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DELIBERATIVE EDUCATIONAL PLANNING: INCLUDING EDUCATORS' DELIBERATIONS IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY MAKING

Athena Vongalis-Macrow

ABSTRACT

The objective of this chapter is to argue a case for the need to include teachers and professional educators in the policy making and implementation processes of the World Bank's Education Sector Strategy 2020. By drawing on evidence from the Consultation Plan, the chapter investigates how communicative practices about teachers are embedded in the discourse of the plan and how these influence the rationalisation of the policy. In doing so, the chapter will examine the relationships between social actions, systems rationalisation and life world rationalisation. Much like commercial and entrepreneurial organisations focus on the voice of the customer (VOC), that is on satisfying the stakeholders and end users in their processes, in this chapter, the voice of the teacher (VOT) is highlighted. The skills and knowledge of key stakeholders need to be leveraged and engaged in order to ensure that the policy achieves its desired aims. In order to frame this argument, notions of Habermas' communicative action theory is used to show how policy engages in systems steering. Rather than understanding education strategy and reform as a process of engaging only government and policy makers, this chapter suggests that by engaging the practitioners and listening to the practical discourse around reform, teachers can be leaders of reforms rather than obfuscated agents.

Initiating any conversation about the World Bank's education policy is to engage in a conversation ripe with contradictions, successes, failures and ongoing controversy. This chapter is an extension of such discourses as it considers and analyses the current World Bank policies addressing educational planning for the next decade. Reading through the ambitions and targets for education in the World Bank Education Sector Strategy 2020 (ESS2020) there is a great deal of continuity from previous strategies and plans. In a rapidly changing world, continuity of planning can be a signal for furthering the successful strategic planning of ongoing growth and development. However, the rapid social, economic and political changes over the past few years would suggest that policies that insist on a too close continuity with the past may meet problems. The objective of the paper is to argue a case for broader deliberations in educational strategising and planning specifically for the greater inclusion of professional educators and education researchers in the policy making and implementation processes of the World Bank's ESS2020. The exclusion of educators' perspectives around education reform in World Bank education policies and planning has been an ongoing issue and one which irritates the integrity and successful implementation of policy.

DEFINING POLICY
More inclusive deliberations, in policy making, begin with a common understanding of the purpose of policy. In the 1990s the World Bank defined policy as a process or a guide for the flow of money (World Bank, 2001). This definition varied widely from other academic definitions. For example, Easton's (1965) definition of policy as a 'an authoritative allocation of values' sustained the thesis that the battle ground for policy lay in the ideas contained within the text and discourse. For Prutny (1985) and others (Ball, 1994) the ideological content of policy, evident in the value-laden text, framed a pervasive narrative which positioned and legitimised the views and values of the policy makers and their representative interests. In contrast, World Bank definition of policy gave it a more strategic purpose in which policies allocated and mobilised capital and resources. While it could be argued the way policy seeks to guide the distribution of money is through a value-laden text, the discursive analyses unpacking hidden meanings of policy and how to read between the lines of policy text, is somewhat disarmed by the declaration that policy guides funding. That is not to say that World Bank policy is more transparent or less nebulous, the issue is that policy is more than a value-laden text, it is a strategic tool. A strategic tool seeks to represent a perspective or worldview, seeks legitimacy in its application and seeks to achieve a consensus around the strategy and implementation. Therefore, in order to examine policy as a strategic tool, a way to unpack strategy is through the framework of communicative action. Policy is communicative action because it outlines plans about what should be done (Flyvbjerg, 1998, p. 208).

Habermas' (1987, 1996) theory of communicative action (TCA) aims to clarify the rational processes of reaching understanding. These processes are dependent on 'consensus building discourse' (Flyvbjerg, 1998, p. 212) in which different actors negotiate their subjective ideas through deliberations and arrive at cooperative actions. The aim is for validity, or consensus without force. Such a process is required when implementing policy. In framing the understanding of policy as communicative action, the focus is on the process of consensus. It can be argued that policy, as a mechanism for guiding and coordinating actions, presents one side of the deliberations, that is the subjectivities of the policy-maker and their version of what should be done. However, framing our understanding of policy as a communicative action begins with the premise that the act of communicating policy and devising new strategies is based on the implied understanding that differences in what should be done will emerge. The issue is how to come to a mutual agreement about the way forward. Essentially, the effectiveness of policy is based on the shared understanding of the stakeholders in the outcomes around what should be done. In order to achieve the complex shared understanding that would be required to implement the Bank's global policy, Habermas emphasises widespread public participation in policy and planning as well as the need for sharing of information and public dialogue. As suggested by Bolton (2005), policy authority is not based on anything more than communicative rationality and the deliberations of reflective planners. By participating in the co-creation of policy, citizens' participation as well as the reflections of planners, allows those with an interest in the policy outcomes, to express their concerns and opinions in the creation of a common culture around policy making (Habermas, 1996, 1998). By referring to the work of Habermas, policy making is inclusive of the political interactions that co-create new institutions rather than reform and change of institutions being thought of as a planning process (Dryzek, 1995). It is difficult therefore to separate policy from politics.

**ONE-SIDED DELIBERATIONS AND EDUCATION POLICY**

Reaching consensus through public dialogues and cooperative processes in the formulation and implementation of policy avoids the privileging of certain experts and bureaucrats raising
issues of legitimacy and processes of democracy (Bolton, 2005). World Bank policy specifically about education reform and change has drawn criticism because of the way the Bank privileged its own powerful position in forcing change (Vongalis-Macrow, 2008). Omitted from influencing reforms and changes were the opinions and deliberations of other civil and social agents, who would be affected and impacted by policy. The often one-sided deliberations, associated with neoliberal reforms for example in South American countries in the 1990s, have raised issues of legitimisation, that is, that the World Bank was only concerned with implementing its strategies to maximise capital gain and create prosperity for a select few.

Reforming education has been a key goal in World Bank policy since the 1960s. Reforms to education were closely aligned to broader social and economic development goals such as improving health, improving prosperity and building capacity in the local population. The World Bank undertook significant education reforms in the late 1980s and during the 1990s in a range of countries spread across Africa, Asia and South America. The impetus for education reforms grew from the emergence of economic globalisation, which linked economies and financial interests at a greater speed and intensity. The vast improvements in ICTs, especially the popularisation of the internet meant that instantaneous communication, rapid movement of information and new forms of knowledge fuelled a new economic growth based on information, data, knowledge and technology.

Social and economic institutions deregulated, privatised, enterprised and downsized in order to function in flexible, competitive, adaptable and international ways. They no longer represented the localised interests but new ways were sort to combine the global economy with the local and national institutions. Education was not exempt from large-scale revision. Education systems were steered by notions of the global economy and how education could both enable knowledge economic growth and be transformed by knowledge economic growth. As Marginson (1999) noted, education became the subject and object of globalisation reform.

The World Bank pursued an active agenda in education reform identifying education as a spearhead in the alleviation of poverty and backwardness by helping to modernise developing nations so they could become key players in a global market. World Bank policies presented the future outlook as highly aspirational and within the reach of all nations. World Bank policy summed up the era as the 'flowering of globalisation' (Vongalis–Macrow, 2009, p. 72). However, while the policy extolled the virtue and possibility of globalisation and the fluidity of capital, the way the policy action plans were carried out raised serious concerns about the interests of the World Bank and whose interests most were served by policy.

For many developing nations, the World Bank policy meant large-scale restructuring of local education systems (Jones, 1992; Rhoten, 2000; Vongalis, 2009). The aim was to represent and link ideas about the global economy, knowledge making and the role of education. For example, table one outlines of policy foci evident in the education policy of three leading global players in the 1990s. While a fuller discussion of the OECD and UNESCO policies fall out of the scope of this chapter, a more detailed discussion is available elsewhere (Vongalis–Macrow, 2009). A number of researchers have critically examined how each global organisation directed and managed education reform during the globalisation era of the 1990s (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry, 1997; Willmott, 1999). The table shows that World Bank policy focussed more on education investment, management, budgetary decision-making, setting educational objectives and outcomes. The policy emphases reflect the monetary and financial underpinnings driving education reforms and provide a strategic roadmap illustrating the funding priorities.
The issue of legitimacy was raised in this era because the strategies around what should be done where not sufficiently deliberated among social and civil groups whose opinions and perspectives may have been very different. The policy process could be characterised as goal orientated, that is, to meet its objectives and assist the flow of capital rather than seeking consensus around how to build capacity in the interests of a range of different interpretations and expectations from globalisation. There was little opportunity to contest the validity claims in World Bank policy of the times. As a result, there was large-scale criticism of World Bank policies and to a large degree, it could be argued that these policies were not effective.

By the end of the 1990s, World Bank education specialists were admitting that the 1990s approach to education policy making was too simplistic (Zagha, 2005) and that contextual social and economic variations of each country, needed to play a greater role in determining a sustainable policy roadmap for growth and development. In other words, policy had to enter into a more mutually contractual agreement between policy makers and takers.

For example, consider the perspectives of teachers during this era represented in Fig. 1. Teachers, left to carry the implementation of reforms and create workable education systems were one group of education personnel consistently at odds with World Bank policy. For many educators in the 1990s, one of the key concerns around globalisation did not centre on how it enabled economic growth and financial flows, rather, about the meaning of education and knowledge. For educators grappling with globalisation, the epistemological foundations of education and knowledge had shifted and they wanted to examine how this shift necessitated foundational re-thinking about educational purpose, knowledge construction in relations to globalisation. However, these basic and fundamental educational concerns that represented the strategic interests and pursuits of educators were not prioritised in policy. Rather, education policy focussed on a balance sheet approach to reform, where issues around budgets, education costing, education investment, human capital and management steered policy development.

![Comparison of policy foci](image)

**Fig. 1.** Education Policy Foci of Supra Agencies in the 1990s.
As noted by Heyneman (2003), 'the Bank's tendency to become 'captured' by single methodologies beginning with manpower forecasting and later rate of return techniques. This tended to bias its views with respect to particular sub-sectors, educational functions and purposes'. For educators critical of the bank's singular methodologies, this era represented the most fervent infiltration of neoliberalism in the field of education.

Economic interests steered education systems in such a way as to transform knowledge and the processes of knowledge making in such a way that the constituents of knowledge making would dovetail with the new demands and potential growth in the knowledge economy. For many educators and educational researchers, the restrictive conditionality of World Bank loans fuelled further criticism about the Bank's interest in education. Heyneman (2003) points out that under these conditions, local actors are reduced to 'passive recipients'.

Some argue that its loan covenants are too restrictive. Its policy reforms are based on narrow, neo-liberal assumptions about the role of the state. Local policy makers have become passive recipients of the Bank's agendas. To obtain loans, countries have agreed to raise education fees, which have exacerbated divisions between rich and poor. (p. 315)

As educational issues became increasingly reduced to how to improve and other technical matters, those involved in education, especially principals, teachers and educators, felt increasingly marginalised from the processes of reform and change. Carr and Kemmis (1986) cited in Lauglo (1996) argued that within technicist approaches to education reform, 'teaching and learning behaviours are elements in a system that can, in principle, be controlled as the means to a given end'. The pedagogic view was almost totally ignored in policy and consolidating the view that 'bankers' and 'pedagogues' tend to look at education through quite different professional lenses'.

The rationality of this line of thought translated into education policy and reforms. The impact of the rationality became evident in the way that education systems, around the world, were re-organised to reflect the views of knowledge-constitutive interests (Habermas, 1981). Country education strategies, lending and non-lending tasks are shaped by Country Assistance Strategies (CASs), budget constraints and dialogue among the Bank's country directors and sector teams. This instrumental rationality of these policy strategies reconfigured education as a system to be governed, controlled and managed by rules and measures stemming from economic management. Over time, these measures and the criteria assumed effective control over education systems. The goals, feedback control and interventions took on and implemented the ideological values of neoliberalism.

**WHAT SHOULD BE DONE: ESS2020**

Framing of policy as a communicative act, that is, as a communication and strategic tool enables a comparative analysis between the policy directions of the 1990s and the current policy around education reform. ESS2020 presents a consensus building discourse which aims for validity, or consensus, without the implied coercion evident in previous policies. The emphasis is on a democratic consensus building, strengthening civil society and institutional development. Rather than policy focussing on the flow of capital, as had been flagged as the purpose of policy previously, this current strategy instead emphasises social and economic capacity building. The shift towards capacity building is a more socialised strategy and less of
a blunt statement about the flow of capital. For this reason, there is continuity between previous strategies and ESS2020. For example, the language of investment continues to frame discourse of policy. Thus, invest early, invest smartly, and invest in learning for all is a catch-cry. However, there are key differences in the approach taken by the World Bank in this current education strategy. These differences will be analysed through the lens of communicative action.

**THE OBJECTIVE TRUTH ABOUT EDUCATION**

For Habermas, truth is defined as an external objective in how we represent the world (Habermas, 2003). The truth represents the first feature of communicative action because it establishes how actors' 'idealising presuppositions' (Levine, 2006) that represent their objective world and what should be done. The external objective view of the world is captured in the Bank's policy imaginary. The policy imaginary of how the World Bank depicts the place and role of education in the world and in the future, sets the scene for initiating the deliberations around policy implementation and uptake. At the initial stages of proposing a new strategy for education, key questions prompting educational reform are, 'What will the world look like in ten years and how can the Bank best tailor its work in education to help countries achieve a prosperous and equitable future?' (World Bank, 2010a, p. 1). With these questions in mind, the World Bank began the process of soliciting views.

The web page announces,

> The World Bank has launched its Education Strategy for the next ten years. The strategy focuses on "learning for all" and investing early, investing smartly, and investing for all. Consultations with governments, development partners, students, teachers, researchers, civil society, and business representatives from more than 100 countries informed the strategy. (World Bank, 2011)

Focus on coordination of strategic actions suggests that ESS2020 is a communicative tool that presents a rationale for action and governance. The quality of communication, who is involved and represented and how changes will be managed and governed are therefore at the forefront of policy.

The consensus building around policy communication is captured initially in the concept note (World Bank, 2010a) which emerged from a range of consultations that sought to capture different the policy responses. Phase 2 of drafting the new strategy (World Bank, 2010a) highlights communicative action, aiming to building consensus in policy making. Communicative actions include, availability of different languages so there is no privileging of English, face to face consultations, blended consultations using Webinar and teleconferencing, online consultation, and feedback to stakeholders. Consultations included, sector and non-sector staff, internal stakeholders, representatives from client countries and global partners inclusive of NGOs, teachers' unions, youth groups and the private sector.

In addition to the consensus building around socialising the policy among different stakeholders, the discursive persuasiveness of the new strategy is that it draws education into the interconnected systems of quality necessary for a country's prosperity (World Bank, 2010a, p. 1). The new strategy links notions of quality, creativity, capability, with the health and education prospects of children. The connections are engaging, indicative of its 'wholesector approach' to policy making for education. The policy communicates rich social connections for
education and this further implicates the need for consensus building with a range of other actors in order to lead towards cooperative interpretation of education change. In other words, the reconceptualising of educational purpose in the light of imagining the future 10 years acts to connect education to broader social goals and to build a consensus around this imaginary future. The Concept Note (World Bank, 201 Ob), represents the first articulations and negotiations around the idealised truth about new education purpose and change and represents the key tenets of education reform.

A key shift in this imagined future is shifting education policy away from the framework of Education for All to the notion of Learning for All. The new education strategy stipulates that this shift is based on the lessons learnt from previous strategies as the Bank shaped the future directions of education development for the next decade. Underpinned by global educational goals such as the Millennium Development Goals, the onus is to continue to support nations to reach their targets of universal primary education and gender equality in schools. However, these goals continue to challenge educational planners and different nations. Despite the number of children attending school has fallen from 1 00 million more children to an estimated 72 million, this number still remains a challenge for policy. Policy states,

However, progress towards Education for All has been uneven, with many areas of the world not on track to achieve the MDGs by 2015. In 2007, almost half of the world out of school children lived in sub Saharan Africa and a quarter of them lived in south Asia; estimates show that one third of out of school children live in areas affected by conflict. (World Bank, 2010d)

Despite shortcoming and uneven progress towards meeting the Millennium Goals, the demand for education increases and the demand for quality learning require new policy initiatives to ensure access and equity. These initiatives prioritise quality learning for all; skills and knowledge for growth and competitiveness, and education systems for results.

The focus on Learning for All compared with Education for All is that learning for all concentrates on systemic capacity building aimed at achieving set learning goals and objectives.

The new education strategy differs from the past strategies in its focus on learning which may be attained partly by more investments in inputs such as more trained teachers or university professors, a better curriculum, and more learning materials, but which needs also institutional changes in the education system. (World Bank, 2010c)

The policy states that the mere act of attending school is not enough to ensure that learning is taking place. The Bank's briefing on education reform states-- 'Yet access to and completion of schooling is insufficient if children are not learning what they need to learn' (World Bank, 2010c, p. 2). ESS2020 presents a more focussed understanding of education as not only schooling, rather education refers to the outcomes of schooling beyond attendance, that is, on learning. Compared to the previous strategies which aimed at actions plans to improve school attendance and thus meeting goals of access to school, this current strategy suggests that the individual learner, their learning experiences and how these are supported, managed and accounted for are the measures by which the effectiveness of educational systems can be monitored.
The new strategy emphasizes the importance of getting governance arrangements, financing, incentives and accountability mechanisms, and management tools aligned with education goals. (World Bank, 2010c)

The key focus on learning and skills is referenced against a future imaginary based on technological progress, globalisation and national quotas for skilled workers to enable economies to grow and compete within a global economy.

Literacy and numeracy are not the only skills that are needed in the labour market. The Bank helps countries provide education that creates a skilled and productive labour force, leading to economic productivity and competitiveness, knowledge generation, and increased earning potential. (World Bank, 2010d, p. 2)

The new strategy reinforces the connection between education, the provision of skilled labour, economic productivity and competitiveness, knowledge generation and earning capacity. The purpose of education is as an economic lever however, the shift evident in policy is on the meaning and purpose of education. Rather than education as a school-based system, the focus on learning for all reconceptualises educational outcomes that target individuals acquiring skills and knowledge that can fuel economic growth. The acquisition of these skills is not the confine of education/schools.

ARGUMENTATION, NEGOTIATION AND ACTORS

In order to arrive at consensual strategies, Habermas' concept of rightness describes how the processes of argumentation and negotiation between actors is necessary to achieve consensus. Communicative action is dependent on cooperative action, and is arrived at through mutual deliberations of the stakeholders involved. ESS2020 has stressed the importance of wide consultation in policy deliberations. However, the key policy shift from Education for All to Learning for All is especially relevant for teachers and educators as it has a direct impact on the purpose and value of their work. The issue raised by this policy shift is whether there was sufficient consultation with educators in order to achieve the consensual shift announced in this policy.

The World Bank's 1999 Education Sector Strategy focussed on quality education for all, especially targeting poor children, girls and the necessity for early childhood education. The 2005 education strategy focussed on teacher recruitment, retention and training. The current strategy, based on learning for all, takes a more systemic view of teachers' work by coalescing teachers' practice and performance with broader systemic educational goals.

The new strategy adds a systemic view of teacher reforms in which policy goals relate to setting clear expectations for teachers, ensuring that pay and benefits are competitive so as to attract the best into the teaching profession, prepare teachers through both preservice training and classroom practice, monitoring the performance of teachers, as well as supporting and motivating them as needed. (World Bank, 2010c)

The necessity for better quality teaching underpins much of the policy shift towards quality education systems that focus on learning outcomes. Policy states,
it will pay a high degree of attention to teacher issues given their key role in learning and the very large share of spending in education to pay for teachers' salaries. To improve the teaching force, policies must provide teachers the incentives for good performance besides establishing and enforcing proper qualifications (through pre- and in-service training and support services, in which most teacher-related investments are focused on. (World Bank, 2010c)

A criticism of World Bank policy in the past is the way that the actions of teachers were controlled and shaped in order to implement change (Vongalis-Macrow, 2008). Teachers were cast as potential obstacles to reforms and an element of 'political constraint' (World Bank, 2010a, p. 12) in the implementation of education reform. There is some continuation of this discourse in the current policy. Policy discussions identify the resistance of teachers and other civil servant in education agencies as factors which needed further 'input for concrete actions' (World Bank, 2010a, p. 11). This acknowledged need to prepare and strategise ways to deal with teachers suggests that some of the previously held assumptions about teachers and how they relate to policy making are still evident.

Teachers are not adversarial actors in the policy process, because as with policy makers, teachers are orientated towards creating a successful education system (Bolton, 2005). Therefore, in terms of consensus building, it can be surmised that while a number of other partnerships and collaborations are sought to affirm and implement policy, educators are still not part of the inner circle. Reviewing a World Bank blog on education, (http://blogs.worldbank.org/education/teacher-unions-friend-or-foe-to-reform) focuses mostly on the political actions of teachers through their unions and the negative impact of such actions. For example, the tendency to strike is an issue.

Citing an example from Sao Paolo teachers,

Sao Paula teachers went to strike over a proposal to make new recruits take tests before they start work to ensure they are qualified; last year they created a furore when the state government asked them to teach from standard textbooks. They proposed a plan to pay staff bonuses depending on their school' performance, but surprisingly went silent since 70% of the state teachers received a bonus. (http://blogs.worldbank.org/education/teacher-unions-friend-or-foe-to-reform, p. 1)

Such examples are supposed to illustrate the self-interest of teachers' unions and that this interest interferes with better education systems. However, when you analyse the motives for strike action it is usually a difference of opinion about how to achieve success. For teachers, a large part of achieving success means having an engaged and empowered teaching force that retains the value of teachers. Creating esteem and valuing the work of the profession is a critical factor in education systems that are high performing such as Finland, Singapore and Hong Kong (Simola, 2005). Therefore, rather than construing the tendency to strike as adversarial, strike action is an extension of teachers' argumentation about education reforms. The strike actions are also symptomatic of a communicative failure between actors interested in reforming education. When World Bank policy targets teachers for reforms, then good policy as communicative action, would affirm that reforms are dependent on cooperative actions derived through mutual deliberations of the stakeholders involved. Those critical to reforms are invested in how their work is 'overhauled'.

The effectiveness of teacher policies (e.g., training, hiring, compensation, deployment, supervision) is critical to an education system's performance; this is one area that typically
needs a major overhaul in order to motivate and support teachers. These reforms have to be consistent with a quality assurance framework. (World Bank, 2010d, p. 4)

Both teachers and policy makers are policy actors who are success orientated in wanting a more effective and supportive education system. The challenge is to better coalesce the concerns educators, working within the political reality of an education system, with the goals of education reform, as demanded by policy makers.

While there is recognition that teachers' unions are stakeholders in the consultation around education reform, they are still identified as potential disruptors of change. However, continuing to flag teachers as potential adversaries to reforming education in the reimagining of the educational future creates unnecessary division and tensions around reforms. Just as the World Bank policy adopted a more open and consultative approach to policy making, this openness should also extend to re envisaging teachers and their professional groups and associations as the co-creators of reform and not as adversaries. For educators, ESS2020 is not an effective communicative tool since their perspectives and inputs continue to be questioned and their interests politicised.

**BRINGING IN THE VOICES OF THE TRANSFORMATION AGENTS**

Communicative actions require that the parties involved in the negotiations present their argumentation and negotiate their perspectives about achieving target goals. Habermas argues that the personal and subjective opinions and expressions, truthfulness, represents the invested interests of the actors (Habermas, 2003). While the new strategy creates an objective vision of what education should be and do, then socialises this vision through extensive consultations, the perspectives of educators, their truthfulness is under represented in policy.

The case of System Assessment and Benchmarking for Education Results (SABER) illustrates this point.

is an initiative that helps countries systematically examine and strengthen the performance of their education systems to achieve learning for all. The World Bank is working with partners around the world to develop diagnostic tools that benchmark education policies according to evidence-based global standards and best practice. By leveraging global knowledge, SABER fills a gap in the availability of policy data, information and knowledge on what matters most to improve the quality of education. (World Bank, 2011)

This means representatives of the World Bank will create a teacher reform platform based on building evidence and developing a set of benchmarks and best practices in a range of measures designed to reform the profession. These measures include guidelines around teacher selection process, teacher management and incentives, best practices around pedagogy, curriculum and assessments, and professional development. The analytical work will cover all facets of teachers' work and professionalism. The World Bank presents its argumentation about what teachers should do essentially through its 'analytical work' (World Bank, 2003c ). The analytical work involves the strategic planning of teachers' reforms through collection of data and diagnostics to build a knowledge base around what it means to be an effective teacher. This means representatives of the World Bank will create a teacher reform platform based on building evidence and developing a set of benchmarks and best practices in a range of measures designed to reform the profession. These measures include guidelines around teacher selection
process, teacher management and incentives, best practices around pedagogy, curriculum and assessments and professional development. The analytical work will cover all facets of teachers' work and professionalism. In other words, the analytical work will reconfigure what it means to be a quality teacher within a quality education system.

While reconfiguring the work and practices of effective teachers and teaching may follow a quasi-scientific method of data collection and deriving best practices from evidence, teaching is a political activity. The previous World Bank strategies have neglected this reality to much criticism from educators, teachers and other educational interests. The current strategy acknowledges that the political context is a factor in the success or failure of reforms. This recognition is therefore included in the analytical work of teacher reforms and the knowledge base around teacher reforms in inclusive of the political economy of education and system reform (World Bank, 2010c). The political context in included in reform measures. Outlining key steps in reforming teachers, they include:

(i) Build access to expertise on teacher quality and performance issues through a combination of expert database, staff training, and hiring. (ii) Train staff on topics including: i) effective practices for teacher selection, management and incentives; ii) effective pedagogical practices and professional development; iii) analysis of political economy of education reform. (iii) Pilot analysis of political economy of teacher reform during project preparation. (World Bank, 2010c)

The issue remains whether the many different perspectives or truthfulness of educators, representing their different and diverse education systems will be included and their concerns integrated into the knowledge base around effective quality teaching and teachers. How far will teachers' deliberations be sought and acknowledged within the guiding principles and benchmarks around good practice?

Habermas (1996, 1998) addresses the political implications of including deliberative processes as part of the development of deliberative politics. Within these processes the participation of actors, especially those with interests in developing a particular common political culture would be expressed. Including the concerns of education professionals in deliberations around reforming education, improving practice and reforming the profession is an example of democratic policy making through deliberative processes. Taking on board the concerns of the teachers, the political culture encasing policy actions is acknowledging an actual negotiation process in which invested groups all work towards relevant, legal and normative educational reforms that are instituted as part of a negotiated common political and educational culture.

The deliberative process is not without tensions and friction because the nature of the negotiations can involve argumentation and polarisation. However, the purpose of argumentation is to allow rational arguments to prevail and negotiate action plans. This is perhaps the most difficult element of policy planning because it does not focus on the action plans of only a privileged minority, but seeks ways to come to consensual decisions. As Mardi (2004) notes, the inclusion of those who are usually policy takers can make for more effective policy that works.

Traditionally, only a privileged minority has had the chance to participate in the scientific process considering these decisions as objective. If we are analyzing the factors that understand dropouts, for example, we will need to take into account the adolescents' reasons for dropping out or continuing their studies. The scientific explanation about these factors cannot only be based in the subjectivity of the expert or the researcher that is considered objective; it should
also be based in the intersubjectivity resulting from the dialogue among the parents and the researchers. (Mardi, 2004)

By consulting and inviting extensive input from a diverse range of educators representing the range of nations likely to be covered by World Bank policy, a more inclusive and sustainable process of reform can implemented.

Deliberative educational policy would seek to improve educational policy and governance, since it invites a range of voices to participate in the communicative actions, that is, in the construction of truth, rightness and truthfulness of policy. In doing so, the processes for improving the effectiveness and legitimacy of World Bank educational decision-making and planning would be enhanced, especially among educators.

While heightened emphases on broader consultation are evident in ESS2020, deliberations need to be more widely inclusive of educators in system steering policy action plans. For example, when examining the emerging themes advanced in ESS2020, teachers' actions and professional work intersects extensively in the successful outcomes. The emerging themes of a new strategy (World Bank, 2010c, p. 5) include: (a) focussing on learning and (b) using the comparative advantage of a global institution. Successful outcomes from both these emerging themes are highly dependent on the skills, knowledge and professional work of engaged and committed teachers. Teachers' work builds capacity and underpins the comparative advantage that education systems can leverage to help create a prosperous future. Educators understand the context and diversity of teaching and learning that are required to achieve the educational as well as the social aims of education. The trend for educators to take on leadership and governance of education also highlights the willingness of the profession to take on the responsibility of governance of schools and local systems. Educators are strategic actors in implementing action plans, it follows that their voice and input should be more evident in the deliberations of policy.

DELIBERATIVE POLICY MAKING

Education policy making cannot afford to alienate those agents orientated towards success of the education systems and those agents whose professional identity is so embedded in the system. Global policy making can no longer assume a common and normative understanding of that policy from all participants. Rather than dealing with potential differences through exclusion of different perspectives and minimising the representations of those with conflicting views, continued efforts should be made to achieve a democratic consensus around reform. World Bank policy has been criticised for representing the interests of the privileged few and further open deliberations around policy and what should be done would help to change this perception. Policy making in a complex world needs to acknowledge and negotiate around differences and politics for the long term effectiveness of policy. Any deliberative conversation about education needs to account for the truthful perspectives of all those concerned, especially those who have an understanding of education as responsive and democratic. For this reason, the greater inclusion of educators in the consultation and in the implementation of policy is critical for its success. Deliberative educational planning ensures reforms are relevant and mutually inclusive.
The form of communication is to ensure the full inclusion as well as the equal, uncoerced participation oriented toward reaching mutual understanding on the part of all those affected so that all relevant contributions to a given topic can be voiced and so that the best arguments can carry the day. (Habermas, 2003, p. 251)

Deliberative planning will also address ongoing criticism of World Bank policies (Heyneman, 2003) so it can continue to influence education access and quality across the world. Heyneman states,

The World Bank has become the single largest source of development capital in the field of international education. These resources help expand educational opportunities for young women in South Asia and rebuild primary schools following civil conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa. They support textbooks, school meals, new curriculum, and teacher training in thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of locations in over 100 countries in six regions. (Heyneman, 2003, p. 315)

By reviewing the way policy is communicated and how policy draws in other actors, the World Bank can continue to build a more accessible and open policy-making process. By considering policy as communicative action, better ways can be employed, throughout the policy-making process to build consensus which means involving those whose actions enable policy in the deliberations about policy. If key actors, such as educators, are left out of the process of argumentation and negotiation, some groups, with an interest in achieving the goals, will continue go outside the controlled process of consultation to ensure their views are heard.

REFERENCES


