

Policies and practices that foster education for all: Implications for economically poor nations

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Introduction: International initiatives and challenges

The development of policy as a means of supporting change in educational practice has been seen as an important process by governments in most countries (Verger, Altinyelkin and Novelli 2018). In recent years the majority of European governments, encouraged by international agreements as will be discussed below, have formulated policies with the specific intention of providing education that is equitable and ensures that school provision is made for all children, including those with disabilities or from other previously marginalised groups (Ramberg, Lenart, and Watkins, 2017). The approach to development of such policies, and the level of commitment to ensuring their effective implementation has varied across countries (Davies and Nutley 2000), but there is evidence to suggest that government led policy initiatives have been an important factor in influencing change in education aimed at addressing school exclusion.

Approaches to policy development have varied, with administrations placing differing emphasis upon information gathering to inform its content. In this chapter we consider this issue with an emphasis upon policy ownership and understanding and discuss the potential

sustainability of education policies which aim to achieve universal primary education in economically disadvantaged countries.

The Dakar Framework which was formulated at the World Education Forum in Senegal in April 2000 can be seen as a significant document which clarified an international intention that all children should receive primary education by 2015. At this meeting it was agreed that UNESCO would coordinate international efforts towards working for what has become generally regarded as the Education for All (EFA) goals and that progress towards these would be reported annually through the establishment of an Education for All Global Monitoring Report. These annual reports have provided important data in respect of educational conditions around the world. Whilst noticeable progress has been made in international efforts to achieve the EFA goals, UNESCO announced in its 2017 Global Education Monitoring Report that approximately 264 million children still do not attend school (UNESCO 2017).

The figures presented by UNESCO are of major concern, however it is important to reflect upon the considerable progress that has been made in providing primary education in many countries, including those which continue to face significant socio-economic disadvantages (Benavot, Antoninis, Bella, Delprato, Härmä, Jere, Joshi, Köseleci, Blanchy, Longlands, McWilliam and Zubairi, 2015). It is also important to recognise that the very notion of progress towards universal primary education is complex and that simplistic comparisons across countries and education systems is likely to ignore those “in-country” factors which may be prime inhibitors of development in this area.

As a previous Director of the UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Reports, Pauline Rose has emphasised the need to regard the EFA goals not simply as an end in themselves, but more

as a means of encouraging governments and policy makers to initiate action. In arguing that each country will need to make contextually-relevant decisions about the strategies that they develop, she suggests that rather than judging the progress made by individual countries against others, it is more appropriate to look in-depth at the conditions that pertain within each national situation (Rose 2015). This is a particularly important point when considering the lack of political and socio-economic stability that can be witnessed in many of the world's most disadvantaged countries.

International agreements such as the Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education (UNESCO 1994), or the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2009) have undoubtedly proven to be an important stimulus for both debate and action. Many of those national governments which were signatories to these documents have taken action to improve the lives of marginalised and disadvantaged groups and individuals in their countries. However, it is important to recognise that not all of these governments have been building upon sound foundations. Whilst in many of the wealthier countries of the world significant infrastructure, policies and professional services were well-established to meet the objectives set out in these documents; others were required to begin from a much lower baseline. There is evidence that considerable endeavours have been made towards achieving universal primary education in many of the world's poorest nations (Orodho 2014; Singal 2016), though it is also clear that progress in many of these countries has been at a slower rate than was originally envisaged.

In the past thirty years, there have been many international statements, often under the aegis of UNESCO, which have gained a general consensus. One of the more recent of these,

the Incheon Declaration (UNESCO 2015) reiterated the importance of the EFA goals by stating that:

countries must ensure universal equal access to inclusive and equitable quality education and learning, which should be free and compulsory, leaving no one behind.

(UNESCO 2015 page 28)

The declaration goes on to state that no education target should be considered to have been addressed unless met by all, and advocates changes in education policies to place an emphasis upon the needs of those who are most disadvantaged.

Education alone cannot hope to achieve a more inclusive and equitable society, a fact that has been recognised by policy makers and development organisations over many years. For this reason, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by all United Nations Member States in 2015, stated a commitment to work with greater cohesion to ensure that all factors that influence the eradication of discrimination and the creation of a more sustainable world vision should be addressed. The establishment of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) provided a framework for action to be adopted by all countries and called for greater collaboration through a global partnership.

Such intentions are of course, honourable and essential if a more inclusive and equitable society is to be attained. However, if this is to be achieved it will be important to understand those critical factors that interact with each other to prevent progress and which will need to be addressed in order to ensure success. Le Blanc (2015) suggests that too often in the past the well-intentioned establishment of targets aimed at bringing about socio-economic development and change has lacked cohesion. In examining the Sustainable Development

Goals he identifies that there is an acknowledgement of important connections between some of the independent goals, which provide a useful indication of where agencies, including national policy makers, have opportunities to work together in order to improve the lives of marginalised and disadvantaged groups. This of course, will be achieved only if those charged with the responsibility for development of policy avoid the factionalisation that has characterised much of policy making in the past.

This emphasis upon “joined up thinking” is reiterated by Nilsson, Griggs and Visbeck (2016) who place great importance upon how an appreciation of potential for achieving change through professional collaboration at all levels may be significant. They provide an example related to southern Africa indicating that the provision of increased educational opportunities for girls (goal 4) would enhance maternal health outcomes (goal 3), thereby contributing to poverty eradication (goal 1), gender equality (goal 5) and economic growth (goal 8). This they suggest, will only be achieved if both international and national policy negotiations are managed in a trans-disciplinary manner with a commitment to sharing resources and recognising both the benefits of working across boundaries and the risks of failing to collaborate more effectively than has previously been the case.

The challenge for economically disadvantaged nations

For many of the world’s poorer nations the challenges of providing education for all are significant. In many instances a combination of factors which may include natural disaster, armed conflict, environmental degradation, poor or corrupt governance and inadequate infra-structure have led to the weakening of national economies and high levels of poverty. In such situations decision making and the establishment of national priorities for development can be seen to present major challenges. There may be a willingness on the

part of national governments to respond positively to international agreements, but it is often difficult to make progress against pre-ordained targets, which have generally been set from a macro perspective and do not always recognise the specific difficulties faced by individual nations. Cornwall and Brock (2005) suggest that the language used in many international development documents builds upon the notion of a moral imperative, whereby governments are focused upon a philosophy of creating equity. This they believe, may create a sense of purposefulness and optimism, but may not always give full attention to the practicalities of implementing good intentions.

Reaching international agreements for the improvement of the lives of citizens is of course important. Being a signatory to documents such as those highlighted above places pressure upon governments to bring about change. In many instances this process has begun with the development of policy, which is a concrete way of providing evidence that action has been taken at national level. However, we would contend that the writing and passing of legislation and well-intentioned policies may be one of the easier processes in developing a more inclusive education system, though not necessarily the most important stage. The implementation of policy for the benefit of those who are most marginalised presents as a far greater challenge.

In order to consider the means through which policy may be effective in bringing about change it may be helpful to present exemplification in the form of case studies such as those to be found later in this chapter. Initially however it is important to reiterate how the socio-economic and political influences within a country may impede progress towards creating a more equitable education system. We can achieve this by examining a specific example, that of the relationship between poverty and disability.

The coexistence of poverty and disability

The relationship between poverty and disability has been well established (Braithwaite and Mont 2009; Mont and Viet Cuong 2011; Trani and Loeb 2012). People living in poverty generally have poor access to health resources which makes them vulnerable to illness and disease and less likely to receive the treatment which they may require if they fall victim to these ailments. Those who are poor often live in areas with higher rates of crime, limited social networks and schools when they exist are more likely to be of poor quality. Parents who live in situations of deprivation are less likely to obtain early diagnosis of a disability or at risk-factors than those who live in more advantageous circumstances.

In addition, environmental degradation, high levels of pollution and poor quality housing also impact negatively upon the opportunities to live healthy lifestyles and receive the social and health benefits which are available to more affluent communities (Schneider 2006).

These detrimental factors affect not only children, but also inhibit the opportunities available to families who are usually required to play a major role in providing additional care to their disabled child and thereby have less opportunity to maintain an income through secure employment (Park, Turnbull and Rutherford-Turnbull (2002).

Evidence also suggests that there is a clear correlation between the socio-economic circumstances of families and risk factors associated with child abuse and neglect (Bywaters, Bunting, Davidson, Hanratty, Mason, McCartan, and Steils 2016). Levels of stress in families caring for an individual with a disability are often heightened and these may lead to tensions and family breakdown. Whilst studies have indicated that families in which there is a child with a disability are often resilient and effective at ensuring that they provide good levels of

support (Risdal and Singer 2004), when the added factor of poverty impacts families, the risk of family breakdown increases (Hanvey 2002).

Tensions within families where there is a child with a disability may be intensified by cultural factors (Gaad 2004; Garner, Murray, Preece, Rose and Zhao 2019). Whilst there has been a significant shift in terms of understanding of disability, it is still the case that in some societies cultural and religious beliefs continue to foster negative attitudes towards disability. A result of this may often be that families and caregivers become isolated and receive little help from their wider social networks or the local community (Edwardraj, Mumtaj, Prasad, Kuruvilla and Jacob (2010).

Gupta (2011; 2012) has described poverty as a form of 'structural violence.' He suggests that in some countries poverty has become accepted as the norm and is not considered to be exceptional, but rather an ever present factor. In Gupta's opinion we created a situation in which governments apply a range of platitudes about their intentions to eradicate poverty whilst failing to put into place those actions which are necessary to make progress in this area. In such a situation the passing of legislation is seen as an important act towards achieving equity, whereas in reality the process of policy development is little more than an act of appeasement.

Approaches to policy development and their influence

Policy development is a complex process in part because those who have responsibility for its management are often removed from the reality of the situation which legislation is intended to address (Fullan 1993). The implementation of a "top down" model of policy development, whereby politicians and administrators lead the process, can be seen to be

the most commonly adopted strategy. In this model, the focus of legislation is decided by politicians and officials and policy developed through an administrative process before being released to those most influenced by the issues which the policy is intended to address. In respect of the development of inclusive education this model has been the most commonly deployed (Armstrong, Armstrong and Barton 2000). Influential agreements, such as the Salamanca Statement and Dakar Framework on being adopted by governments become a spur for activity which results in policy which is then passed to education officers, school principals and teachers for implementation.

A less commonly adopted approach is one in which information is initially sought to provide a more thorough understanding of the situation on the ground and which directly involves those for whom the policy is intended to bring about improvements in provision. This “bottom up” approach is less frequently followed possibly because it is time consuming at the information gathering stage, and also because of a fear that it may raise expectations which may ultimately not be realised.

In order to discuss these contrasting approaches in this chapter, we present two examples as case studies from countries where socio-economic disadvantage have impeded the implementation of universal primary education.

Case study 1: India. Seeking change through centralised legislation

The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act (RTE) (Ministry of Human Resource Development, 2009), is considered to be one of the most significant educational reforms introduced in India (Grant 2012). It aims to ensure that all children gain access to schooling appropriate to their need and defines “compulsory education” as an obligation of

government to ensure attendance and completion of elementary education to every child in the six to fourteen years age group.

The authors of the RTE recognised that there are many children who continue to be excluded from formal education as a result of poor understanding of their needs or because of long held prejudices and out-moded beliefs about their ability to learn. The Act identifies “disadvantaged groups” whose needs are to be addressed, as being from scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, socially and educationally backward classes or those placed at disadvantage as a result of social, cultural, economic, geographical, linguistic, gender or other factors (Ministry of Human Resource Development, 2009 page 2). It states an intention to provide an important platform through which these groups may be included in the education system, thereby improving opportunities for employment and greater inclusion into the everyday activities that typify Indian society (Kaushal, 2012). The legislation aims to realise the needs of a broad range of children, and as such is likely to be challenging in its implementation.

Since the passing of this important legislation its passage into practice and implementation has been far from straightforward. Many questions related to resourcing of an Act that demands major changes to the ways that schools operate and the level of preparedness to meet the needs of what is perceived to be a more complex population have been highlighted. The inadequacies in respect of the training of teachers and the poor provision of access and resources are areas of particular concern, and whilst the general thrust of the RTE has been welcomed the timing and management of its introduction has led to difficulties with implementation (Mehrotra 2012). Kumari (2016) identifies a number of sources of tension which he suggests are inhibiting delivery of the RTE. In India an increasing

middle class within the population has demanded improved quality of teaching and academic learning outcomes and have chosen to send their children to expensive fee-paying schools. Such parents have concerns that a change of school population will negatively affect the ability of teachers to provide time to all students in the class. Research conducted by Srivastava and Noronha (2014) confirms the opposition which has come from some parents, particularly with the RTE demands that 25% of all school places, including those in private schools, should be allocated to children from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Whilst many of the concerns around teacher expertise and resourcing are similar to those expressed in other countries where inclusive education policy has been initiated, in India the challenges presented where a significant proportion of the population continue to live in poverty reveal an additional dimension. Tilak (2018) has emphasised the lack of equity in access to education across different economic classes within India. In one of the most extensive studies of educational investigations conducted in the country to date, he demonstrates how enrolment rates increase as greater security of household income is achieved. This is particularly important in the current Indian education climate where parents expect to pay fees in order to secure access to good schools and in a situation where the gap between resourcing of private and government schools is increasing. Mooij (2008) describes how with an increase in private schools, those parents who are able to pay have withdrawn their children from government schools creating a two tier system based upon economic factors. He asks a number of critical questions about the extent to which the education system in India will be able to meet the intended objectives of providing universal education. In particular he questions whether the provision made will be able to challenge the existing social divide and lead to a more inclusive society?

Factors associated with living in rural communities, which have often been neglected in terms of the provision of educational resources have added significantly to the difficulties with implementing educational policy (Jha and Jhingran 2005). Dreze and Sen (1997) suggests that there are three main factors determined by social class which hinder the elementary education of children in rural India and have a direct impact on enrolment, attendance and completion of primary schooling. Firstly, economic factors, which are linked to poverty, child labour and school costs. Secondly, there are socio-cultural factors such as caste and the educational deprivation of certain low castes, the exclusion of scheduled tribes and gender disparities in education. Lastly, there are socio-demographic obstacles such as health, family and age at marriage of the child.

A large proportion of children from economically deprived groups are failing to complete even five years of basic education and dropout rates remain high. Examples have been reported of initiatives taken to address these issues, but these tend to be localised and small in scale and there is a lack of cohesion in applying consistent measures to ensure school access and retention across the country (Diwan 2019; Malkani 2017). Additional problems in schools serving the poorest communities are centred upon teacher absenteeism and the lack of an educational culture which means that parents often struggle to understand school systems and feel unable to provide adequate learning support for their children (Velu 2015).

In introducing the RTE, the Indian Government adopted a “top down” model whereby legislation and policy were instigated with good intentions but a lack of forethought with regards to how the demands of the policy might be addressed by those working in schools. This has led to an unsatisfactory situation in which private schools are facing opposition

from parent groups in respect of what they perceive to be the enrolment of a diverse and challenging population of children. Government schools and particularly those serving the poorest communities, are also facing difficulties because of inadequate resourcing and problems in recruiting a reliable workforce. Whilst there is evidence of positive change as a result of the RTE, a lack of co-ordinated response for its support and implementation has limited the impact which might otherwise have been achieved.

Case study 2: Sierra Leone. Seeking change through understanding of needs

With a population of approximately 7.5 million, Sierra Leone located on the Atlantic Coast of West Africa is recognised as one of the poorest countries in the world. In 2018 the country was ranked 184th out of 187 countries in the Human Development Index (United Nations Development Programme 2018). The country is rich in natural resources which could provide greater economic stability, but corruption, exploitation and poor planning has resulted in the majority of the population living in poverty (Maconachie and Binns 2007). Sierra Leone has one of the highest youth unemployment rates in West Africa (60%), with around 80% of the population living in poverty. Having been devastated by a civil war (1991 – 2002) which led to the destruction of almost 1,300 schools, and more recently an outbreak of Ebola, progress in establishing universal education has been slow. Officially schooling is compulsory for children between the ages of six and fifteen, though in reality a significant number of children are not enrolled in school.

A free primary education policy, introduced in Sierra Leone in 2000, led to rapid progress in terms of access to schooling, itself an important dimension of inclusivity for school systems.

However, research conducted by Nishimuko (2007) based on observations of schools, interviews with teachers, and questionnaires from pupils, parents and teachers in 27 schools in five towns, showed that the quality of the education provided had been compromised due to the rapid increase in the number of enrolled children. He noted that high teacher-pupil ratios, shortages of teaching and learning materials as well as inadequate school buildings and furniture, and low motivation on the part of teachers were quite common. The rapid rate of change was in itself seen to be a problem, and this has been an important issue in determining the approach more recently adopted by the Ministry of Education Science and Technology.

A report issued in 2013 (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)), indicated that the average expected years of access to formal schooling in Sierra Leone had remained static at 7.3 for the past eight years and concluded that the poor state of the national economy was a major inhibitor of progress. Many teachers within the country are unqualified, with 41% of male and 28% of female teachers in 2016 reported as lacking a formal teaching qualification.

The Government of Sierra Leone, in common with others in West Africa has made a commitment to address the Education for All Agenda. In 2018 the government issued an education sector plan with the title Getting It Right – Service Delivery, Integrity and Learning in Sierra Leone (Ministry of Education Science and Technology 2018) which sets out its short term (2 year) intentions for moving towards a more equitable education system. In the introduction to this document it is acknowledged that:

“Over the past five years access to education has improved, but despite relatively high gross enrolment rates at the primary level, significant repetition and drop-out

rates at the upper primary levels, secondary and above (in particular among girls and students from low income households) remain a concern.” (page 8)

In issuing a short term plan, the Sierra Leone Government have been realistic in recognising that the provision of universal education will be achieved only through a gradual process of change in many areas. The education sector plan therefore identifies actions that will need to be taken in the short term before significant progress towards a more inclusive education system can be realised. These include making improvements in teacher and school principal competency through the provision of additional professional development opportunities and ensuring that all schools have sufficient learning materials and teaching resources.

In recognising the challenges of moving from a low baseline towards an improved and equitable education service the ministry have set what they see as being realistic targets. For example by 2020 they aim to have 75% of teachers in Sierra Leone’s schools trained and qualified. Whilst this will still leave a quarter of teachers lacking this training, the ministry suggests that they need to adopt a staged approach which will have a reasonable chance of success.

The approach being adopted in Sierra Leone differs greatly from that seen in many countries. The education sector plan has been developed on the basis of a significant level of consultation with a wide range of stakeholders through workshops held across the country. In addition commissioned research enabled policy makers to make informed decisions based upon empirical data collected from teachers, parents, young people with disabilities, disability groups, non-governmental organisations and professional groups (Rose, Garner and Farrow 2019). In adopting this method, the ministry have been able to take advice from both independent researchers from outside of the country and those with

a vested interest in supporting the development of inclusive education within Sierra Leone. In so doing they have demonstrated a high level of respect to both those in most urgent need of an improved service and the professionals who will be charged with the responsibility of delivering this. This “bottom up” approach has enabled policy makers in Sierra Leone to avoid some of the controversies seen in India because of the level of consultation and involvement of stakeholders in the process.

The Government of Sierra Leone has identified access, equity and completion as priorities within its plans, but has also created opportunities for these terms to be debated within all regions of the country. Although much smaller in scale than India, Sierra Leone has similar problems in terms of a large rural population which has limited access to an education infrastructure. Poverty throughout the country is endemic and there is a recognition that although models of inclusive schooling which have largely succeeded in more economically advantaged countries are desirable, the situation in Sierra Leone demands a staged approach if this is to be achieved.

Conclusion

The adoption of policies aimed at providing Education for All can be seen to have been prioritised in many countries. However, the processes in place which intend to promote equitable education are often hindered by poverty or poor economic management. For many of the world’s poorest countries the temptation to move quickly and establish policies for change have been influenced by international agreements and initiatives largely led by more economically advantaged countries. In some instances this has resulted in hasty policy making which taken inadequate account of the challenges to be faced by those working in

schools or other support services. Where this has happened tensions have arisen and the very concept of inclusive education has been challenged.

By contrast, policy makers who have recognised that the gulf between current practice and achieving a more inclusive system of schooling is significant, have been able to formulate plans which are more likely to demonstrate results, albeit at a slower pace, but which will give those involved in implementation of policy the belief that they can achieve what is demanded. Furthermore whilst the development and implementation of policy can be seen to be important, the need to adopt an approach which will encourage sustainability is essential. This will best be achieved if all parties in the process feel that they have an investment in its success, a situation most likely to be achieved if they are involved at every stage development.

In the two examples of contrasting models presented in this chapter from India and Sierra Leone it is important to recognise that both countries have made a commitment to the development of a more equitable education system. It is also necessary to celebrate the progress which each of these countries have made. Having chosen to follow differing approaches towards the same ultimate goal, India and Sierra Leone may well provide insights into the strengths and weaknesses of two contrasting methods. The adoption of a “top down” or a “bottom up” model of policy development each has its own advantages and in the years to come it will be interesting to monitor the progress made towards achievement of the equitable educational provision that both countries desire and are working hard to achieve.

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