network of African human resources on the one hand with Japanese universities and businesses on the other. The ABE Initiative is also expected to facilitate the "internationalisation of Japanese universities" – one of the important rationales of Japanese international cooperation in higher education in recent years.

Two more flagship higher education cooperation projects are listed in the Yokohama Action Plan: namely, (i) the establishment of the Egypt-Japan University of Science and Technology (E-JUST) and (ii) the enhancement of the Pan African University (PAU) through strengthened support to Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology in Kenya. Both intend to create regional Centres of Excellence (COEs) in Science Technology and Innovation (STI), facilitating human resources development and world class research.

Skills Development

Yokohama Action Plan also made several explicit references to continuous support to skills development in Africa. Establishing ten TICAD Industrial Human Resources Development Centres for Business and Industry was announced, which offer the opportunity to learn Japanese work styles and ethics known as "Kaizen". The Action Plan also mentions the strengthening leading TVET institutions, while offering basic skills development for the disadvantaged in post-conflict situations. South-South and Triangular cooperation will be actively sought, especially when Japan faces a difficulty of identifying appropriate expertise in Japan. Whatever approach Japan may take, overcoming the mismatch between training and employment will be one of the central strategies.

Basic and Secondary Education

The Yokohama Action Plan also indicates Japan's continuous commitment to basic and secondary education in Africa, under the theme of "Creating an Inclusive Society for Growth." Whether this expressed commitment is translated into the increased budget allocation to basic education in the post-2015 period is yet to be seen, since there are many competing demands.

The specific strategies referred to in the Yokohama Action Plan are (i) expansion of teacher education based on learner-centred pedagogy (Strengthening Mathematics and Science in Education (SMASSE)); (ii) promotion of participatory school based management (School for All); (iii) support for improving learning assessment system; and (iv) construction and rehabilitation of school facilities. "Support for improving the learning assessment system" is a relatively new cooperation menu, which is a sign of Japan's strengthened commitment to the improvement of learning outcome, in line with the increasing attention to learning quality globally. However, as Archer (2014) and Kitamura et al. (2014) suggested, overemphasis on test scores may run a risk of the social and emotional aspects being overlooked. This is an important issue to be considered, as Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) and Global Citizenship Education (GCED) were included in the Muscat Agreement at the Global EFA Meeting (GEM) in Oman in May 2014, both envisaging broader notions of quality learning. The Yokohama Action Plan in 2013 had no specific reference to ESD nor GCED, though a side event on ESD was held during TICAD V. Japan being one of the key promoters of ESD, it will be interesting to see how Japan will address it in its post-2015 education cooperation.

Project type cooperation (both technical cooperation and grant aid) and South-South cooperation are likely to be the pillars of post-2015 Japanese cooperation for Africa, while budget support may continue to be provided to a few selected countries. The relative preference for project-type cooperation is grounded in Japan's ODA philosophy of self-help support and capacity development. It does not however mean that Japan will disregard policy dialogues. Rather, efforts will be made to make the knowledge gained from field-level cooperation available to the policy dialogues both at country and global level. Such an approach is already evident in its School for All projects in West Africa. Bottom-up approaches to policy dialogue may be unique to Japan's cooperation, different from policy-based assistance often adopted by Western donors.

The above brief analysis demonstrates that post-2015 Japan's education cooperation in Africa is likely to be driven by multiple rationales influenced by internal and external factors. The challenge may be how to ensure that the variety of commitments made or to be made will be integrated as a coherent strategy to achieve quality learning for all in Africa.

Acknowledgements

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The Face of the Post-2015 International Development Agenda in the 6th FOCAC Meeting

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Key words: *FOCAC; post-2015 agenda; integration; strategic and policy consensus.*

Summary: *The 6th FOCAC will integrate the post-2015 agenda definitely because of past experience in implementing the MDGs and current convergence of strategies and policy stands between China and Africa, while the exact wording is still uncertain.*

The year 2015 will be one of the most important years in the near future for many reasons, including for example, the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II, the discussion of the post-2015 international development agenda (hereafter "post-2015 agenda"), the forging of the post-2020 global actions for climate change, and the 6th Ministerial Conference of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) to be held in South Africa. The fact that both China and Africa are involved in all these events makes the 6th FOCAC a crucial gathering for developing joint plans. However, the most important thing of these potential joint efforts is how to integrate the post-2015 agenda into the 6th FOCAC, considering the simultaneity of Africa's rising and China's transformation.

It's important to note that the 6th FOCAC will definitely integrate with the post-2015 agenda. The fact that China and Africa have rich experience in implementation of the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) since 2000, the year FOCAC was created, lays a solid foundation for strong strategic consensus and political will between both parties in forging a universal post-2015 agenda. In fact, both parties have expressed their consensus in this regard in the 5th FOCAC in 2012 and the 4th BRICS Summit in 2013, stressing that poverty eradication and sustainable development should be the centrepieces of the new agenda.

The recent efforts of both parties in facilitating the building of the post-2015 agenda prove that there will be room for the agenda to be included in the 6th FOCAC documents.

In terms of policy positions, both parties have issued their policy papers, with *China's Position on Post 2015 development agenda* published in September 2013, and the *Common African Position (CAP) on the Post 2015 Development Agenda* published in January 2014. These two documents have lots of similarities. For example, while different in guiding principles for building the post-2015 agenda, CAP's 3 principles do cover all 7 principles advocated by China. There are also lots of commonalities and similarities between the 5 focus areas of China and the 6 pillars of Africa. For example, both China and Africa attach great importance to continuity and forward-looking of the post-2015 agenda. Meanwhile, both China and Africa note that a more ambitious development agenda than the MDGs needs to be emphasized. Moreover, the two parties emphasize the importance of international cooperation in advancing the post-2015 development agenda, as well as the need to take an active role in advocating for a new global partnership for the agenda, like honouring existing commitments, improving the quality and predictability of development financing, and consolidating trade partnership, etc.

There is more detailed evidence supporting the above conclusion. The working document for the 11th session of the Open Working Group of the General Assembly on Sustainable Development Goals (OWG) issued in early May 2014 is the most recent document with a detailed list of advocating countries for every proposed indicator. It shows high similarity between China and Africa in exact indicators proposed. Among the 140 indicators of 16 focus areas, China proposed 30 indicators while Africa proposed 75; 19 of those indicators proposed by the two countries overlapped (composing 63% of the total number of China's proposed indicators). This means that Africa has the highest score in terms of common proposed indicators, the second is China and the least developed countries (45 indicators proposed) with 16 in common, China and America (52) 13, and China and Brazil (33) 9.

However, what is more important may be that how will the differences between China and Africa on post-2015 agenda determine the final face of the post-2015 agenda in the final documents of the 6th FOCAC meeting.

There are two main differences between the two parties: 1) the 2nd pillar of CAP, "science, technology and innovation", is totally missed in China's position; and 2) the 5th pillar of CAP, "peace and security", is also not on the priority list of China.

However, it's important to note that these two factors are addressed by the FOCAC process. For science, technology and innovation, it is always one of the most important elements of the FOCAC action plans. The issue about peace and security is more sensitive. However, China does propose 6 indicators as the 11th OWG working document showed, and recently their position has become more clear. The most important thing is that China did propose an "Initiative on China-Africa Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Security" in the 5th FOCAC meeting in 2012.

Traditionally, the FOCAC meetings were held early November with the 5th FOCAC meeting as an exception due to the 18th National Congress of CPC. And the post-2015 agenda is expected to be finished in September 2015. Thus, based on above analysis, it's safe to say that the post-2015 agenda will have a big voice in the final document of the 6th FOCAC meeting a few months later. The only uncertainty is about the final wording; however, this will have only instrumental importance but not strategic impact.

China and Africa: a Post-2015 Focus on Higher Education?

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Key words: *China-Africa educational cooperation; higher education; south-south cooperation; post-2015 agenda*

Summary: *China-Africa cooperation in higher education is characterized by south-south cooperation. Since the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000, China has developed a number of African institutional development projects and offered scholarships and Chinese language learning to African students to promote mutual understanding and capacity building. China will obviously expand its cooperation with Africa in higher education after 2015.*

The engagement of China with Africa in higher education should be understood under the framework of China's foreign affairs policy. The long tradition of friendship between China and Africa is the foundation of Sino-Africa educational cooperation. China provides assistance to the best of its ability to other developing countries within the framework of South-South cooperation which adheres to the principles of mutual trust, win-win cooperation, common development and non-interference.

The knowledge transfer between China and Africa proceeds within the cultural context of a shared understanding. Since 2000, the number of African students in Chinese universities has increased dramatically. Between 2000 and 2011, 79,000 African students came to study in China. As they study and live in China, they can gradually learn more about China's culture, traditions and values. These African students with a real view of China serve as the cultural ambassadors to promote the mutual understanding between China and Africa. For example, a student who graduated from Beijing University is working at the centre for Chinese Culture in Benin. The cooperation between Chinese universities and African universities is expanding from the academic institutions to the communities. African Confucius Institutes are more pro-active in community involvement by introducing Chinese culture, sharing knowledge and transferring skills to facilitate mutual trust and a good relationship between China and Africa.

China's cooperation with Africa in higher education is becoming a new form of China's higher education internationalisation. In the last three decades, China has followed the model of western universities and learned from their experience of education transformation. Half a million Chinese students each year went to the West for further education, which resulted in China suffering from the brain drain to some extent. The current new cooperation modality between China and Africa has provided the opportunity for Chinese higher education institutions to export Chinese knowledge to the world. The training seminars covering the fields of education, public management, energy, health, media communication, social security and manufacturing illustrate to the African technicians and officials China's development experience which may be of significance for Africa's own modernisation efforts

One of the important aims of China-Africa educational cooperation is to enhance capacity building on both sides. A number of institutional development projects have been developed and implemented in recent years. Under the framework of the 20+20 Cooperation Plan of Chinese and African Institutions of Higher Education, Nanjing Agricultural University and Egerton University in Kenya established the "Expert Workstation" and the China-Kenya Agricultural Training Centre. Yangzhou University and the University of Khartoum in Sudan set up a "China-Africa cooperation and exchange centre of modern agricultural technology". These linkages represent an effective mechanism for tapping into the reservoir of China's university expertise to strengthen African universities.

China will definitely continue to expand its cooperation and exchange with Africa in the coming years. Moreover, it is necessary for China to make efforts for establishing accountable, sustainable and effective new partnerships with African countries and other related stakeholders. Under President Xi's administration, China has highlighted a new and diversified policy momentum in Africa. China is modifying the FOCAC mechanism to make it more effective and is emphasising more people-to-people contact to complement the bilateral cooperation at government level. China is spending half of its overseas aid budget on Africa, focusing on anti-poverty, agriculture and clean-water projects, as well as disaster relief. Besides the bilateral cooperation with the individual African countries, China also works closely with the African Union (AU) and African sub-regional organizations in a variety of fields. In the education sector, China is planning to establish more centres for Chinese Culture and to strengthen Chinese studies in Africa.

The cooperation experience between China and Africa in higher education may be of significance for the post-2015 education agenda. It is very important to develop a global cooperation network among the higher education institutions. Building intellectual capacity and the institutions needed to produce trained manpower and intellectual leadership is critical to sustainable development and self-reliance in Africa. The Millennium Development Goals and Education for All goals which both focus on the primary education and gender equity in the education sector have influenced the education policies in Africa. Affected by the international education agenda, African countries have invested heavily in primary education over the years and neglected higher education development. When designing the post-2015 agenda, the international community should realise the fact that higher education plays an important and positive role in promoting economic development.

Norway's Education Aid in a Post-2015 Perspective

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Key words: *Norway; education policy; education aid; White Paper; post-2015 agenda*

Summary: *This brief note presents the aims of the Norwegian Government as reflected in the June 2014 White Paper on Education for Development. It shows renewed attention to education aid, continued emphasis on underlying principles of equality and support of key areas, such as education of girls, and introduction of new working modalities.*

At the time of writing (December 2014), the Norwegian government led by the Conservative Erna Solberg, whose finance minister is from the right-wing Progress Party, is stuck in the negotiations of the new financial budget for 2015 partly because of disagreements with the negotiating parties, the Christian Democrats and the Liberal Party, over international aid. One of the contentious points is the planned distribution of aid to fewer recipient countries – with a suggested decrease from 116 to 84 countries. As regards education specifically, the government approved a new White Paper on Education for Development in June 2014 (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014) that sets a very ambitious agenda for Norwegian aid to education. The paper has a strong a focus on the importance of education for development, such that education was considered job number one (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2003) in the Christian Democrat led coalition government (2001-2005) that had Hilde Frafjord Johnson (now Deputy Executive Director of UNICEF) as Minister of Development. Frafjord Johnson was also instrumental in setting up in 1999 the Utstein Group of Ministers of Development from six like-minded countries that pushed, amongst others, for Education for All. The renewed strong focus on education is also consistent with its considered importance for the continued development of Norwegian society.

Norway is one of the few countries that already comply with the UN target of providing 0.7% of its GDP for international aid. In fact, Norway's contribution in 2013 constituted 1.07% (up from 0.93% in 2012). But as is the case of other countries, aid to education has decreased and aid for basic education stagnated between 2010 and 2011 (UNESCO, 2014). Throughout 2002-2011, except for 2010, Norway nevertheless maintained its position as one of the top ten funders of basic education, ranked number 8-10 during the period, and funding 4-5% of the total for basic education (Winthrop et al., 2013). However, while some of the like-minded countries, in particular the Netherlands and Denmark, have chosen to discontinue their support, virtually abandoning the sector, the new Conservative government in Norway seems set to do the opposite. Judging from the White Paper, the government plans to reverse the declining trend of support to education which, since the EFA Dakar meeting reached its high point in 2005, constituting 13.3% of the total aid budget, but then fell to 7.2% in 2013. The intention is to reach the 2005 level again by 2017, meaning an increase from 1.7 billion NOK to 3.4 billion NOK. Set in the Norwegian context, the target figure for 2017 corresponds to the budget for education at the disposal of the municipality of the capital of the country, Oslo.

There is a clear correlation between the suggested post-2015 agenda for education and the White Paper. This concerns both the sustainable development education goal focusing on inclusive education of good quality and life-long learning and the more specific education targets that form part of the parallel education agenda. There is also continuity in the general thinking around education as far as the underlying principles, key modalities and core areas are concerned in the new White Paper compared to the strategy paper outlining Education as Job Number 1 which was published in 2003 and which was originally intended to guide education aid until 2015 (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2003).

In the White Paper, there are ten thematic focus areas. Equality is a central principle as it is in the education policy for Norway. One of the key areas is education of girls. This is as important for Prime Minister Solberg as it was for then Minister of Development, Frafjord Johnson, and explains the continued high support for UNICEF. It also correlates with the choice of Malala as one of the recipients of the Peace Price by the independent Norwegian Nobel Committee taking place in Oslo in December 2014. Technical and vocational education, skills development and collaboration with the private sector are emphasized and represent what are understood as core Norwegian competences, as does early childhood care and education. Partnership will continue to be effected through the Global Partnership for Education and strengthened collaboration with and through civil society organisations, but also in new working modalities with countries. Interestingly, four pilot countries have been selected, three in Africa and one in Asia, where more substantial cross-sectoral work (including research and evaluation) is to be undertaken provisionally until 2015, after which it will be expanded to other countries. Malawi will be a test country for inter-sectoral health, nutrition and education work in early childhood care and education. Additional emphasis on, e.g. crisis and conflict, innovation, ICT, and the need for results-based financing, all bear witness to the tall order that the Government has set for itself in order to respond to its overall ambition: namely for Norway to be a leader for the post-2015 education agenda.

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Dutch Aid to Education: How Social Development was Exchanged for Economic Self-reliance and Trade

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Key words: *shifts in Dutch aid; rationales; basic education; post-secondary; post-2015*

Summary: *The Netherlands is phasing out its support to basic education, but continues its support for capacity building at post-secondary levels. How does this fit in the post-2015 development agenda?*

In 2002 a motion was accepted in the Dutch parliament which stated that 15% of the Dutch development cooperation budget should be devoted to education. From US$ 211 million in 2002 the budget for education rose to an all-time high of US$ 716 million in 2007. Within a few years the Netherlands had become one of the lead donors of the sector and in the Fast Track Initiative (now renamed the Global Partnership for Education).

It came as a surprise to many when in 2010 the Dutch government decided to phase out its support to education, notably support to basic education. What remained was support to capacity building in the priority areas of Dutch development cooperation. What led to this U-turn?

Three things contributed: 1) education lost the interest of the Minister for Development Cooperation and Dutch politicians; b) in 2010 an influential report was published by the Dutch Scientific Council For Government Policy (WRR) "Less pretention, more ambition" which labeled education as a 'soft sector' which does not contribute enough to economic self-reliance; and, c) in the same year a centre-right government took office which was critical about the effectiveness of development aid.

From then on development cooperation became an integral part of the Dutch foreign and economic policies with an emphasis on creating and supporting conditions for self-reliance of development partner countries and the promotion of mutual interests. A change in relationships was envisioned from aid to trade and investments. Support was focused on a smaller number of countries and on four areas where the Netherlands is considered to have 'a comparative advantage' to other countries: food security, water, sexual reproductive health and rights (SRHR), and peace and the rule of law. A growing role of the Dutch private sector in development cooperation was foreseen.

In this new line of thinking support to basic education was seen as a non-priority and a field where the Netherlands had no comparative advantage (!). It was argued that many developing countries already showed encouraging improvements regarding access to primary education and compared to the investments by national governments the contributions from donors were rather insignificant.

The decision of the Netherlands to pull out of basic education is a clear sign that economic motives have become more dominant in Dutch development policy. This does not mean that the Dutch government no longer supports the Millenium Development Goal (MDG) agenda. It certainly does, but it has changed its perspective on development cooperation and the added value of Dutch involvement in development agendas.

Eradication of extreme poverty, the reduction of inequality through green and inclusive growth, with attention to security and the rule of law, remain cornerstones of Dutch development cooperation policy. With the new policy a different angle is taken to solving the world's poverty problems which also means a different prioritization in supporting the MDGs. The support to the old MDG 2 (access to primary education) has almost disappeared but the focus on economic development, food security, water, SRHR and peace and the rule of law are fairly well-aligned with four of the five transformative shifts which are proposed for the post-2015 agenda: 'Put sustainable development at the core', 'Transform economies for jobs and inclusive growth', 'Build peace and effective, open and accountable institutions for all' and 'Forge a new global partnership'.

In this context, it is telling that the Dutch government while stopping its support for basic education has retained its support for education programmes which strengthen capacities of mid-career professionals and education and training institutions in partner countries. Through the provision of scholarships to study in the Netherlands and through cooperation projects between Dutch knowledge institutes and organisations in partner countries three objectives are being served: a) know-how and training capacity is being developed for self-reliant development in the four thematic areas of Dutch bilateral development co-operation as well as tackling global challenges, b) the Dutch knowledge infrastructure is being promoted and mutually beneficial spin-offs can be expected to develop; and c) alumni and partners are ambassadors of Dutch expertise and society, and facilitators of future cooperation, be it diplomatic, economic or cultural.

It remains to be seen how instrumental the Dutch development policy will prove to be in the overall architecture of the new global development agenda. Good basic education for all is a precondition for inclusive growth and sustainable development, but so is higher education and research for transforming economies, good governance, and building global partnerships.

An issue is that of donor coordination and aid effectiveness. Does this Dutch policy enhance or undermine donor coordination? What does it mean for ownership in developing countries and is it not at odds with the principle of untying aid?

One thing is certain: the principle of solidarity which characterized Dutch development aid for decades has become a notion of the past. It is reserved for emergency aid and support to very poor and fragile states. Today's new principles are economic self-reliance and mutual benefits.

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Global Governance of Education in Conflict: Bridging the Humanitarian-Development Divide

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Key words: *Conflict; education in emergencies; international development; fragility*

Summary: *Aid to education in conflict used to fall between the two stools of humanitarian relief and international development. Coalitions like the Inter-Agency Network of Education in Emergencies are helping to bridge this divide.*

When the major power holders of global governance of international education set the Education for All agenda at the start of the millennium, it was firmly rooted in the development discourse of the time. This largely ignored the situation in conflict affected countries. Aid in these contexts came under humanitarian rather than the development banner. Relative stability and an overt commitment to basic education were pre-requisites for receiving development aid to education through the preferred mechanisms of direct budget support and the Fast Track Initiative (FTI). This excluded conflict-affected countries such as Sudan from receiving the large-scale aid to education enjoyed by their more peaceful neighbours. Investing in education development in unstable contexts was considered too risky and unsustainable.

Save the Children's *Last in Line, Last in School* series (Save the Children, 2007; 2008; 2009) pointed to the inherent contradiction between donor policy, which preached Education for All by 2015, and donor practice that failed to support to education in the contexts furthest from the goal, namely conflict-affected states. The first report estimated that over half of the world's out-of-school children were living in conflict-affected fragile states, but that these countries received only 18% of the global aid to education.

On the other side of the divide, the traditional humanitarian approach did not work well in situations of prolonged conflict. It either ignored education altogether, treating it as non-essential , or limited the education response to "school in a box" type interventions, often grouped together with other "Non-Food Items". In refugee situations there was sometimes a deliberate decision to avoid providing post-primary education in case this acted as a "pull-factor", reducing refugees' motivation to return. Interventions focused on meeting immediate needs rather than long term sustainable solutions. But unlike earthquakes and tsunamis, conflicts can take decades to resolve, and populations can remain displaced for whole generations. Education remains a low priority and still only receives 1.4% of humanitarian aid (UNESCO, 2013).

Back in 2000, at the World Education Forum in Dakar, a small group of concerned individuals from a range of UN agencies and NGO organisations came together to see how they could work together to improve the delivery of education in emergencies. They formed the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE). Starting off as a coalition of organisations working primarily in the humanitarian sector, this network has grown to fill the gulf between humanitarian and development work in education. In 2008 the INEE Working Group on Education and Fragility was formed, extending the work of INEE further into the development domain. The network has over 11,000 individual members from over 170 countries. It continues to expand. It has created a wealth of resources and knowledge to support the field, and convened numerous events bringing together major agency, ministry and donor stakeholders.

INEE plays an important role in global governance of education for two reasons.

1. It provides a platform for global debate, knowledge generation and sharing, and advocacy that bridges the humanitarian-development divide and speaks to the need to improve the continuity of education support, spanning the stages of prevention, preparedness, emergency response, and recovery through development.

2. It gives NGOs, field workers, and other education stakeholders a greater representation within global governance discourse. INEE brings diverse agencies together and give them a strong, combined voice, and a place at the global governance table.

INEE has influenced donors, not only through their involvement as members, but also through participation in global governance events. In recent years we have seen significant moves to bridge the humanitarian-development divide from many of the UN agencies and donors engaging with INEE. FTI changed to the Global Partnership for Education and now includes a funding mechanism designed specifically for fragile states; USAID has made improving education in crisis and conflict one of its three education strategy goals; DFID is drafting a policy on education in humanitarian and protracted crises; UNHCR is aiming at longer term education solutions for refugees, integrating them into the education systems of host countries. The divide is slowly closing. This is a testament to the power of NGOs, UN agencies and donors working together through coalitions like INEE.

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DFID: Globalisation Research 2004-2006

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Key words: *DFID; Globalisation; Research; Education Policy.*

Summary: *This piece looks at DFID funded research from 2004-06 that considered the impact of globalization on education policies and programmes with implications for the post-MDG agenda.*

From 2003-2006 I was responsible for DFID's education research funds as part of the series of publications called *Researching the Issues*. There are 71 published titles in the series, most of which are still available from DFID's website. Topics include case studies, education systems and management studies, through to think-pieces and systematic reviews of development issues. I spent some time thinking through issues that I thought were under-researched but that were relevant to DFID's emerging priorities. I settled on globalisation, teacher motivation, skills for development and post conflict education, with an expected emphasis on 'why' questions, and not just 'what' and 'how' questions which had dominated many previous research studies. These topics were made available for bids and a number of successful proposals were agreed. These resulted in six studies, five published under the *Researching the Issues* series 67- 71 and one published in the ODI working paper series.

Three of the funds were assigned to globalisation reviews. Allocating the same topic to three different research teams might have seemed excessive but I was hoping that they would collaborate to look at three different aspects of globalisation; curriculum, management, and financing. Each team submitted proposals according to their research strengths and, as is often the case from DFID's perspective, the result was a mixture of what DFID was hoping for and what researchers wanted to do. Despite coordination meetings, getting teams of researchers from different institutions to collaborate is not an easy task. Is this a result of too much competition in the higher education sector? There was some discussion about areas of overlap but the result was three different approaches and perspectives.

My thoughts on globalisation at the time were centred on the impact that DFID education policies, particularly focused on the MDGs and primary education, were having on education systems and pedagogy across the world. Did we understand all the implications of our policies? What long-term impact were they having?

Clearly globalisation means different things to different people. Many DFID education advisers saw education primarily as a humanitarian, rights-based, global public good, albeit wrapped in economic human capital packaging. As we have subsequently seen, not all those receiving our support saw it the same way. Countries and organisations, perhaps typified by Boko Haram, have seen it as a threat particularly our emphasis on girls' education.

Education content has always been contested with different notions of truth, reality and priorities, but was the education MDG promoting new universal global models of curriculum content, pedagogy, management, measurement and accountability?

This debate is very current as we look at post-2015 education goals. Do global goals promote global conformity? Does the desire of donors to measure results and provide accountability distort what children learn in school in countries receiving support? The rise in popularity of global measuring instruments like PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS and SACMEQ, suggests that there is increasing acceptance of global standards. Quality education means different things to different people, and attempts to define quality, as part of the post-2015 goal will be contested. Is global competition a source of quality improvement?

Globalising trends are often in tension with the desire for localisation and more control. The issues raised by the Scottish independence referendum are a recent example. This is especially relevant for education. Does every country/ group have a right to determine its own version of quality? In September 2014 the British Government's Department for Education decreed that schools must teach British values. Can global goals harmonise with local values?

Does donor funding come with ideological strings? The development of conflict since 9/11 has seen an increased emphasis on education as part of the 'prevent' agenda; but has this added to the difficulties of providing universal access to quality education or is it a reasonable response to an extremist ideology?

These three studies have provided a useful foundation for the-going debate:

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SKILLS AND THE EDUCATION ARCHITECTURE OF POST-2015

Symbolism to Substance: Moving BRICS Forward in Advancing the African Education and Training Co-operation Agenda

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Key words: *International co-operation; BRICS; Skills Development; TVET; global governance*

Summary: *The contribution explores the current potential for South-South co-operation/collaboration between Africa and China using the latest developments in BRICS.*

Introduction

The globalization of education and training goes along with increasing regional and cross-regional integration and co-operation, the creation of global initiatives, partnerships and accountability mechanisms, as well as the growing attention to cross-country comparisons of policy development, management, financing and evaluation. Whether this is by traditional global entities (ie. UNESCO) or newer organisations with regional interests (ie. OECD, the Asian or African Development Banks), global aid organisations (Global Partnership for Education, USAID or DFID) or new actors such as foundations and private corporations, the agenda appears often as "pre-cooked" to advance pre-determined outcomes decided elsewhere and not necessarily in and with the main recipient countries. Clearly the need for a new way of advancing the developmental agenda is necessary if it is to be more inclusive and responsive to needs identified on the ground. The latest 'kid on the bloc', BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), therefore has the potential to really do things differently. This might require a radical overhaul of current practice. This short piece examines the possibilities of a new entity that has the potential to be a veritable 'game changer' in developmental thinking with the potential to make a difference to advancing the co-operation agenda.

The BRICS regional bloc has been increasingly significant as emerging economies re-define their national systems in the context of international trends and considerations. While the partnership has been in existence for a number of years, it has since 2010 become a significant player in the global arena as it begins to define the nature, form and context of its further development. Underpinned by a discourse of 'South-South' co-operation referred to as partnership of a different kind (King, 2013), the realisation of such a new bloc has potential to advance the development agenda in a new and different way, although the pitfalls of such a 'win-win' relationship have been sharply criticised for being one-sided and less than appropriate for Africa's development (Carmody, 2013). There is, nevertheless, potential for the new entity to take cognizance of priorities identified by 'recipients' in a way that takes account of developmental challenges as they are experienced by those intended to receive the 'assistance'. The new entity therefore has real potential to respond meaningfully to national development challenges. In the case of recent Sino-African engagements, the immediate and very real interventions in infrastructural development can be effectively advanced by a co-ordinated education and training intervention that ensures that the legacy is a lasting one.

There are a number of factors that suggest that the new initiative has some promising possibilities with respect to education and training co-operation.

Education and training co-operation

BRICS co-operation was given a shot in the arm in November 2013 by a meeting of their education ministers[1], which set the stage for education and training co-operation. Quoted in *University World News*, Ghaleeb Jeppie, Chief Director for international relations in South Africa's Department of Higher Education and Training pointed out that 'focal points' had been agreed which "…included strengthening collaboration between BRICS' universities, partnerships and knowledge exchanges on technical and vocational education and training [TVET], and the portability and transferability of

1 The South African Higher Education Minister, Blade Nzimande (as chair) was joined by; Brazil's Alíozio Mercadante, China's Yuan Guiren, South Africa's Angie Motshekga (the Minister for basic education), Russia's Dmitri Livanov and India's Shashi Tharoor.

qualifications between BRICS countries."[2]

The result of this deliberation led to a collaboration with UNESCO on "BRICS Building Education for the Future" (UNESCO, 2014), which provides the roadmap for co-operation. The eleven recommendations widen the education-training nexus as it sets the stage for a clearly defined co-operation agenda. The document provides a co-operation agenda that identifies current traditional educational institutional considerations and priorities. Thus the identification of the need for improving 'governance and funding' of schools (to achieve equity and efficiency) (Recommendation 1) is complemented by the priority to explore mechanisms to manage higher education enrolment (Recommendation 4).

Most refreshing of all is the identification of the need for mid-level skills development and its relationship to labour market considerations. As a starting point for co-operation, the expansion of the traditional boundaries of the 'traditional' education paradigm is particularly useful, although the way in which it needs to be crafted will need some attention. Thus the inclusion of a section to "improve skills development for growth that benefits all" provides an important basis for ensuring that considerations of labour market, related as they are to supply and demand, are synergized. Two recommendations are particularly valuable in this regard. The recommendation to 'develop labour market information systems and capacity for skills analysis and forecasting systems' (Recommendation 6) provides the mechanism for 'skills monitoring, analysis and forecasting'. In addition, the need to 'strengthen the links between companies and TVET institutions, and facilitate workplace learning, in particular at the secondary level', provides an important basis for improving the relevance and development of mid-level skills institutions as a significant element of co-operation. For the African context, this might well include attention to the informal labour market.

Perhaps even more significant is the document's potential for more expansive impact. The reference to focusing on 'Africa' as the continent in need of 'greatest developmental assistance' provides an important building bloc for BRICS to advance the cause of those that are most destitute and thereby expand their reach and ambit.

There is also a sense of pragmatism in recommending the design and implementation of National Qualification Frameworks (recommendation 7), especially as it is admitted that, '…all BRICS are reforming their qualifications systems and increasingly linking frameworks with arrangements for quality assurance and the validation of non-formal and informal learning' (ibid). Arguably, there is a need for qualifications synergy, but there is also the need for very careful implementation of this international 'priority' in some situation. Hence, the BRICS countries would certainly benefit from the 'platform for dialogue and/or peer review of progress', but they will need to be on their guard, especially in light of the various, negative experiences of those where excesses were evident in NQFs (Allais, 2010).

The recent development as regards the establishment of BRICS Development Bank, headquartered in Shanghai, also provides an important mechanism by which to realize this basis of co-operation and give meaning to advancing the South-South co-operation cause to longer-term sustainable gains.

Various bilateral developments furthermore suggest possibilities of the Southern bloc becoming more coherent. Recent Sino-Russian, -Indian and -South African relations have been significantly boosted by a range of economic ties that will serve to cement the BRICS possibilities (see for instance (Carmody, 2013) for an assessment of recent bilateral engagements.

The South African bloc has repeatedly pointed out that the inclusion of South Africa in BRICS is a proxy for African representation. While this might well be rhetorical, it suggests the reality that the South African muscle in BRICS is underpinned by its ability to represent Africa more broadly and possibilities for 'Improved access to a large consumer base', together with its adequate mineral resources, despite having the 'smallest population, the highest unemployment rate and the lowest savings' ((Gauteng Province: Treasury, 2013). As the most developed country in sub-Saharan Africa, it serves as a gateway to Africa. However, as a young blogger at a recent conference on BRICS has noted, while South Africa might not offer 'the diverse opinions in Africa', it can 'promote African continental initiatives and South-South Cooperation' (within the bloc)[3].

2 Quoted in <http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20131107163621596>

3 Report of discussions at 'BRICS in Africa: Challenges and Opportunities', hosted by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Berlin,

Conclusion

This short piece suggests some promising developments that advance the intention and have real possibilities for realization. There is agreement that there is a need for co-operation and understanding, but the nature, form and context of this engagement clearly needs much more careful thought for it or be realized and for real impacts to be felt. As a mechanism for South-South co-operation that advocates partnership of a different kind, BRICS' promises of greater and more effective outcomes have been the hallmark of the newly defined bloc, but they have yet to be realized.

Thus while admittedly, 'there is a big transition to be made from symbolism to substance' as one report[4] in the *Financial Times* recently pessimistically pointed out, the crafting of a new world order underpinned by equity and justice can only be achieved with that symbolism in place. As the commitment made at the Sixth BRICS summit boldly stated:

> We are committed to working towards an inclusive, transparent and participative intergovernmental process for building a universal and integrated development agenda with poverty eradication as the central and overarching objective[5].

Recent developments suggest that there is a strong commitment to ensuring that the BRICS cooperation indeed advances the objectives of a new global partnership which can provide the basis for a new world order necessary for ensuring lasting peace and security.

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5 Cited from <http://brics6.itamaraty.gov.br/category-english/21-documents/223-sixth-summit-declaration-and-action-plan>

The Fractured Global Governance of Skills Development

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Key words: *vocational education and training; global governance; best practices*

Summary: *The lens of global governance is useful when thinking about skills development as it highlights some of the particular challenges that mark out the skills field as different from education at the global level. Whilst marginal in debates about Education for All (EFA) goals, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and weakly present in the major bilateral agencies, skills development internationally is shaped by a number of multilateral, state and non-state actors that have brought about considerable policy convergence around a set of policy themes.*

One of the most important things about the global governance of skills development is that there are two UN specialised agencies with responsibilities for the issue, with very different constituencies. Whilst UNESCO is concerned primarily with public provision and has Ministries of Education as their key constituency, ILO focuses more on workplaces and has a tripartite governance structure, bringing together governments, employers and trade unions. These different constituencies and concerns appear to constrain the two agencies' ability to talk and work together towards a common global agenda.

From both the education and work angles, skills have been largely marginal to the global development goals debate. From an education perspective, vocational skills have been side-lined in the global debates since Jomtien; whilst work has been on the margins of the development debate, with lip service paid by others to ILO's "decent work" agenda, and an apparent acceptance of the neoclassical view of work as a disutility.

Bilateral agencies play an important role in the global governance of development, particularly as it impacts on the most aid-dependent countries. However, most of the major bilateral agencies have long been uninterested in skills, with GIZ being the very big exception. However, this is less true of the emerging Asian bilateral agencies, which have a far stronger belief in the importance of skills. The importance of skills is also very apparent in particular regions. One group of countries that has been particularly subject to external influence regarding skills is the accession states of Eastern Europe. As part of the wider process of meeting the conditions of the Acquis Communautaire, this set of countries has been required to model its skills systems on the strange set of European "best practices", which reflect a theoretical construct of European skills systems rather than anything recognisable on the ground.

Indeed, and in spite of the very different culturally and historically grounded forms of skills development that can be found within the European Union, this European model is a core variant of a "VET [Vocational Education and Training] toolkit" (McGrath, 2012) that has influence far beyond the accession countries. The key elements of the toolkit are:

- Systemic (and increasingly sectoral) governance reforms that shift power away from bureaucracies and towards employers in the search for greater relevance and responsiveness for vocational learning.
- Qualifications frameworks that take aspects of governance out of the hands of existing qualifications providers and which explicitly aspire to making qualifications more transparent to all stakeholders; encouraging vertical and horizontal movement of learners within learning systems; and facilitating the wider accreditation of informal and non-formal learning.
- Quality assurance systems that ensure that VET providers have internalised notions of quality and continuous improvement; and provide new mechanisms for institutional and systemic governance through accreditation and inspection structures.
- New funding mechanisms that signal a shift away from block funding of public providers to a regime in which funding is more outcomes-oriented and institutionally-neutral, with important implications for institutional

and systemic governance.

- Managed autonomy for public providers that introduces new governance structures at the institutional level, mirroring the systemic level move to a larger voice for industry; and produces a new dialectical relationship between greater institutional autonomy and increased requirements to perform against targets promoted through funding, reporting and inspection regimes.

Thus, the toolkit fundamentally alters the governance practices and discourses of the public sector elements of the skills system, in ways that are consistent with wider processes of neoliberal public management. However, it is also significant as a process in which these discourses and practices travel internationally, exporting an idealised model of Northern skills systems. One important vector here has already been touched upon: the influence of the European Commission on skills reforms in the "wider European neighbourhood". This is specifically delivered through the European Training Foundation (ETF) as the European agency for international skills cooperation.

However, a more important mechanism globally is the activity of Northern state and quasi-state actors as exporters of the toolkit. Thus, Northern associations of public vocational colleges (as well as individual institutions) and national qualifications authorities are spreading fantasies of their own "best practices" through participation in international conferences and networks, institutional partnerships and consultancy activities. This must be seen within a wider framing of the increased marketisation of the Northern public sector. This has necessitated these organisations generating income through new forms of activity. With domestic markets saturated, inevitably attention turns to "emerging markets". Yet the stories told in these international settings would be scarcely recognisable at home as accounts of often fragile institutions and systems.

In several cases, the combination of a skills export agenda with the marginalisation of skills from the development agenda leads to a curious situation where countries are simultaneously present in and absent from the debate. For Britain, for example, DFID, the official development agency, has long been uninterested in skills but organisations such as the Association of Colleges, the British Council and the Scottish Qualifications Authority are significant players; whilst key international organisations, such as WorldSkills International and the ETF have had British leadership. Thus, there is no real British position on skills for development, yet there is a sense too of Britain being a world leader.

Whilst skills does remain marginal to the global development debate, the issue has moved up other national and global agendas. Thus, at a national level, there is no more powerful symbol of the centrality of skills than India's commitment to upskill 500 million citizens. At a global level, organisations such as McKinsey and OECD have given major recent attention to skills; whilst the World Bank has stressed the importance of developmentally-useful jobs.

Indeed, it seems likely that it is from a combined employability and green skills agenda that the most prominence for skills is likely to emerge in the immediate post-2015 period. How this talks to the global governance of education, still locked strongly into a rights agenda, is hard to see. Perhaps, therefore, any attempt to talk about global governance of education and training is mistaken in overemphasising the notion of a single education and training space with an overarching governance regime.

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Skills and Employment – the DFID Way

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Key words: *Youth unemployment; 'wrap-around' services; enterprise-based training; non-state skills provision; TVET reform.*

Summary[1]: *This short note provides a summary of three recent DFID skills and employment programmes and their commonalities. The interface between skills training and economic growth is a key feature of the programmes.*

DFID is increasingly acknowledging skills development as a crucial means to tackle youth employment and stipulate economic growth. DFID's Economic Development Strategic Framework (EDSF) highlights skills shortages as one of the top five business constraints in over 100 countries. The EDSF commits DFID to: (i) supporting the conditions for growth and addressing significant barriers to investment such as low skills; and, (ii) increasing employment opportunities and access to jobs for poor women and men through, among other things, support for investments in skills. Unlike previous Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) reform initiatives focusing on system development, the new generation of projects and programmes mainly deals with actual delivery of skills training with particular attention to marginalised youth and employability of the graduates as well as serious skills shortages hampering private sector growth. This short note summarizes the main elements of three recently designed DFID programmes reflecting this approach.

The programmes are only to a limited extent addressing the classical TVET reform issues (defined by Simon McGrath (NN51) as reforming of TVET governance, rolling out of qualifications frameworks and quality assurance systems, strengthening of funding mechanisms and management autonomy for the individual TVET institutions) that have dominated the agenda the last ten years or more. National (and sub-national) TVET authorities are, to varying degrees, implementation partners for the programmes but reforming the TVET system is not the principal objective of any of the programmes. Instead they focus on improving actual delivery of relevant skills training in order to spur economic growth.

The Zambia Skills Improvement Support Programme deals with strengthening of national skills development systems and delivery capacity in both public and non-government training. It will:

(1) finance labour market and graduate destination surveys and development of labour market monitoring mechanisms;

(2) strengthen the capacities of key national institutions (Technical Education, Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training (TEVET) Authority and selected government departments) through development of management information, strengthening quality assurance systems, developing curricula and boost the TEVET Fund;

(3) raise the quality of public and private training by providing in-service training to institutional managers and instructors and financing institutional development plans through a competitive challenge fund;

(4) promote higher quality enterprise-based training (EBT) by revising traineeship regulations and financing training places in enterprises through a challenge fund; priority sectors include manufacturing, construction and tourism; and

(5) promote more equitable access to skills development through an equity fund for scholarships for girls, learners with disabilities and those in rural areas, as well as infrastructure for people with disabilities in a few Vocational Training Institutes and a fund to raise the skills of youth employed in the informal sector.

In Nigeria DFID is planning to provide funding for a new programme titled 'The Life Skills: a Second Chance for Marginalized Young People'. As the name indicates it will provide a second chance to young people in the six states of north-western Nigeria. It will target drop-outs from the formal

1 The note is based on a number of recent design assignments for DFID and does not represent an official DFID view.

education system, the almajirai Koranic school learners, and young and adolescent girls, providing them with a combination of vocational and entrepreneurial skills, linking them with commercial financial institutions. It will improve the quality of vocational training and labour market institutions and support the growth of transformative micro-small- and medium-enterprises to increase the demand for labour. The expected impact will be greater opportunity for gainful employment and higher incomes of young, marginalized persons in the targeted states. This will contribute to poverty reduction and reduce the pool of disenfranchised and disaffected people from whom those fermenting conflict and engaged in crime and violence can draw.

The recently designed Skills for Employment (S4E) programme in Mozambique focuses on reducing skills failures by linking specific areas of labour force supply with demand. It will provide support to catalyse and broker linkages between employers and training providers while addressing the two separate, but related issues of: (1) young Mozambicans who do not have the basic skill set to obtain formal employment; (2) those who do not have more advanced skills to take advantage of technical job vacancies. There will also be provision of support to young people with demonstrated entrepreneurial aptitude to create their own businesses where formal employment is not a realistic option. Training will be accompanied by 'wrap around' services that provide young people with the extra support to move into formal or self-employment. Support services will be prioritised that address specific barriers to girls and young women participating in training such as specific facilities for women. In addition, S4E will build the capacity of government to: (1) capitalise on opportunities like public-private partnerships stemming from the new TVET law; (2) learn from new TVET financing models and approaches including the commercialisation of products and services; (3) innovation and new technology in the skills training sector; (4) give direction to non-state TVET as complementary to public TVET; and, (5) monitor development of the labour market.

The three programmes share a number of commonalities: (1) marginalised youth constitute an important target group; (2) they combine provision of skills training and 'wrap-around' services (training-to-work transition assistance); (3) they are oriented towards enterprise-based training and apprenticeships; and (4) the assistance is intended to benefit both state and non-state training providers. Furthermore, two of the programmes rely on challenge funds as part of the implementation modality.

India's massive skills development and the global TVET toolkit

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Key words: *TVET; global governance*

Summary: *Evidence of global governance in the area of technical and vocational education and training is limited.*

The only evidence of global governance in the area of vocational education and training seems to be the discussion going on within the G20. For the last couple of years the G20 has been used as a forum for a discussion on indicators related to technical and vocational education and training (TVET) that should be adopted by all the members of the G20 as well as other countries. In fact technical assistance has been provided by the OECD and the ILO together to four low income countries in this regard.

The only other hint of international governance in the sphere of TVET is the identification of a few indicators to be included in the post-2015 global agenda. However this is not exactly in the realm of global governance for TVET though it can become an instrument for international monitoring later on, just as the MDGs had been used earlier.

From a developing country perspective, the only purpose of anything resembling global governance in the realm of TVET is that it could be used to ensure global standards of skill provision within countries. If globally accepted standards exist it would be possible to ensure that wherever in the world demand arises for a particular skill, it would be possible that another country where the skills are available in excess could send workers to where the demand exists. It is well known that this area is a source of contention between receiving and sending countries, as it raises fears among the former that this could become a back-door entry method with the objective of long-term residence. So even if the standards were globally applicable and accepted and if an excess supply of workers were to be available the question would still remain open as to whether the receiving country would be able to offer terms of migration that would be acceptable to the sending country citizens.

India has been engaged in a major effort to upscale its vocational education and training system over the 11th five year plan (2007-2012) - and since then. Private providers are growing in number, the public system for vocational education in secondary schools has been expanding, and large firms have expanded their in-firm training systems. A national vocational skills qualifications framework has been agreed upon and formally rolled out by the central and state governments. The skills qualification framework is a platform to bring together all providers whether they are private or public. The fact that about a hundred other countries are also in the process of implementing or formulating a vocational qualification framework for their countries could in the future enable more international coherence in global standards. Whether this would translate into a larger role for global governance in the vocational education and training space is very much an open question. Only the future will tell.

The Quest for a Modern State: South Africa's Case of Global Governance

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Key words: *policy-borrowing; National Qualification Framework; Outcomes-based Education; GIZ; European Union*

Summary: *In the immediate post-apartheid era, many of the elements in the international education and skills toolkits seemed particularly attractive to South Africa with its transformative ambitions. These initiatives were supported both by external aid and by the interest in the latest policy borrowings by South African decision makers. The evidence for their success is still to seek.*

Twenty years ago, South Africa finally re-entered the global stage after years of being banished to the hinterland because of its apartheid policies. When the country came back, there was more determination that it would leapfrog decades in its development and enter the stage as a very modern state, prepared to compete with the best of the best in the world. In many ways, this was bolstered by the achievements made with the political settlement; the best constitution; the international will to make the country a success; and the palpable energy of highly qualified individuals who had not been able to put into practice their knowledge during the apartheid regime. As the country was being lifted from isolation, it was at the same time catapulted to an international stage that already was moving into a global governance of the education and training system. This paper illustrates how international aid and policy influenced the way South Africa started to think about its TVET system in its quest to modernize its education and training system and consequently the state.

In the first place, research shows that the pattern of giving is dictated by political and strategic considerations (Alesina and Dollar, 2000; Svensson, 2000; Manji, 1997; Dunning, 2004). During the apartheid years, the country was in serious conflict with itself. But the greatest galvanisation against apartheid was happening outside the country, by those who were in exile together with the countries and groups in the anti-apartheid movement. When the exiles came back, they brought the greatest potential for foreign aid to be used in building the country that had been ravished by the apartheid wars. Foreign aid did not come only after the 1994 independence. The large sums of international aid that were given to South Africa were intended for radical transformation, and education agenda was a priority.

Right from the start, international aid helped to encourage policy borrowing through a range of foreign exchanges and policy-making travels. The National Qualifications Framework (NQF) was the first Act to be introduced by the Department of Education in 1995 (SAQA, 1995). The very first publication on the NQF in South Africa was published by the Human Science Research Council in September 1995. In this document, the proponents and developers of the NQF advance the position that this new policy was to help South Africa find a whole new way of thinking about its education and training system.

The NQF in South Africa was introduced as part of the revolutionary shift of introducing an integrated and equal education system in South Africa, moving away from the separate and unequal education and training authorities systems of the apartheid government. Young (2004) points out that NQFs are top down initiatives led by governments or government agencies and based on a set of general principles about how qualifications should be designed and what they should achieve. This was the case with the introduction of the South African NQF. The introduction of the NQF in South Africa was a result of a seemingly unlikely alliance between business and trade unions, which were incidentally solving different problems, of an integrated system in which skills development was an important element. There was at the time a raging international debate on integration and lifelong education, with strong attempts to bring in both adult and vocational education to the main stream of education (Jansen, 2004). This will be further elaborated on in the section on skills development.

The introduction of a National Qualifications Framework was an important symbolic shift for a government put under pressure to move away from the apartheid system of education (Jansen, 2004). This shift was important because it was sending a message that the South African state, in entering the realm of global politics and economics, was going to pick on the most modern features in its policy-making. The concept of National Qualifications Frameworks was new as there were just a handful of countries that had introduced the concept at the time. Although South Africa can be regarded as one of the early introducers of the NQF, many countries have since followed and many more are interested in introducing the NQFs in their countries every day (Allais, 2010). What makes this policy spectacularly popular? Are there positive results to show the usefulness of this policy in making the education system better?

The Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) system was another of the first suites of policies to be introduced by the new government in South Africa. Underpinned by Dr William Spady's philosophy of OBE, South Africa developed its own OBE model. Indeed OBE was not borrowed from one specific country or one person's ideas. For example, Spreen (2001) shows that OBE was not only introduced in South Africa but that the South African version was actually an amalgam of the early debates about competency based education in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and some of Spady's work. OBE represented a dramatic shift from the previous education system calling for a paradigm shift from a content-based teaching and learning system to one that is outcomes based.

Chisholm and Leyendecker (2008) give us an analytical account of how OBE appeared and was regarded as a fitting replacement for the unjust and undemocratic apartheid education. They argue that the OBE concept was strengthened at the same time that concepts like learner-centred education were. Both concepts are seen as being closely linked with democracy, social justice and economic and political goals. Much has been written about how unfounded these assumptions have been (Jansen, 2004; Muller and Taylor, 1995).

The other policy that is demonstrative of the global governance of education and training in South Africa has been that of skills development. The skills revolution has been part of South Africa's reconstruction agenda with intentions to move away from an apartheid state characterised by 'master-slave' skills polarisation. To this end then the skills development policy was one of the key policy initiatives launched by the post-apartheid government in South Africa. The assumption that was being made was that there would be a single education and training system in the same lines as was the case in many OECD countries. The integration of education and training did not happen till 2009. Prior to this date, training was the responsibility of the Department of Labour. The entry of donors in support of the training function has been quite different from that experienced in education and this is worth examining.

The GIZ and EU contributions to the skills development agenda of South Africa present us with particular cases that are worth closer examination here. There is no single funder in this whole process that had the length, breadth and intensity of support as GIZ in the skills development agenda of South Africa. GIZ had moved from supporting individual projects to having an integrated approach to skills development agenda in a period of more than a decade in the country. The sectoral programme support given by the Germans built a lot of confidence for the developing system. Then the European Union came with the largest donor funding for one single project South Africa had ever experienced (approximately €254 million). Unlike the German support which was mainly facilitative and back-stopping, the EU came with an army of technical experts to help South Africa implement its ambitious skills development programme. This programme was, according to the GIZ director:

> Possibly one of the most advanced skills development plans developed by any nation in the world (Carton and King, 2004; p.28).

However, South Africa still finds it hard to implement the German dual system because the contexts are different, cultures different and size of economies different.

Although there was no directive to South Africa on what policies it must follow to transform and modernize its education and training system, it is clear that almost all interventions have been influenced by global debates, policies and models. It was also clear that getting South Africa to adopt some of these international trends or 'experiments' was going to be a back door for foreign countries to a huge market – the African education and training system. International aid helped to facilitate this process. Although the policies such as the NQF, OBE and the current version of the Skills Development strategies can be seen as less successful if not failing spectacularly, the country still finds it hard to retract from these as it will be going against global wisdom.

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NORRAG'S NEWS

Some Insights on NORRAG's Current Translation Strategy and the Way Forward

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Key words: *language; translation; contextualisation; decentralisation; NORRAG knowledge products*

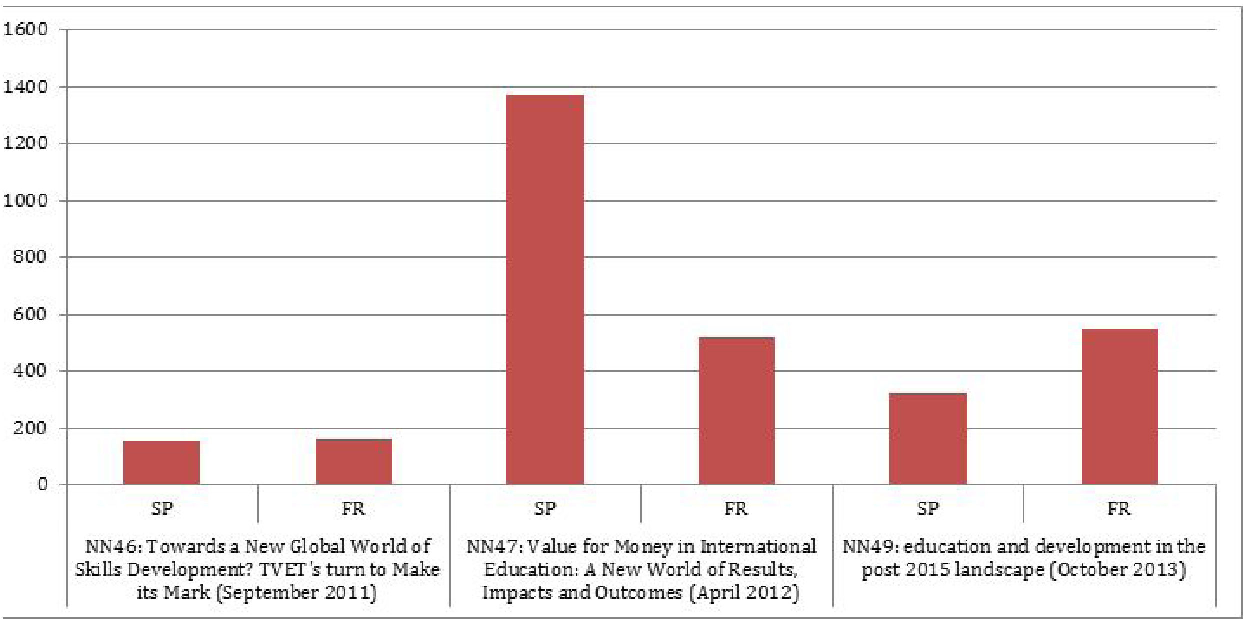
Summary: *As NORRAG membership and readership are steadily increasing, the authors give some insights into the relevance, impact and broader implications of translating and contextualising NORRAG knowledge products.*

Languages are not just different means to refer to the same things, concepts and ideas; they are ways of seeing and interpreting the world. Based on this premise, translation is not only about transferring a set of words from one language into another, but it is about conveying a message in a way that is understandable to individuals with a completely different cultural background; and, providing that it's done properly, allowing them access to a whole universe. It is precisely here that the importance of translation lies.

Many issues of *NORRAG News*, Policy Briefs and other NORRAG documents have been translated into French and to a smaller extent into Spanish in the recent years. From 2014 onwards we have even started to translate many *NORRAG News* articles into Chinese and Arabic! But, who are the readers of these publications? Do the translated versions spark interest amongst NORRAG members and educationalists in general?

It is true that English is commonly used among the international education and training community, as in many other specialised fields, as a *lingua franca*. But is the users' linguistic competence sufficient to fully understand the complexity and nuances of the topics addressed? And even when it is the case, should the objective of **'capturing' the audience with** a piece in their mother tongue not be a priority? One could dare to say yes as most individuals, regardless of their ability to communicate in one of the current l*ingua francas*, appreciate being addressed in their own language, with its specific concepts and meanings. This effort not only makes them feel 'insiders', but it also opens communication channels more quickly, more efficiently and

Table 1. Comparison between visitors and PDF downloads of the English, French and Spanish version of NORRAG News 46, 47 and 49



Graph 1. Single views of the French and Spanish versions of NORRAG News 46, 47 and 49

	NN46: Towards a New Global World of Skills Development? TVET's turn to Make its Mark (Sept. 2011)			**NN47: Value for Money in International Education: A New World of Results, Impacts and Outcomes (April 2012)**			**NN49: Education and development in the post 2015 landscape (October 2013)**		
	SP	FR	EN	SP	FR	EN	SP	FR	EN
PDF downloads	6	11	92	5	27	37	16	23	147
Single views	156	163	14,946	1,374	523	4,896	323	550	5,444
Average time spent/article (in minutes)	1'22"	2'55"	2'31"	2"	1'56"	2'04"	3'02"	1'47	"1'50"

more deeply. For as Mandela puts it: *"If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his language, that goes to his heart."* [1]

That being said, we must remember that impact is what matters nowadays. So what's the impact of these translations? And in the case that concerns us here, what is the use and relevance of the French and Spanish translation of *NORRAG News* and other products? To put it more bluntly, are these "value for money"?

If one trusts NORRAG's website statistics[2], the answer might be yes, since the French and Spanish versions of *NORRAG News* do clearly have a significant audience. It is true that the PDF files have not been downloaded extensively from the website, but that is the same for the English versions. However, as shown in the following table 1, when looking at the page views of individual articles, it turns out that French and Spanish readership is quite large.

The first clear conclusion of the data presented above is that there is a huge difference between the outreach of the English version, on one side; and the French and Spanish versions, on the other side. This is completely understandable as most of the efforts have always been put on the (original) English version of NORRAG products, and there have few if any efforts to publicise the French and Spanish versions.

If we now take a closer look at NORRAG's membership, we note that there are less than 200 members in Latin America, and less than 150 in French-speaking Sub-Saharan African countries out of a total of around 4,300. Regarding NORRAG's data on the website consultation by countries, there are neither French-speaking sub-Saharan countries nor Latin American countries amongst the list of 20 countries with the higher number of users.

In fact, we are faced here with a "chicken-and-egg" question: are most of our products only available in English because the vast majority of NORRAG users/members are English-speaking? Or, do we mainly capture the attention of English users because most of our products are only available in English?

Over the years NORRAG has become increasingly aware of these issues and is now trying to break this vicious circle by putting in more efforts in translating *NORRAG News*, and other products into different languages such as Spanish and French, but also Chinese and Arabic. This willingness not only to respond to specific language needs, but also to

1 http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/learningenglish/movingwords/shortlist/mandela.shtml

2 A short word about the methodology: we took as a sample NN 49, 47 and 46 to have an overview of the visits in the three languages (English, French and Spanish). The data that we used for the graphs corresponds to the 'single entrance' variable, as it's more precise when trying to extrapolate the number of people (with different IPs) visiting the pages. There has been minor adjustment in data due to technical issues derived from the back office. The purpose is not to compare the three categories as the number of articles varies for each language and issue, this is why we are using absolute numbers.

adapt the contents to different regions[3] finds its justification in the very nature of NORRAG as an international network.

A good example of this philosophy, as mentioned above, is the launch of a Chinese and an Arabic version of *NORRAG News* during 2014, which included a series of articles written by local renowned contributors tackling regional issues. The warm welcome reserved for these new publications might give us some lessons regarding the French and Spanish versions. In particular, it highlights the importance of attracting key local authors who write in their mother tongue (as well as in the English version of NN) about context-specific issues.

In line with this, we can conclude by saying that through this process of contextualization and adaptation NORRAG is increasingly embracing the initial assumption of this article according to which language is not just a way of referring to reality, but also a way of conceiving it. Even most importantly, this new approach goes beyond just translation and language: it is part of a larger decentralization strategy focusing on partnerships and ownership, which will eventually lead to an increase of non-Anglophone authors, readers and members.

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CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND POST-2015

The Elephant in the Post-2015 Education Room: What about the Global Governance of Education and Training?

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Key words: *Global Governance; post-2015*

Summary: *A crucial missing element of the post-2015 education discussions to date relates to the global governance of education and training. Without changes in formal and informal mechanisms of governance, the impact of the post-2015 education goal and targets may be limited.*

Since at least 2012 there has been a significant amount of discussion and debate about what the post-2015 education and training focus should be, and about the content and wording of a possible education goal and its targets. With less than one year to go until the September 2015 UN General Assembly meeting, where it is expected that a set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), including one for education, will be agreed upon, there is increasing focus turning to the means of implementation; to questions of how to achieve these SDGs.

For the education sector there appears to have been very little discussion on how the proposed post-2015 education goal and targets will be implemented and what kind of macro-level governance structure may be required. Indeed, a crucial missing element of the post-2015 education discussions to date relates to the global governance of education and training. This issue is the elephant in the education post-2015 room. However, it is not one that is currently being addressed by the post-2015 education debates – including both the post-EFA debates and the post-MDG debate - and indeed it is not one that can be significantly altered by a new education goal framework anyway. The financing modalities for education post-2015 is also an under-discussed issue, that Rose (2014) has been trying to highlight.

What is the global governance of education and training anyway?

If you are reading this and wondering what this refers to and why it is important you are not alone. We asked an (admittedly unscientific) sample of 80 NORRAG members what they understood by this term[1]. The very great majority of respondents did not use the terminology itself at all, but were describing elements of what they perceived to be important influences of education at the global level. Taken in aggregate, it is these influences that we are concerned with when we talk of the global governance of education and training.

The global governance of education and training can be thought of as an organising framework for discussing how state and non-state actors[2] gain political authority and presence in education. How do they do this and how is it related to implementing post-2015 education targets?

These global education actors create formal and informal mechanisms by which they exert power and influence. The formal GGET mechanisms may include, for example: goals and targets (e.g. Education For All – EFA- Goals); laws, rules, conventions and charters; and, agreements, compacts, partnerships (including public-private partnerships - PPPs), and initiatives for policy and financial co-operation.

Let's go back a minute; we said goals and targets? Indeed. This implies that the post-EFA targets and education SDG themselves are one, but only one, part of the formal mechanism of the global governance of education. It can be seen, therefore, that without changes in other formal mechanisms of governance, the impact of the post-2015 education goal and targets may be limited. But it does not end here. There are other global influencers at

1 While this sample of 80 members was not statistically representative of NORRAG members, the 80 people were selected because of their long-standing experience in international education and training from different regions of the world.

2 These education-related actors include, for example: grant and loan receiving countries; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development - Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC) countries; Multilaterals (e.g. UNESCO, International Labour Organisation - ILO, World Bank); Regional Banks (Asian, African, Latin American and now BRICS Development Banks); Emerging donors; Private sector companies and coalitions; Private foundations; and, international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) and think tanks.

play - what might be termed informal mechanisms of global education governance – that will impact on the degree to which the post-2015 education goal and targets are influential and / or can be implemented. These mechanisms may not have been set up for the purpose of governing or regulating, but they clearly influence stakeholders when it comes to education, and some would argue that the power which they today exert has turned them into de facto mechanisms of global governance. Such informal mechanisms might include, for example, three domains:

- *Governing by "best practice"* (cf NORRAG, 2007) – This would include the influence of education and training strategies and policy papers of grant- and loan-making development agencies, and the propagation of "best practice" knowledge and approaches (e.g. value for money (NORRAG, 2012), rate of return to education, competency-based training, national qualifications frameworks). These "best practice" approaches can become global norms that can influence the behaviour and prioritization of both national governments, and the grant- and loan-making development agencies themselves.
- *Governing by financial carrots and sticks* – This would include the influence that grants and loans for education, as well as their associated conditionalities (now termed "triggers"), have in recipient countries. Equally, the financial carrot and stick can be used by OECD-DAC countries to influence the behaviour of international organisations, like the World Bank.
- *Governing by numbers* – This would include the influence that data and indicators from assessments and testing (e.g. Programme for International Student Assessment - PISA, Trends in Maths and Science Study - TIMMS) have, as well as benchmarking and ranking approaches (e.g. Systems Assessment and Benchmarking for Education Results - SABER, world university rankings).

But is the global governance of education and training not at all reflected in the post-2015 education and training debate and propositions?

In fact, it is there, though not in name, and not in its entirety. And this will limit the impact of the post-2015 education agenda.

Governance is used in post-2015 documents in a different sense from global governance. Where governance is discussed in the post-2015 literature, it is conceived more as 'good governance' - accountability and transparency, the rule of law, rights to free speech, political participation, rights to information, as well as freedom from corruption. Furthermore, there is, overall, much more attention being paid to the issue of national governance than there is to global governance.

The post-2015 discussions about global governance and the means of implementation have not yet been very sector specific. The global governance of education is therefore not being explicitly addressed. While there has been a whole stream of general post-2015 debate and dialogue on the means of implementation, on global partnership and governance – this has not been successfully connected back specifically to the post-2015 education or skills ambition (or for that matter to other sectors, like health).

Governance targets have not been mainstreamed across the proposed post-2015 education goal. There were several options for integrating governance into a post-2015 development framework. One was to have a dedicated stand-alone goal (or goals) with targets and indicators; another was to mainstream it by having relevant governance targets and indicators across other goals; and a third way was to do both. The focus in post-2015 propositions - for example from the Post-2015 High Level Panel (HLP, 2013), the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network[3], and the inter-governmental Open Working Group (OWG, 2014) - has been on the first option, the stand-alone goal. However, this has led to a neglect in the sector post-2015 discussions, including for education and training, of the specific aspects of governance – global, regional and national – that are required in order for x, y, or z goal or target to be achieved. Indeed, governance does not directly or explicitly feature in any of the current post-2015 education goal (and accompanying target) suggestions.

We need post-2015 governance targets for education, but what would be measured? Pauline Rose, the former Director of the Education for All Global Monitoring Report, has argued that we need post-2015 financing targets for education (Rose, 2014) so that policymakers can be held to account for financial commitments to achieve identified outcomes. Equally, it can be argued that we do need to mainstream the issue of governance

3 See http://unsdsn.org/resources/goals-and-targets/

across the post-2015 targets for education so that there are agreed upon non-financial enabling conditions needed to achieve the targets and to hold policy makers to account; for example an agreed measurement and accountability mechanism. However, just how to mainstream governance across the post-2015 education agenda, and what would actually be measured (and monitored) need further consideration.

Post-2015 education targets that are global and universally accepted? One of the components of effective global governance of education is that there be in place a set of goals that are universally accepted. It is well known, of course that neither the EFA goals nor the two education Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were regarded as being universally applicable; they were seen very much as targets for low-income countries. Fast-forwarding to the post-2015 agenda, there has been again a great deal of discussion and debate about the extent to which this new agenda, and its set of SDGs, will be universally applicable. The same debate applies to a post-2015 education goal and targets. The current formal post-2015 goals and targets are perhaps indicative of debates going on behind the scenes. The formal post-2015 proposals do contain an overall universal goal; for example, the Open Working Group on SDGs' proposed education goal (see OWG, 2014) is 'Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all', while that of the UNESCO Muscat Agreement (UNESCO, 2014a) is almost the same: 'Ensure equitable and inclusive quality education and lifelong learning for all'. Meanwhile not all proposed formal post-2015 education targets are pitched as universal, with some being proposed to be nationally determined. For example, the UNESCO Muscat Agreement contains universal targets for basic education (universal completion) with minimum levels of learning outcomes, while early childhood care and education is proposed as a nationally determined target.

Aside from the extent to which the proposed post-2015 goals and targets are being set up as 'universal', there are other aspects of global governance discussed in key post-2015 education and training proposals, namely issues related to measurement, to accountability, or to reference to global rules and regulations.

- The UNESCO-UNICEF thematic consultation on education in the post-2015 development agenda (UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013a) did not talk directly about the global governance of education, but discussed the need for a 'global framework' that is very close to our concern with global governance. For example, it highlighted the need for: (a) facilitating global discussion and consensus on education by developing indicators for fulfilment of the right to education; (b) defining a minimum percentage of gross domestic product that a country is required to invest in education; (c) disseminating and supporting best practices for improving education quality, and increasing access, equity and sustainability; and (d) providing technical and financial assistance to national governments, civil society and communities when implementing education policies, reforms and programmes.
- The UNESCO-UNICEF post-2015 global e-consultation on governance and financing of education (UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b) did not result in the kind of commentary on global governance issues that the facilitators may have hoped for. Among those that did respond, there was overall much more focus on national than on global issues. Perhaps this is significant in itself; that the majority of individuals appear to consider that the governance of education is primarily a national issue. Some of the contributions, however, did relate to the global governance of education, with various aspects of it highlighted, including: the role of the international community in designing protocols for all countries to sign up to; the need to be accountable to the Paris Declaration and its successors; the need to provide funds to enable governments to provide education; the need to provide technical assistance; and, the need to facilitate the international access to appropriate information and education technology. Commentators noted that improvements were needed in the current international organisations that support the financing of education globally (including better coordination with each other, as well as the need for increased financial support for them), as well as the need to improve measurement and accountability mechanisms. Indeed, effective and transparent monitoring and evaluation at a global level was perceived as critical in order for the post-2015 ambition to materialize.
- UNICEF, like many other bodies, did not use the terminology of global governance in its official post-2015 position (UNICEF, 2013), but it did very strongly subscribe to the idea that a global framework should be established.

- UNESCO's Position Paper on Education Post-2015 (UNESCO, 2014b) clearly lays out that the implementation of the post-2015 education agenda will necessitate 'strengthened participatory governance and accountability mechanisms at the global, country and local levels, and improved planning, monitoring and reporting mechanisms and processes at all levels'.

The global governance of education and training looks like it will only be partially influenced by the education post-2015 framework, goal and targets. The global governance of education is not a single system. It is made up of a range of stakeholders who pursue a range of approaches and mechanisms that influence and steer education and training, whether intentionally or not. A goal and target framework is only one part of what the global governance of education is comprised of. Many other aspects of the new global governance of education remain completely unaddressed by the whole post-2015 education process. So long as the issue of governance is not mainstreamed across the education post-2015 discussion, these connections will not be made.

The weakest link in the global governance of education and training appears to relate to the lack of an effective accountability mechanism to hold stakeholders to account; and, this has worrying implications for the ambitious post-2015 education agenda.

A related concern, of course, is how the post-2105 education ambition will be financed.

Further Reading:

This articles is based on a Working Paper, written by Kenneth King and Robert Palmer, on *'Post-2015 and the Global Governance of Education and Training'*, Working Paper #7, available late December 2014 for free at www.norrag.org

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