

RISE

RESEARCH ON IMPROVING
SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION

Diagnosing education systems part II

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BILL & MELINDA
GATES *foundation*

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Start with a story



Case of Samagra in Haryana



Saksham Haryana

To make more than 80% Government elementary school students 'Saksham' by 2019



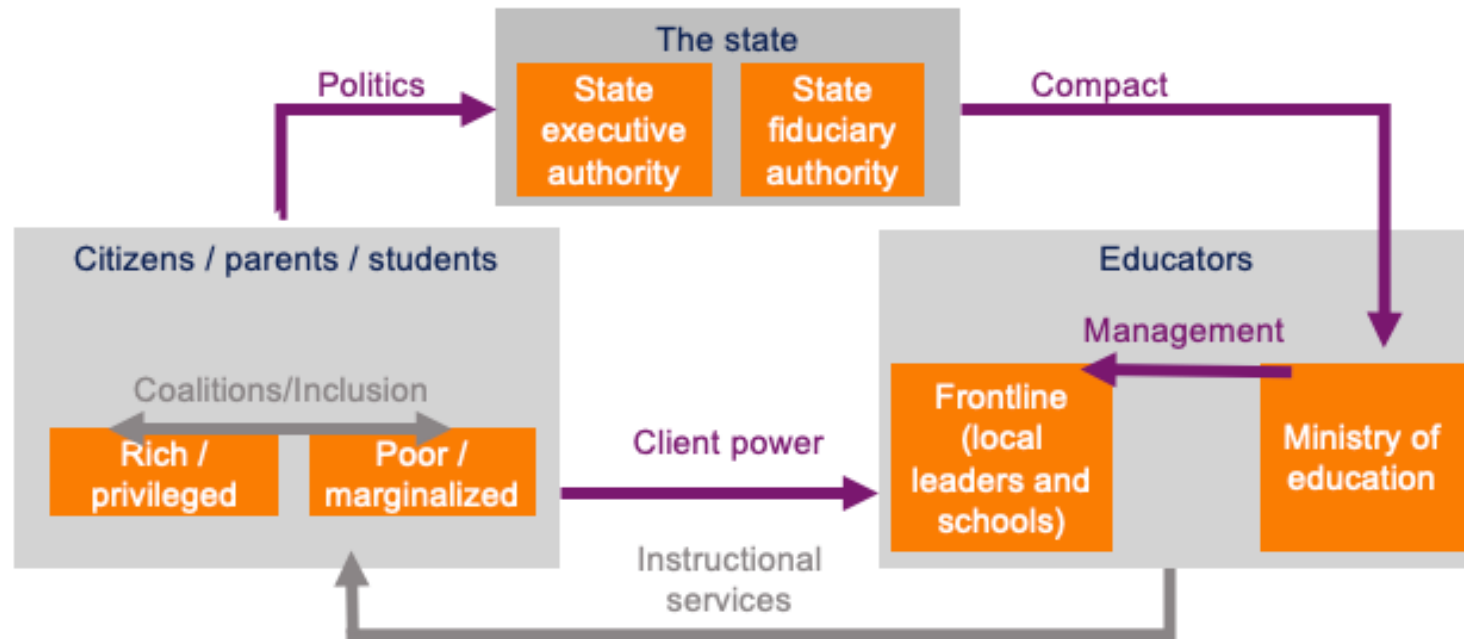
Saksham Haryana Kick-Off Meeting, July 2017

Case of Samagra in Haryana

Saksham Haryana Framework



Picking up where we left off...



- Each relationship can be characterized by its delegation, finance, support information, and motivation.
- System outcomes are the result of the endogenous behavior of the actors in each relationship.
- System delivers learning when strong relationships of accountability align across design elements around learning objective.

Purpose of the diagnostic exercise

Three conjectures

- Systems deliver learning when delegation, finance, support, information, and motivation are coherent for learning.
- Most current systems are at best aligned for access and at worst aligned for some other purpose.
- Systems reform for learning emerges from alignment among actors. It requires a common understanding of the problem among the actors, so they can work together through projects and programs for change.

Diagnostic purpose

- Exercise that results in a concrete product, generates a shared and sufficiently nuanced understanding of the problem among a sufficient number of relevant actors to prepare them to make change.
- Many in the system know their part of the system well, this makes whole system visible to all.

Three things the diagnostic is not

- NOT: an internal exercise for donors.
- NOT: an effort to generate new / more / better data.
- NOT: easy, involves asking difficult and often “political” questions of many inside and outside of government.

Most education projects go cell-by-cell and focus on the management column, so we want to discuss compact

Five design elements of each relationship of accountability (Principal (P) to Agent (A))	Principal-agent relationships			
	Politics: Citizens to “the state”/politicians (many P to one A)	Compact: “The state” to organizations (one P to one A or one P to many A with non-state providers)	Management: Organizations to front-line providers (one P to many A)	Voice/ Client power: Service recipients (parents/children) direct to FLP/Organizations (many P to one A)
Delegation: Specification of what P wants from A				
Finance: Resources that P provides to A (either in advance or contingent)				
Support: P helps A to perform				
Information: P collects information on performance of A				
Motivation: How A’s well-being is contingent on performance. Change to motivation? i) Intrinsic; ii) Extrinsic; iii) Exit (force out)				
Performance of agent is endogenous to the features of the relationship System delivers learning when strong relationships of accountability align across design elements around learning objectives				

Compact

The state executive and fiduciary authorities delegate functions, finance, to the organization(s) responsible for delivering education services

The state

State executive
authority

State fiduciary
authority

Educators

Organization(s) delivering
education services. National or
state ministry of education (MoE)

Compact, understanding the principal

1. Executive and fiduciary authorities could be tightly or loosely linked

Close coordination between executive and fiduciary

State executive
authority

State fiduciary
authority

i.e. Parliamentary systems where minister of finance is appointed by executive

Separation between executive and fiduciary decisions

State executive
authority



State fiduciary
authority

i.e. systems where legislature has control over budget separate from executive.

2. The compact could be embedded in a unitary or federal state

Unitary state e.g.



There is delegation to one national ministry of education (which could have component parts)

Federal state e.g.



Delegation from federal government to states or provinces with control over education policy and finance.

Compact, understanding the agent

1. Centralized or decentralized?

Centralized

All decision making, especially how to spend finance, is taken at the center of the organization.

Decentralized

Many decisions, especially how to spend finance, taken place at district level.

2. Technical elements embedded or separated

Embedded

All or most technical functions (e.g curriculum development, assessment development, of ministry happen inside one organization.

Separated

Technical functions carried out by distinct organizations.

Possible alignments of the compact relationship

Alignment	Characterization
Coherent for learning	Relationship of accountability is aligned around learning goals.
Aligned for access and attainment	Relationship of accountability is aligned around enrollment and attainment goals.
Aligned for socialization objective	Relationship of accountability is characterized by socialization or ideological goal. The objective may originate from the executive itself or from an interest group.
Aligned for other purpose: patronage	Relationship of accountability is characterized by clientalism. Short term clientalist objectives are dominant.
Aligned for other purpose: special interests	Special interest groups, most often teachers unions, dominate the compact relationship. Ensuring that their needs are met becomes the primary focus of the relationship of accountability

System could be aligned for multiple purposes concurrently, idea is to use these alignment types to observe each design element of the relations and describe the compact relationship

To cure disease: review symptoms, test, diagnose, then treat

Symptoms	Possible diagnoses	Possible treatment plans	Diagnostic tests	Findings	Diagnosis	Treatment plan
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feverish • Aches • Weakness • Chills • Sweating 	Viral flu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rest • Fluids 	<p>CBC</p> <p>Sputum test</p> <p>Blood smear</p>	<p>CBC- normal white blood cells, anemic</p> <p>Sputum normal</p> <p>Blood smear – shows malaria parasites</p>	Malaria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-parasitic • Rest • Fluids • Bed net
	TB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Antibiotics • Rest • Fluids 				
	Malaria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-parasitic • Rest • Fluids • Bed net 				

- Symptoms and treatment plans are both multifarious, diagnosis is simple.
- Going straight from symptoms to treatment plan could be wasteful or even harmful, since all interventions have side effects, if wrong treatment plan is chosen.
- Also need to mind coherence, anti-biotics would be deadly if you were allergic.

Features of delegation in each possible alignment

Coherent for learning

- Includes clear, achievable goals for progress on cohort learning at early, middle, and late stages.
- Learning equity and equality of opportunity issues are considered in setting learning objectives In contrast to access equity,
- This is every child develop fully regardless of their circumstances

Aligned for access and attainment

- Goal to expand to universal enrollment and completion of given level of schooling.
- Equity, equality of opportunity, and inclusivity all components, considered in terms of access and attainment.
- Attract and retain sufficient number of qualified teachers.
- Acquire adequate inputs to deliver quality school, quality determined by observable features the school.

Aligned for socialization

- Goal is to promote patriotic allegiance to the state
- OR
- Goal to promote common national language to build a sense of nationhood
- OR
- Goal is to transmit religious values to the next generation

Fit for another purpose

Patronage

- Maintain power for regime.
- Decisions dominated by political cycle. Policy objectives weak.
- Attract teachers politically supportive teachers, reward allies.
- Acquire inputs to support goal, reward allies

Interest groups (teachers unions)

- Satisfy interest group needs.
- Maintain and expand teacher qualifications and benefits.

Features of finance in each possible alignment

Coherent for learning

- Finance adequately structured and provided to meet learning goals
- Finance structured to attract, retain, and motivate quality teaching (not just teachers)
- Non-salary finance is structured to maximizing learning, including articulation of causal models.
- Organization responsible for implementation has discretion over finances that is sufficient to innovate

Aligned for access and attainment

- Plan based on expansion needs, determined by unit costs of enrollment: demographics, class sizes and salary.
- Structure of teacher spending determined by compensation scheme, Weberian civil service.
- Enrollment expanding, teacher salary cannot fall. Tension between inputs and salary.
- Non-salary spending goes to inputs. To control limited resources, decisions made at top

Aligned for socialization

- Centralized control of finance to protect social objective
- OR
- Significant finance flow directly to religious school

Fit for another purpose

Patronage

- Finance likely prioritizes expansion and infrastructure. Likely to see inadequate financial allocation shambolic budgeting process.
- Teacher spending and hiring hostage to short term objectives.
- Spending on inputs hostage to short run objectives, fad-ish.

Interest groups (teachers unions)

- Finance is earmarked for teacher salaries and benefits.

Features of information in each possible alignment

Coherent for learning

- Organization providers produce regular, reliable, relevant information on learning at early, middle, and late stages in education. Not just high stakes for students exit exams.
- Tracking of cohort learning targets includes tracking of learning at each grade, and persistence in school.

Aligned for access and attainment

- Organizational providers produce and communicate regular, reliable information on enrollment and grade completion, utilization of thin inputs (including teacher stock and attendance), process compliance.
- Determination of “quality” of schooling based on inputs.
- Information often gathered in EMIS systems that feed data to the top, where allocation decisions are made.

Aligned for socialization

- Collect information on compliance with value promoting policies.
- Could also collect information on enrollment / expansion if that is part of promotion strategy.

Fit for another purpose

Patronage

- Want no information, need no information. It pays to be ignorant.
- Information that does exist holds power, and so is not shared easily.
- Bureaucratic facts are fiction. Reporting neither regular nor reliable.

Interest groups (teachers unions)

- Limited information on learning outcomes available.
- Careful tracking of teacher qualifications.

Identifying how relationship of accountability is aligned by speaking to principals and agents

	Principal - State	Agent - Organization
Political	Executive authority of state, minister of finance may be point person <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Top advisor in office of president (or equivalent) with responsibility for education• Minister of finance	Executive in charge of organization(s) responsible for providing education. <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Minister of education (or equivalent).• Leaders of other organizations responsible for providing education.• May also speak to their top aids
Technocrat	Senior bureaucrat in ministry of finance who interfaces with ministry of education	Senior bureaucrat at each organization responsible for providing education services who interfaces with ministry of finance.

- The principal and agent organizations are made up of political actors and technocrats, important to speak to both to get complete picture.
- May have to speak to multiple people in each category, informed by organization structure.

Delegation questions to ask to determine alignment of relationship of accountability

Role in framework	Role in their org	Questions
Principal – President’s office and ministry of finance	Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are your priorities for the ministry of education? What would success look like for the ministry of education? (for information column: How would you know if they achieved it)
	Technocrat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are your priorities for the ministry of education? What would success look like for the ministry of education? (for information column: How would you know if they achieved it)
Agent – ministry of education	Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is the president’s office / ministry of finance / executive’s priorities for the ministry of education? What would the president’s office / ministry of finance / executive think the ministry of education needs to deliver to be considered successful? (for information column: How would they know if you achieved it)
	Technocrat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is the president’s office / ministry of finance / executive’s priorities for the ministry of education? What would the president’s office / ministry of finance / executive think the ministry of education needs to deliver to be considered successful? (for information column: How would they know if you achieved it) What was the last change to a policy or procedure you proposed? Was it adopted? Why or why not?

Finance questions to ask to determine alignment of relationship of accountability

Role in framework	Role in org	Questions
Principal – President's office and ministry of finance	Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you make decisions about finance for education? What would induce you to make a change to the financing of education?
	Technocrat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How did you decide on approval of budget and allocation of funds to ministry in the last fiscal year? When was last time you approved a change in budgetary allocations? What was the purpose of the change? Why was that change approved?
Agent – ministry of education	Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are the biggest challenges you face in decision making on education finance?
	Technocrat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How is budget line for teachers salaries structured and who has discretion over it? When was the last time a change was made to teacher salary structure (compensation of existing teachers or hiring of new ones)? How are budget lines not related to teacher salary structured? Who has discretion over it? When was the last time a change was made to it? Where does funding for new initiatives come from? When was the last time a change was proposed to funding or a new program? How was this justified? What were questions ministry of finance asked about it?

Information questions to ask to determine alignment of relationship of accountability

Role in framework	Role in their org	Questions
Principal – President’s office and ministry of finance	Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What information did you receive last fiscal year from the min of edu about their performance? What are the topics of discussion or questions you ask? What was it that you heard from ministry of education about their performance? Was it formal or informal? Data based?
	Technocrat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What does the ministry of edu produce to report on progress? Content? What does the report contain related the utilization of funds for outputs? What does the report contain to progress on access or attainment targets? What does the report contain related to progress towards learning targets? Have you read it? What’s one thing that struck you?
Agent – ministry of education	Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What information do you share with the cabinet / president’s office? Has education come up at cabinet meetings this year? What was discussed? What would you fear having to report to the cabinet or to the president? What do you feel no obligation to report on?
	Technocrat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What does the ministry of education produce for the ministry of finance that is retrospective? What is the content? What does the report contain on the utilization of funds for outputs? What does the report contain on progress towards access or attainment? What does the report contain related to progress towards learning targets? Have you read it? What’s one thing that struck you? What is it that you would see as risky to report to the ministry of finance? In any of the meetings has one in finance ever asked about learning?

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