An Analytical Understanding of How External Sources Inform and Impact Upon Somaliland's National Education and Teacher Education Policy Making Processes

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

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Abstract

This thesis investigates how external sources inform and impact Somaliland's national teacher education policy making processes. In this research, external factor is mainly constituted by INGOs that are helping Somaliland's education and teacher education re-construction which are considered to be part of wider global-national interactions. The conceptual frameworks of policy making processes, policy transfer, lesson drawing and policy learning are used to develop the theoretical perspectives that inform the research question. Constructivist's qualitative research approach which utilises critical discourse analysis as the principle methodology has been used to gain an understanding of the discursive construction of meaning about Somaliland's education reforms and analyse the discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism that are evident in three contemporary education reform policy documents and interview data. This thesis considered policy making processes as a contested, dynamic and multidimensional phenomena and has acknowledged the centrality of power and resources in policy making processes. The analysis of the research data constructed Somaliland's education reforms as a discourse of human capital. This had implications for the strategies for managing change, quality and improvement perception, and reconceptualisations of teacher education and teacher professionalism. The thesis concludes with concerns about the contextual visibility to implement the new discourses of education and teacher education and calls for increased policy learning, capacity building, resource increase and modernisation of institutions as well as change of the culture of work.

*Keywords: policy making processes; policy transfer; lesson drawing; policy learning; globalisation of education policies; education reform, teacher education, teacher professionalism***.**

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Abbreviations

1. AFFORD: African Foundation For development
2. Association for African Universities
3. Association for the development of African Education
4. CDA; Critical Discourse Analysis
5. CFA: Commission for Africa
6. CFBT: Centre for British Teachers
7. DEO's: District Education Officers
8. EDI: Economic Development Institute
9. FAWE: Forum for African Women Educationists
10. IMF: International Monitory Fund
11. INGO: International Non Governmental Organisations
12. MOE: Ministry of Education
13. NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
14. NEPARD: New Partnership for African Development
15. NGO's: Non Governmental Organisations
16. OAU: Organisation of African Union
17. OECD: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
18. OFSTED; Office for Standards in Education
19. REO's: Regional Education Officers
20. SACB Somaliland Aid Co-ordination Body
21. SCOTT: Strengthening Capacity of Somaliland Teacher Training
22. SLESSP: Somaliland Education Sector Strategic Plan
23. SLNEP: Somaliland National Education Policy
24. SLNTEP: Somaliland National Teacher education Policy
25. STEPs: Strengthening Teacher Education Project
26. UN: United Nations
27. UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
28. UNESCO : United Nations Education and Scientific Organisation
29. USA: United States of America
30. WB: World Bank

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0: INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a summary of this thesis and place it within its contextual and conceptual frameworks. It briefly covers the focus, purposes, objectives and background of the study. It also highlights the theoretical perspectives that have been used to develop the research question, the research question itself, the methodology and methods used for the investigation and finally an overview of the organisational structure of the thesis.

This thesis focuses on an analytical understanding of how external sources or factors influence and impact on Somaliland's national education and teacher education policy development. It discusses teacher education policies and practices in a wider context of Somaliland's national education policies, education system and globalisation issues which draw both ideological and educational goals. The ultimate aim of the thesis is to critically examine how Somaliland's wider educational reforms construct the new discourses of teacher professionalism. In most of the circumstances, I will use the phrases of external sources or external factors to refer to the international non governmental organisations that are participating in education and teacher education re-construction in Somaliland as well as the wider global education agents that promote convergence and internationalisation of education policies and practices. In particular, I will closely examine the influences and impact of the external factors on the national teacher education policy making process as well as the substances of particular policies adopted as a result of the national- global interactions.

Perhaps at this vary beginning; I need to introduce my self. My background origin is Somaliland, the context of this study. Secondly, since 2001 I participated in a series of consultation meetings that were aimed to establish teacher education institutions in Somaliland. In these meetings from a Diaspora- Homeland engagement perspective, I contributed knowledge and ideas of what I thought could be useful in the local context. But above all, I attribute my choice of this topic to the two factors: (1) the desire to improve educational provisions of Somaliland and, (2) the impact my previous MA in education studies, particularly professional education module had on the way I see the

future contemporary public education provisions, teacher education and teacher professionalism in an increasingly globalised world.

1.2: The purpose of this study:

The purpose of this thesis is to provide an analytical understanding of how external sources inform on Somaliland's national education and teacher education transformation. The theoretical concepts of policy making processes, education policy transfer, lesson drawing, policy learning, policy networks, policy communities and globalisation of education policies are used to develop the basis under which external sources can influence and impact upon the education and teacher education transformation in Somaliland. Most researchers address and restrict education policy configuration, policy learning and policy borrowing among the developed countries in the West that have the same ideological and geographical proximity. However, little research has been carried out to determine what lessons that countries in a post conflict transition such as Somaliland can draw from the developed countries in the West. Therefore this thesis aims to create an insight of how best to enhance the teacher education policy development process through the mechanisms of policy borrowing and lesson drawing. The process of transfer may involve defining problems to be solved at home, identification of paradigms in other countries, analysis of such paradigms, assessing suitability of home conditions and adaptation or indigenisation of what is borrowed (Ochs and Philip 2002).

1.2.1: Objectives of the thesis

The objectives of the thesis are:

- to provide an understanding of how teacher education policies and practices in Somaliland can be improved by incorporating lesson-drawing and policy transfer in the national policy making processes so as to make an informed decisions;
- to provide an insight of how educational policies are developed at a national level and implemented at institutional level;
- to identify, discuss and analyse the role and the influences of international non-governmental organisations and globalisation of education policies in Somaliland's teacher education policies and practices;
- to critically examine how the wider education reforms in Somaliland construct discourses of teacher professionalism;
- to recommend intervention programmes that can enhance teacher professionalism in Somaliland.

In this research, the conceptual frameworks of policy making processes, policy communities, policy networks, policy transfer, lesson drawing, policy learning, policy transfer agencies and education policy globalisation phenomena are used as the theoretical perspectives that can inform the research questions and subsequently as strategies that Somaliland can use to improve the quality of their teacher education policies, teacher training institutions and teacher education programmes. In the past, policy transfer and lesson drawing strategies have been used to improve the policy making processes of many countries. For example, Bache and Taylor (2003) observe that after the civil war Kosovo successfully transformed and reconstructed its higher education by employing aspects of lesson-drawing and policy transfer from Britain and other Western European countries. Somaliland shares similar post-conflict characteristics with Kosovo and in both countries international institutions and agencies are directing change and in particular, change is associated with external attempts to democratise these states. Vongalis-Macrow (2006) also presents a comparatively less successful model of education reconstruction in Iraq, where the Americans have used policies and practices transferred from Western democratic countries to re-professionalise teachers in Iraq and further "the global agenda of democratisation." In the context of Somaliland's education provision, this thesis identifies emerging and competing new educational discourses arising from the significant interaction between the national education policy making mechanism and the many international organisations that support the education sector in Somaliland.

1.3: Internationalisation of teacher education policies and practices

The overall, recent trends in teacher professionalisation and professionalism in Somaliland is heavily influenced by many international non governmental organisations. For example, Schellekens (2004) identifies that most education programmes including teacher education programmes in Somaliland are funded by the European Commission and executed by a group of international non governmental organisations (INGOs) from the European Union and specialised United Nations agencies as a form of educational development aid. Although all the teacher education programmes are based on the local universities, the funding and implementation of teacher education programmes is managed in a four-tier management system, comprising stakeholders groups. At the apex, the group comprises the Ministry of Education, European Commission, Save the Children UK, Save the Children Denmark and Care International and local universities. There are also other specific partnership programmes between local universities and other international non-

governmental organisations for example; Amoud University runs a two year diploma course for secondary school teacher in partnership with the Centre for British Teachers and African Education Trust (both British INGOs). African Visual University also supports information technology aspects in teacher education programmes. This new perspective of teacher development in Somaliland which involves the active participation of International Non Governmental Organisations (INGO) presents both opportunities and challenges to the national education policy making mechanism.

Opportunities: First, the national education policy making process has the chance to benefit from the global market of knowledge about policy formulation and development. Secondly, there are good chances that the international epistemic communities might provide the knowledge base which can act as a trigger for policy learning and policy transfer that might enable the local education policy makers to look and go beyond the traditional academic norms and values. Hass (referenced by Hulme 2004:6) argues that policy change cannot take place without policy learning. Policy learning and policy change are intertwined together. Thus policy learning is about the use of comparative knowledge and analysis from elsewhere to refine the ideological basis of the new policy proposals. Therefore it makes sense to say that the departure from the old or the existing policy requires policy learning on the part of the policy makers.

Challenges: Policy transfer and lesson-drawing concepts which I define in section 1.7 of this chapter as possible strategies of improving national policies can also negatively impact on the national policy making processes by producing negative results. Within the international literature on policy transfer there are number of examples where the policies borrowed did not yield the desired outcomes. For example, after ten years of introduction, the South Africans' Integrated National Qualifications Framework (NQF) from New Zealand was found inappropriate and expensive and Britain's policy of student loans borrowed from Australia has resulted in the low participation of students from economically disadvantaged families (Unterhalter 2003). These failed borrowed policies certainly raise the significance of local contexts in response to the policies developed from elsewhere.

1.4: Educational policy and educational research

Trowler (2003:176) identifies two types of relationship between educational research and educational policy. He calls this the social "engineering" and "enlightenment" models. Policy oriented researches adopting the conceptual frameworks of these two models differ in the type of data collected, the ontological position and epistemological position of the researchers and the purpose of the research. For example, in the engineering model, policy researchers aim to inform the policy makers about "facts" of the problem and propose solutions to the problem. While the enlightenment model of policy research aims to illuminate educational issues, giving the policy makers a good grounding in the context within which they seek to make policy, including well formulated theories and concepts which can make it more applicable to them. In this model there is no attempt to deliver the "truth" because that is seen as a fundamentally problematic concept.

In this thesis the researcher adopts the enlightenment model of research-policy relationship within the frame works of qualitative research to explore and investigate the research question because I believe that social reality can only be socially constructed and that knowledge is conditional upon its social context. For example, human features that are central to my research question include believes and values in education, events, processes, reactions, interactions, challenges and expectation in the education policy making process. Therefore I anticipate that the enlightenment research approach will capture these human phenomena better than the engineering research approach. Troyna referenced by Trowler (ibid) favours this approach and states that policy researchers should be concerned more in critical theorising rather than just problem solving approach.

1.5: Background of the study

There are many factors that underpin the current educational policy reforms in Somaliland. The most significant factor is the failure of the previous education systems to contribute to the economic development, social stability and democracy of the country. Education is a necessary, if not sufficient aspect of national development. It is the best investment, in terms of returns on investment a country can make to promote its own economic and social development and lay to a foundation for democratic society. This role of education is noticed by Philips and Ochs (2004) who identify the impulses that spark off cross-national education policy attractions as:

a) internal dissatisfaction: on part of the parents, teachers students and other education stake holders;
b) systematic collapse: inadequate or failure of some aspects of education provision; the need for educational reconstruction following war or natural disaster;
c) negative external evaluation: for example, international comparative studies on some aspects of education or through widely reported and influential research by academics;
d) economic change/ competition: sudden change in economy, new forms of competition creating additional needs in training;
e) political and other imperatives: the need to turn round policy as voters become dissatisfied; responsibilities through aid donation or occupation following conflict;
f) novel configuration: globalising tendencies, effects of supranational education and training policies;
g) knowledge and skills innovation: failure to exploit new technologies;
h) political change: new direction as a result of change of government;

Contemporary Somaliland's education and teacher education reform policy papers (MOE 2005, MOE 2006, and MOE 2007) identify all the above factors as reasons for inducing change in education and teacher education policies and practices. Particularly, teacher education and teacher professionalism which is the main focus of this thesis is linked to socio-economic failure of the nation and the society. This growing concern of teacher education and teacher professionalism presents challenges to the government, training institutions and the international organisations that support the education sector.

1.6: Research question:

How do external sources inform and impact upon Somaliland's national education and teacher education policy making processes

The following two questions will provide focus for this study;

1) How does the mechanism of policy transfer and lesson drawing from other external sources inform and impact on Somaliland's national education and teacher education decision-making processes?
2) How do the current educational reforms in Somaliland construct future teacher education and teacher professionalism?

1.7: Definitions and understandings of the key words and concepts used

a) Policy: Different authors have conceptualised what policy is in different ways. In this introductory chapter I will draw upon the three definitions that I believe reflect and approximate my use of policy in this research. These are**:** (1) Berkhout and Wiellemans' (1999:403) conceptualisation of education policy *as* "a complex, dynamic and diverse socio-political system relating to sets of executive, administrative, deliberative and adjudicative institutions and/or official texts that direct education at the various hierarchical levels of the government" (2) Kingdon's (1995) definition of public policy making as a set of processes, including at least (a) the setting of the agenda, (b) the specification of alternatives from which a choice is to be made (c) the authoritative choice among those specified alternatives, as in a legislative vote decision and (d) the implementation of the decisions and; (3) Ball's (1994:15) definition of policy as both *text* and as *discourse*. Ball (ibid) further states that policy is not one or the other, but both: and that policies are also about processes and outcomes. Ball (1994) also sees policies as representations which are encoded in complex ways (*via struggles, compromises, authoritative public interpretations and reinterpretations*) and decoded in complex ways (*via actors' interpretations and meaning in relations to their history, experiences, skills, resources and context)*

b) Policy making process: Prunty (quoted in McLaughlin 2000:442) defines education policy making as "an exercise of power and control directed towards the attainment or preservation of some preferred arrangements of schools and society". Similarly, Codd referenced by McLaughlin (ibid) states that, educational policies are "sets of political decisions which involve the exercise of power in order to preserve or alter the nature of educational institutions or practices". These two definitions stress the relationship between educational policies, politics, power and control which can imply that educational policies are formulated only by those who exercise power and control and who are involved in politics. McLaughlin (2000) while acknowledging the position and the role of power, politics and control in policy development gives a contrasting view to the above definitions by arguing that education policies can be formulated by many bodies and agencies including those who do not enjoy political forms of power and control but seek merely to influence educational arrangements indirectly. A good example of these categories of policy influencers includes teachers, teachers unions, think tanks, private sector, policy advisors, academics, international non governmental organisations and donor communities.

Ball (cited in Hodgson and Spours, 2006:) observes a changing policy formation processes in which the traditional relatively straightforward model of tripartite balance of power between the national government, local education authorities and education providers have been replaced by a rather more complex and unpredictable policy making process. He points out that the current shifts of education policy making processes have been associated with the growth of "arms length" agencies. For example, in the UK, the Learning and Skills Council, OFSTED, Qualification and Curriculum Authority are all unelected powerful institutions in the education policy making area.

Similarly, Taylor (2002) further contributes to our understanding of shifts in modern policy contexts and policy formulation processes by stating that because of the influences of globalisation and the introduction of a quasi-market in education aimed to stimulate institutional competition, in the belief that it will increase efficiency and drive up quality, there has been changes in the policy context and the processes of policy making.

b) Policy transfer: "*A process in which knowledge about policies, institutions and ideas developed in one time or place is used in the development of policies, institutions etc. in another time or place"* (Dolowitz, et al cited in Hulme 2004: 3)

c) Lesson drawing: Rose (1991, 1993) defines lesson- drawing as; "more than a symbol invoked to sway opinion about a policy and more than a dependent variable telling a social scientist what is to be explained". A lesson is a detailed cause-and-effect description of a set of actions that governments can consider in light of experience elsewhere, including a prospective evaluation of whether, what is done elsewhere could someday become effective here'. Several processes are involved in lesson drawing. *Copying* involves enacting a more or less intact programme already in effect; *adaptation* is similar, but involves adjusting for contextual differences; making a *hybrid* consists of combining elements of a programme from two different places; *synthesis* is combining familiar elements from programmes in a number of different places to create a new programme; and *inspiration* is using programmes elsewhere as an intellectual stimulus to develop a novel programme (Rose 1993).

d) Transformation: the two words of transformation and re-construction are usually associated with educational studies relating to the countries in post-conflict situations. Countries in a post-conflict situation are usually characterised by new "political space"

new visions, less bureaucratic resistance to change and sudden influx of resources from international community and usually there is a broad base of national actors to participate (World Bank 2005 and Tawil and Harley 2004). In this research, I had difficulties in deciding which of the two words to adopt in my studies. While reconstruction is a better descriptive term in terms capturing the re-building processes of a country after a major conflict it has its own limitations because reconstruction can imply that replacing what has been destroyed i.e. policies, procedures, institutions, supporting structures and links and physical facilities in their previous form and shape, which might not have been good in the first place. As Addison (2003) referenced by Ndaruhutse (2004) points out post- conflict reconstruction is too often seen as a matter of simply rebuilding damaged infrastructure. But if recovery is to be broad based, then policies must change as well. Therefore transformation seems a better expression, because it illustrates and highlights the current reforms in their own perspectives. For example transformations, changes or reforms reflect how the current political and educational ideologies allocate values and goals to the national education system.

1.8: Methodology and methods

This thesis is based on a qualitative constructionist research approach that utilises critical discourse analysis as the principle methodological tool. This methodology has been used to analyse policy texts that included (1) three of Somaliland's contemporary education reform policy texts i.e. the Somaliland National Education Policy Paper (MOE 2005) ; Somaliland's National Teacher Education Policy (MOE 2006) and Somaliland's National Education Strategic Development Plan (MOE 2007); and (2) 30 semi-structured interviews that involved 5 of Somaliland's Ministry of Education personnel, 5 policy advisers and 5 representatives of the INGOs that support the education sector and 15 teacher educators at Amoud and Burao Universities.

1.9: Organisations of the thesis

This thesis consists of 7 chapters, each covering a specific section of the study. For example; chapter one**:** covers a brief overview of the study which contains the aims and the rationale of the research, definitions of key words and concepts, methods and research limitations. Chapter two**:** presents information about the context of the study (Somaliland). Very little literature exists about educational provision in Somaliland. So, I devoted this

chapter to reflect briefly on the historical background of Somaliland, geographical location, population, culture, religion, economy, education system and management. Because this thesis primarily concentrates on teacher education policies and practices this chapter also explores aspects of teacher training programs and the institutions that provide teacher education in Somaliland.

Chapter three: covers a critical review of the literature relating to the themes of the research question. This chapter consists of three sections. The first section of the literature review concentrates on the process of national educational policy making and policy networks. In this part I also attempt to highlight the various educational challenges and needs within the context of study (Somaliland) that the national education policy making process could perhaps improve through the mechanisms of lesson drawing and policy transfer. The second section of the literature review focuses on the process of policy transfer and lesson drawing. Particular attention is paid to the contemporary forces that are generating educational policy configurations around the world and the various international reforms resulting from the globalisation of education policy and the final third section reflects upon the impact of education reforms on teacher professionalisation and professionalism.

Chapter four**:** describes in detail the methodological choice and methods of data collection. This methodology and method chapter starts with an overview of the relationship between educational research and educational policy. Then the chapter proceeds to locate education policy research within the boundaries of qualitative and interpretive research paradigms, and more specifically within Fairclough's 1993, 1995, 1998 2003 methodology of critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Chapter five: covers research findings, analysis and discussions of the wider educational reforms under which Somaliland national teacher education policy and policy making process are located. Critical discourse analysis is used to explore and deconstruct the production, dissemination and the consumption of three contemporary education policy documents which represent the current education reforms in Somaliland. These three key documents include the Somaliland national education policy (MOE, 2005), Somaliland national teacher education policy (MOE, 2006) and Somaliland national education development plan (MOE, 2007). A multi-perspective analytical approach is used to identify both the competing political and educational ideological discourses contained in

these contemporary policy documents. In addition, the origins of the discourses and power relationships between the various policy actors are also discussed and analysed.

Chapter six**:** demonstrates findings, discussions and analysis of data gathered during the process of interviewing senior education personnel in the Ministry of Education, education policy advisers, teacher educators and senior International Non Governmental Organisations education projects officers that support the Ministry of Education in Somaliland. Finally, chapter seven presents conclusions and recommendations from the various cross cutting discourses that are emerging from the education reforms in Somaliland.

1.9.1: Summary:

Chapter one has presented a brief overview of the main thematic perspectives of the research, a statement of the problem to be investigated, aims and objectives of the study, definition of keywords and concepts. The brief discussion of the two models of policy research (social engineering vs enlightenment model) and a subsequent declaration of the researcher to pursue the enlightenment model of policy research also give an indication of the ontological and methodological position of the author. In this study qualitative research methodology is applied to investigate the problem statement. Finally the chapter indicated how the remaining chapters are organised.

The next chapter widens the context of the study. It gives a brief historical background of Somaliland, its geographical location, population, culture, religion, economy, education system and some aspects of teacher training. Very little has been written about the context of the study so the account in this chapter is constructed through the researcher's own knowledge of the context and the few written sources that currently exist.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0: THE STUDY CONTEXT (SOMALILAND)

2.1: Introduction

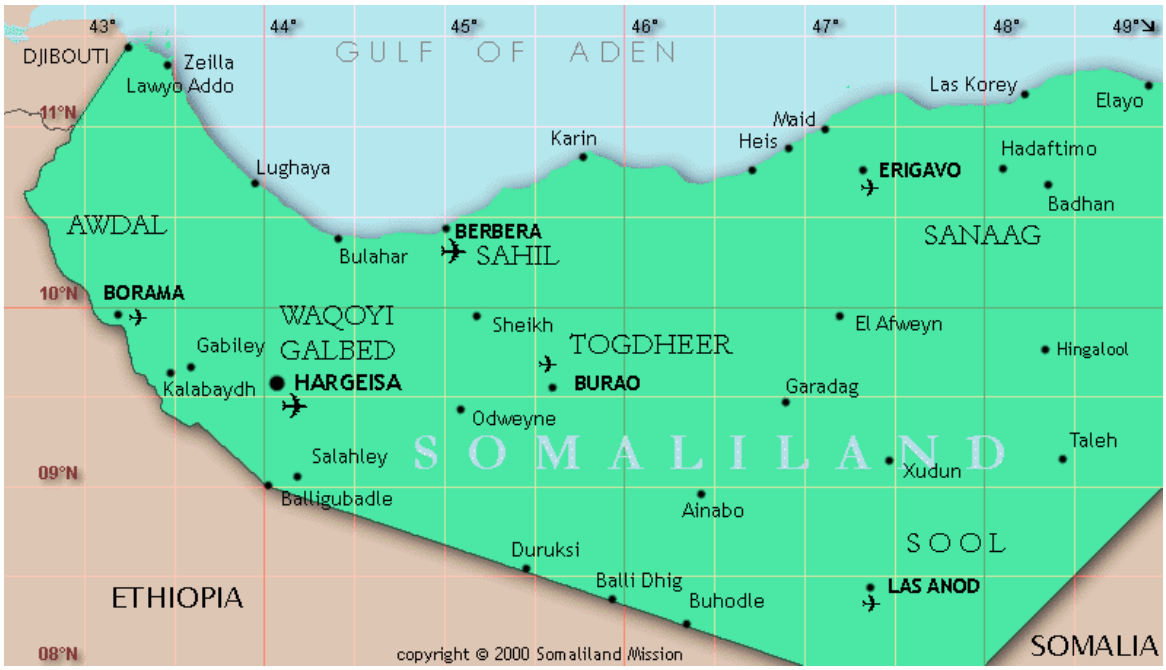
The former British protectorate (Somaliland) achieved full independence from the United Kingdom on 26th June 1960. On first July 1960 the State of Somaliland united with Somalia (the former Italian Protectorate). This unification processes created the Republic of Somalia. However, after the civil war that devastated the entire country, in 1990, the political, economic and social structure of the central government of Somalia collapsed and Somaliland restored its independence (retreated or pulled out of the union with Somalia) on 18th May 1991. The decision was made by the congress of council of elders in Burao town from 27th April to 15th May 1991. Since then, the international community has acknowledged the political stability and the development achieved by Somaliland, however, its sovereignty as a separate state from Somalia is yet to receive any international recognition.

Constitutionally, Somaliland has a multi-party system. The administrative structures of Somaliland consists of a judiciary, legislative (House of Elders and House of Representatives) and an Executive (the president and his chosen council of ministers) who may not be members of the parliament. The country is divided in to six regions, namely North West, Awdal, Sahil, Toghdheer, Sool and Sanaag, which are subdivided into thirty districts. The capital of Somaliland is Hargeisa, with an estimated population of about 800, 000. Other towns are Burao, Borama, Berbera, Erigavo and lascannood. The principal port of Somaliland is Berbera.

2.1.2: Geographical location

The Republic of Somaliland is situated in the horn of Africa. Its borders are defined by the Gulf of Aden to the north, Somalia in the east and the Republic of Djibouti in the North West. The total area of the Republic of Somaliland is 137, 6000 square kilometres with a coastline of 850 kms.

Figure 2a: map of Somaliland



Source: **www.somalilandgov.com**

2.1.3: Population

The population of Somaliland is estimated at 4.5 million. The population consist of nomadic people (55%) and urban and rural dwellers (45%). The population growth is 3.14 %. This figure is calculated from the average crude birth rate and birth rate of 4.46% and crude death rate of 1.32 %. The life expectancy is between 45 and 50 years. The population density of Somaliland is estimated at around 22 persons per Km (ITC, 2006).

2.1.4: Culture and Religion

Somaliland is an Islamic state and Somalilanders are officially 100% Muslims. The influence of Islam throughout Somaliland is profound and faith plays a major role in every day life.

2.1.5: Economy

In the year 2006 the United Nations and World Bank Coordination Secretariat for Somalia (Somali Joint Need Assessment JNA) estimated Somalia's GNP to be around US $ 1.54 billion (www.somali-jna.org**).** The same report states that Somalia had a household income (GDP Per Capita) of US $ 226 in the same year. This figure was lower than Gross National Income per Capita of Kenya (US $ 350) and Tanzania (US $ 280), but higher than that of Eritrea (US $ 190) and Ethiopia (US $100) of the same year. Similarly, the same report gave the Life expectancy of Somalia as 47 years compared to neighbouring Ethiopia's 45.5 years, and Kenya's life expectancy of 46.4. The country's employment rate (as percentage of the economically active population remains low, it is estimated at 38.5% in urban areas and 59.3% in rural areas. The unemployment rate of the country is estimated to be around 47.4% (UNDP: 2007:5). When the above figures are compared to other African countries (World Development Index 2005), Somalia's economic performance and life expectancy indices reflect both the development failure of the continent since early 1990's and more specifically the resilience of the Somali people despite the civil wars and political instability since 1990. (UNDP 2003 referenced by World Bank 2006)

The backbone Somaliland's economy is livestock. About 60% of the population depend either directly or indirectly on livestock and livestock products for their livelihood. Agricultural resources provide subsistence living for about 20% of the population (Intermediate Technology Consultants 2006). Financial remittances from Somali Diaspora members, aid donations, trade and merchandises are also major contributors to the local economy. UNDP report (2007) acknowledges the significance of the financial remittances from relatives and friends who live and work abroad and states that remittances from the Somali Diaspora constitute the largest source of foreign exchange in the country, estimated at US $ 750 million to US $ 1 billion annually. This has an important impact on the economy, enabling the country to finance imports and meet foreign exchange needs as well as provide beneficiaries with improved food security and access to social services. The Diaspora community also provides direct financial investment in the country thereby generating employment opportunities and government revenues. This enhances and provides stimulus to the local economy (Ministry of National Planning and coordination, Somaliland 2006). In addition to the financial contribution, the Somali Diaspora community also provides the knowledge, skills and ideas that are necessary for the

country's development. The role of the Somali Diaspora is further highlighted in the literature review chapter- section (3.2.7) as agents of globalisation in the local context.

Somali donor contributions also play a significant role in contributing to the local economy and provide employment opportunities. For example, between the years 2000-2003 the donor contributions to Somalia were estimated to be US $ 118,613, 300 in the year 2000, 138,822,763 in 2001, 167,765,871 in 2001 and 271,604,400 in 2003 (World Bank 2006:160).

Both Somalia and Somaliland are also believed to have many natural resources such as oil, coal, limestone, uranium, glass sand and copper. However, due to political instability most of the natural resources remain untapped.

Somalia key socio economic indicators

Somalia and Somaliland's key socio economic indicators are not well developed due to the government's incapacity to collect and analyse data. This role is therefore assumed by the international non governmental organisations (INGOs) working in Somalia and Somaliland, who rarely consider the regional disparities that exist within the local context of Somalia in their data analysis. As a result most of their data is contained in summative figures representing Somalia overall. However, it is true that peaceful regions of Somaliland and Puntland are relatively more prosperous than the rest of southern Somalia. Hence when statistical figures are generalised for the whole Somalia their development indices are suppressed by lower figures in southern parts of Somalia. For example, the UNDP report (2007:7) estimates the Annual Per Capita (Household Income) of Woqooyi Galbeed, Awdal, Todgheeer Sanaag (parts of the regions of Somaliland) to be between US $ 300-400, while the summative figure for the whole of Somalia is estimated to be US $ 225. The second problem with the key socio-economic indicators of Somalia is that the figures currently available mainly cover between the years 2002/2003 and occasionally between 2004/2005. Therefore they are near obsolete for any meaningful current data consideration. Despite this limitation, I believe the following table which shows the key socio-economic indicators of Somalia will provide a reflection of the country's development status. These figures mainly reflect a combination of Somalia and Somaliland because there are no separate data available for Somaliland.

Table 2b: Showing Somalia key socio-economic indicators

Socio economic indicator	**value**	**Source of the data**	**Reference year**
GDP	US $ 1.54 billion	(www.somali-jna.org	2006
Share of population in extreme poverty(Per Capita Income less than US $ 1 ppp per day	43.2%	UNDP Somalia and World Bank socio-economic survey referenced by UNDP(2007:8)	2002
Share of poorest quintile in national consumption	5.6%	UNDP Somalia World Bank socio economic survey cited in (UNDP 2007)	2002
Share of underweight under –five children	26%	UNICEF MICS cited in (UNDP 2007:8)	2001
Gross Enrolment in primary education	18%	UNICEF PSS cited in(UNDP 2007:8)	2003/2004
Ratio of girls to boys in primary education	54%	UNICEF PSS (UNDP 2007:8)	2003/2004
Adult literacy rate	19.2%	UNDP Somalia World Bank socio economic survey cited in UNDP (2007)	2002
Under –five mortality rate (per 1000 live births)	224	UNICEF MICS cited in UNDP (2007:8)	2001
Infant mortality rate(per 1000 live births)	132	UNICEF MICS cited in UNDP (2007:8)	2001
Maternal mortality rate (per 100,000 live births)	1,100	UNICEF SOWC cited in UNDP (2007:8)	2003
Prevalence of HIV/AIDS in adult population aged 15-49	Less than 1%	UNAIDS and UNICEF cited in UNDP (2007:8)	2002
Population with access to safe drinking water supply	23%	UNICEF MICS cited in UNDP (2007:8)	2001
Proportion of population with access to improved sanitation	49.8%	UNICEF MICS cited in UNDP (2007:8)	2002
Life expectancy at birth (years)	47 years	UNDP Somalia and World Bank socio-economic survey referenced by UNDP(2007:8)	2002
Human development index	0.299	UNDP Somalia and World Bank socio-economic survey referenced by UNDP(2007:8)	2002
MDG for UPE. estimated rate to be achieved by 2015	28.1%	UNDP (2007)	2015
Population growth rate	2.8	UNDP, UNFPA WHO, UNDP referenced by World Bank (2006:147)	2001
Doctors(per 100,000 persons)	0.4	UNDP referenced by World Bank (2006:147)	
Somaliland government spending on education	5%	Somaliland Ministry of Finance and Account General ref by WB (2006:159)	2004
Student to teacher ratio	31	World Bank (2006:159)	2004
Primary teachers	9088	UNICEF primary school survey	2003/2004
Female primary school teachers percentage	14%	UNICEF primary school survey referenced by WB (2006 :159)	2004/2005
Average number of pupils per class	32-40	UNICEF primary schools survey ref; by WB (2006:159)	2004/2005

The above socio-economic indicators suggest that both Somalia and Somaliland have challenging socio-economic backgrounds. For example, with an estimated annual GDP of only US $ 1.54 billion (combined GDP for Somalia and Somaliland) it is very unlikely that the Somaliland development context will achieve any significant progress towards the achievement of its Millennium Development Goals (MDG).

2.1.6: Politics

When the central government of Somalia collapsed due to the civil war, Somaliland proclaimed independence in May 1991. Through a series of nationwide conferences and reforms Somaliland has achieved peace, internal stability, a democratic system of parliamentary government, an independent judiciary and active private sector (Schellekens, 2004). In Somaliland, there is a working constitution and three political parties (Udub: the ruling party; Kulmiye: the official opposition party and Ucid: the third party). The Parliament and house of elders constitute the legislative council, while the president and his cabinet form the executive, with an independent judiciary practicing a blend of Sharia (Islamic law) and British civil court traditions.

Although the above political and governance structure sounds an ideal typification, the critical deconstruction of the local social contexts presents emerging contestations. For example, although the secular state is embraced by democracy and its associated neo-liberal policies the multi- layers within the society present other perspectives and alternatives to western democracy. For example, Somaliland is a Muslim country and some argue that it will be difficult to fully transform into a mature western type democracy and its associated practices and life styles. Rather than the democratisation policies it is argued that it is preferable to seek strong Arab League membership so that the culture and the Islamic identity is promoted and preserved. Despite these contestations, Somaliland has enjoyed relative peace and stability since 1991. This stable condition of peace and stability has enabled the international community to move away from the post conflict relief support to a more long term, sustainable development initiative.

2.2: Historical events that shaped education in Somaliland

Present actions and plans for the future flow from beliefs about what went before. People use the sense of the past in shaping their lives. For this to happen, the historical map must be accurate and well documented. For the case of Somaliland the historical documents and

archives that should have reflected the past history were virtually destroyed during the civil war. However, experiences usually live with people and much of the information that reflect historical events that shaped education in Somaliland is re-constructed through informal discussions with senior educationists. However, I also acknowledge that the past is always contested and its influence in shaping present events depends on both what is remembered as well as forgotten. These historical events that shaped the education in Somaliland can be divided into three epochs;

1. The colonial rule- (between 1937-1960)- the Somaliland context;
2. The post colonial education provision (between 1960-1990)- the Republic of Somalia context;
3. Education in a post conflict transformation (between 1990- to present) - the Somaliland context.

a) Education during the colonial era (between 1937-1960)

The following table shows the historical educational events during the colonial era

Figure 2c: Perceptions of events in Somaliland's educational history

Year	Event	Positive contribution	Negative contribution
1937	Introduction of formal education in Somaliland by the British through mission schools.	Start of literacy in the country.	People thought of it as introduction of Christianity in the country. There was resistance through low enrolment.
1943	Britain established education headquarters in Sheikh Town.	-establishment of a system of education. -establishment of teacher training colleges. -establishment of vocational training colleges.	-communities were not happy with people in the administration because they distorted the traditional ruling system. -the fear of Christianity was strong.
1945	British established its army headquarters at Sheikh Town Introduction of school fees	-establishment and recruitment of British army personnel. -cost sharing in education introduced	-teachers were mainly army personnel and people were fearful and associated education with colonialism
1952	Introduction of the first boarding schools 1st secondary school started at Amoud	-more children especially from poor and nomadic parents had access to formal secular education. -the beginning of higher education in the country.	-communities still thought boarding schools were turning children into Christianity and alienating them from Somali culture.
1956	Education headquarters moved to Hargeisa Anglo-Egyptian curriculum adopted in	-proper management of education started by the appointment of the first director of education department;	

	Somaliland	-beginning of an organised curriculum in the country. - people felt that the curriculum was good because it came from an Islamic country	
1960	1st girls boarding school established at Burao town. -more expansion of boarding schools	-more girls from the region had access to schooling. -more pupils had access to schooling.	

Source: REO (2003) draft paper: Historical Events that Shaped Education in Somaliland and, oral discussions with senior educationists in Somaliland.

During the colonial era, education was resisted by the Somali people on the basis that it was introduced through mission schools and therefore interpreted as a means of introducing Christianity.

b) The post-colonial education provision (between 1960-1990) - the Republic of Somalia context.

After independence, there was political re-union of the former British protectorate (Somaliland) and the Italian Somali Protectorate to create the Republic of Somalia. But because the two regions have experienced two different education systems and different languages of curriculum instruction the main educational challenge was how to harmonise the two education systems in the country. The integration of Somalia and Somaliland saw the adoption of Arabic and English as the media of curriculum instruction. However, because only the teachers from the former British protectorate (Somaliland) could speak English, there was mass transfer of teachers from the north (Former British protectorate) to the south (former Italian protectorate). The national teacher education college at Hargeisa was also transferred to Mogadishu (the new capital city). In addition, more teacher training opportunities were allocated to the southern region compared to the north as a strategy to balance the educational disparities that existed between the northern and southern parts of the country. This educational unification process between the north (former British protectorate) and the south (former Italian protectorate) marked the first decline of education provision in the former British protectorate (Somaliland).

At independence, in 1960, Somalia inherited a total of 233 primary and 12 secondary schools from British and Italian systems (Bennars et al. 1996:10). It also had in place a few elite overseas trained education professionals, who did administrative roles for the

colonial masters. However, immediately after independence efforts to modernise the education system, economic structure and social context of the young nation has been hindered by confused and shifting political ideologies. The two contesting options were whether Somalia was to join the NATO or WARSAW political alliances. Somalia was in a strategic military position due to its crucial location (the Gulf of Aden where the Red Sea joins the Indian Ocean) to each conflicting side. However, a compromise of adopting a Non –Alliance status was declared to settle the political and ideological differences of the time. After several years, because of military and economic reasons, the government shifted its policy and joined the pro-Soviet Union Alliance. Hence from this time the provision of state education was heavily influenced by the communist ideology. Yet, in 1973, Somalia joined the Arab League; this phenomenon transformed the socio-cultural, language and the political ideologies of education and educational institutions. This period saw a mixture of a communist and Islamic education system. The main implication of the new education orientation included increased scholarships to train future professionals in Arab countries, mainly Saudi Arabia, increased emphasis and integration of Islamic principles into school curriculum, changes in expected behaviour and outcome of education and mode of dressing in educational institutions. The desired outcome of education was to produce graduates that were both secular and religious in their practices and appearances.

In 1977, when Somalia declared war on the neighbouring Ethiopia due to a land dispute, the former USSR departed Somalia and switched sides aligning itself with Ethiopia. The NATO alliance seeking access to the strategic gulf region used this opportunity to woo Somalia to its side. This political transformation has shifted the educational policies of Somalia towards the West. However, this new political marriage between the West and Somalia did not last long. Most political analysts at the time attributed the sudden political change to an inadequate military support for Somalia. Somalia wanted to pursue an expansionary vision of annexing all the five regions in the horn of Africa that were inhabited by Somali ethnic groups, however, the West did not support this political vision. Although the circumstances that led to the drift are not clear, once again the political orientation of the state drifted towards the communist ideologies. Hence within a short period of twenty years, the national development agenda has experienced four political transitions that affected its educational goals.

During the period between 1960 and 1990, the socio-economic infrastructure of the country did not realise any meaningful development because of the government's political

commitment of annexing parts of Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti (all areas inhabited by Somali ethnic communities) to create a greater Somali Republic. The flag of Somalia has a white star a mid a blue background. Each of the five segments of the star represented a dream and vision of uniting the five regions in the horn of Africa that are inhabited by the Somali ethnic community. Because of this political ambition, the bulk of government expenditure was absorbed by security needs. As a result, the economic and social sectors were severely under funded. As the World Bank stated in 1990, public education in Somalia was threatened with extinction as the Ministry of Education received only about 1.5 % of total current expenditure. The same report indicated that, in 1987, Somalia had one of the highest teacher attrition rates in the world due to teachers' low salaries, lack of professional development and the state's incapacity to provide basic financial support to maintain its schools (UNESCO and World Bank report cited in Retamal & Derados, 1994).

Teacher education was no different from the other sectors. There was only one university with a teacher education faculty (Lafoole University) that provided a four-year pre-service teacher training programme to secondary school teachers. Only candidates who passed their high school exams and served one-year work experience either with the military or other ministries could sit for the university entry examination and the entry requirements were very high because of the limited capacity of the university. Junior and elementary teachers were trained in two year programmes run by Teacher Training Colleges located in major cities.

Both the University's faculty of education and Teacher Training Colleges stressed mastery of subject matter. Therefore, since the curriculum emphasised professional knowledge and understanding of subject matter, two other important aspects of teacher professionalism were neglected. These two areas were the development of professional skills and abilities and the professional values and personal commitment. Because of these factors the 'care' element of the curriculum was usually neglected, which resulted in harsh and unfriendly school environments, where corporal punishment of students was routine. In addition, schools hardly had any links with parents and communities.

The only significant educational achievement realised during the post-colonial period (between 1960-1990) was a marked increase of the Gross Enrolment Rate (GER). This happened during the early 1970's when the Somali language was introduced as the language of curriculum instruction at all levels of education. During this period an

intensive literacy campaign was launched by the military administration to promote higher literacy levels. There was also an expansion of the country's education system and its educational institutions. This resulted in an almost ten fold increase in enrolment in primary schools and a large increase in teacher numbers. Many schools were also built during this period, and the education system reached its quantitative peak in terms of NGE enrolment and numbers of schools during the early 1980's. But, during this period of rapid educational expansion the quality of teaching and learning was compromised because of the high demand on teachers and other educational resources.

In the mid 1980's, this fragile educational situation was further weakened when the northern part of the country (Somaliland) rebelled against the government because of perceived growing injustices. During this period the ruling military government turned the vocational and boarding institutions in to military barracks, an event that has possibly remained ingrained among the Somali people. In 1990 when the military regime fell people looted and destroyed schools because they associated schools, hospitals and government institutions with the unpopular military regime.

c) Education during the post conflict transformation - the Somaliland context

On 18th May, 1991, when Somaliland regained its independence from Somalia the education infrastructure was in a total collapse. The conflict had destroyed the education system. The impact of the civil war on the education system included;

- the dismantling of institutional structures, policies and systems;
- destruction of schools;
- destruction and disruption of teaching and learning materials;
- collapse of the education infrastructure;
- killings, dispersals and migrations of teachers.

The first effort to re-establish the Somaliland's education system began in late 1992. During this early phase of education re-construction, the national priorities were to reconstruct schools, attract teachers back to schools, retrain teachers, re-write the curriculum, begin keeping statistical records and provide text books and other learning materials. In addition there was an urgent need to review and transform the previous socialist government's political and ideological goals of education. During this early phase, emergency education was mainly provided and led by the International Non Governmental organisations (INGO). However, Sommers (2002) observes that when

humanitarian agencies arrive in war torn countries to provide education their roles are not always clear, not always complementary and not always mutually understood because lack of co-ordination and cooperation coupled with too much competition, may divert energies that could be more usefully put forward for collaboration and development. This first phase of education reconstruction in Somaliland was funded by the European Commission. Funding was channelled mainly through international non governmental organisations led by UNICEF and UNESCO- PEER because the state's structure and capacity to absorb large amount of foreign aid was weak.

From 1991-1997, the role of the Somaliland Ministry of Education was limited due to a lack of resources. The MOE started operating effectively in 1998. To accelerate the process of re-construction and transformation, the government established an aid coordination body (Somaliland Aid Coordination body-SACB). This increased role of the MOE had marked the second phase of the post conflict education reconstruction. During this period the context of education provision changed from donor agencies led to partnership and collaboration between MOE and INGO. It is against this background, that this thesis explores how external sources inform and impact upon Somaliland's national education and teacher education policy making processes.

2.3: The window of opportunity

After the collapse of the central government of the Republic of Somalia in 1990 and after a period of transition as a post conflict reconstruction state, in 2005, Somaliland, finally initiated in partnership with the INGOs a large-scale education transformation. The World Bank report (2005: 25) observes that post- conflict education reconstruction presents both an opportunity and constraints to countries that have recovered from civil wars. According to the World Bank the post-conflict reconstruction environment offers significant opportunities for policy reform and system change, i.e. as old political regimes are challenged or replaced, more political space opens up for education reforms;

- communities and public at large have high expectation for change and renewal in education;
- the resistance of established bureaucracies to change is often weakened;
- new and more flexible resources become available.

Somaliland can be described as a society undergoing many changes as it moves from the previous communist political and educational ideologies to democratic and capitalist

system of governance. The fragility of its democracy and development initiatives is due to the unresolved political and border disputes with the Republic of Somalia. Somaliland has declared its political independence from Somalia in May 1990, but the African Union fearing the emergence of similar cases all-over the continent has favoured the status quo of the political boundaries that were created by the colonial powers during the period of the petition and colonisation of Africa. However, despite this political constraint, political change has opened up a window of opportunity in the education sector. Kingdon (1995) argues that changes in administration are probably the most obvious windows in the policy stream, in the sense that the new administration, first creates the opportunities under which various policy communities can attach their policy proposals for consideration and secondly the 'opened window' allows some groups who did not have similar opportunities with the previous administration to take advantage of the new situation and actively participate in the policy making process.

In addition to the change in the political power and administrative structure, the education sector in Somaliland context itself presented a crisis. The undesired characteristics of the education system included a poor, uncoordinated and un-harmonised legal framework governing the various sectors of education; highly centralised management structure; access and equity problems; quality and relevance issues; efficiency, inspection and performance limitations; cost and financing problems; poor completion rate, irrelevant curriculum and pedagogic methods. All these systematic indicators in education showed that education was failing both the state, society and the individual learners. Therefore, the prevailing mood created by the local media and political spaces prior to the current education reforms was that such an education system cannot meet future challenges. Economic growth and development constituted the cornerstone of these future challenges and the development of relevant high quality education is anticipated to provide the solution to these future challenges.

2.4: Somaliland education reforms

Fagerlind and Saha (1983) define the term reform as an attempt to change things for the better in a country. Somaliland's educational reforms aim to improve the quality of education and this quality is informed by philosophical consideration of economic, social, and personal development perspectives (MOE 2005). However, the economic function of education supersedes the other roles of education. This is evidenced by the recent

education reforms' planning, management, organisation and delivery of education and training strategies which are all geared to the achievement and the prioritisation of the economic function of education.

Education reforms might be categorised in terms of the purposes they serve. For example, reforms might be aimed at improving the financing and budget making process, policy making process, administrative or managerial system, power structure or they may be serious attempts to achieve social change. But, viewing education reforms as always improving education effectiveness is problematic. Reforms characterised as improving the system effectiveness, efficiency and relevance or increasing equality only focus on certain possible outcomes. For example, reforms that might articulate education with the world of work viewed on other perspectives may actually reinforce inequalities in education and society. A second problem with adopting the view of reforms as improvement is that one must assume a consensual model of societal or global relations (Ginsburg et al 1991). In reality there are different perceptions of what the goals of education should be and in what ways education should prepare future generations for their participation in the society. For example, education has an economic function (i.e. to economically empower the individual and the national state), social function (i.e. to promote society's social cohesion), and individual function (i.e. individuals to realise their self fulfilment, satisfaction and potentiality). Hargeaves (1994) observes an increased tension between these multiple aims of education resulting from increased global competition. This observation is evident from the critical debates and issues surrounding many compulsory public education and teacher education reforms globally as evidenced by Hogan (1992), Robertson (2005), Popkewitz (1994), Ball (1998) and Gideonese (1993). These debates reflect on how the contestations between the multiple roles of education are handled at a policy level. They revolve around the following questions: (1) should public education provision emphasise the economic, social or individual function? or (2) should public education strive to achieve a balanced status of these three functions? and (3) how do education reforms oriented towards one or more of these multiple roles of education impact on teacher education and teacher professionalism?

2.4.1: Beginning of the reform processes

Accessing information about the legal structure governing education, enabling structures, educational ideology and teacher education programmes in Kenya was vital to conceiving

alternatives to the previous education system and teacher education in Somaliland. In order to gain such an understanding from the 1990's the international non-governmental organisations supporting the education sector in Somaliland sponsored some of the Ministry of Education personnel, teacher educators and specialised educational institution's personnel to attend educational workshops and seminars or undertake postgraduate studies in Kenya. Another factor which was closely associated with the education reforms in Somaliland and significantly facilitated education policy borrowing from Kenya was the introduction and adoption of the Kenyan school curriculum and teacher education models in the Somaliland context after the central government of Somalia collapsed. Somalilanders and Somalis always saw the Kenyan education system as superior to theirs. The local people were inspired by the progressive nature of the Kenyan state and society and associated this progress with its education system. Somalilanders also saw the Kenyan use of English language in schools and higher education institution's curriculum instruction as an effective means of networking with the rest of the world. This exposure had a subsequent effect in Somaliland's education reforms because most of the personnel who benefitted from the exposure to Kenyan education were also involved in the reforms and the restructuring process of Somaliland education.

2.5: The current education system

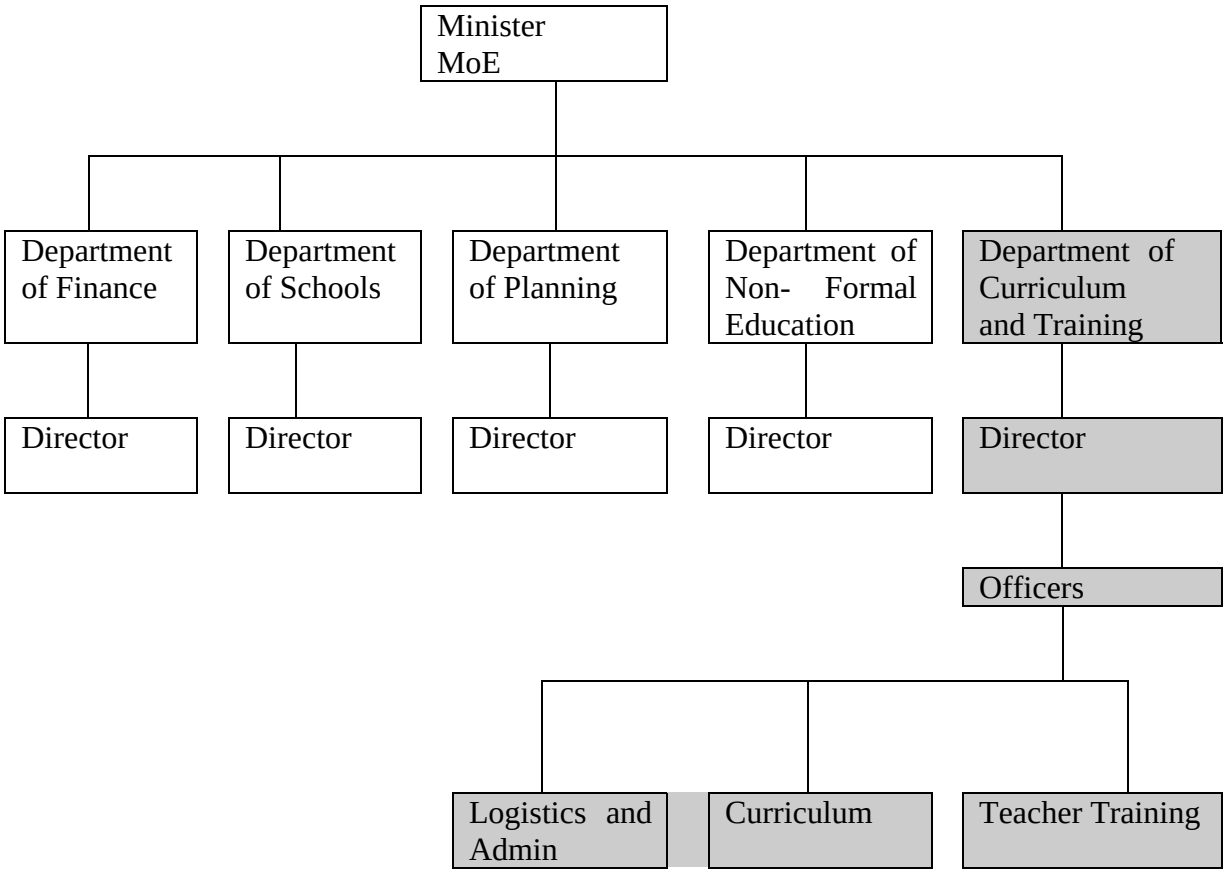
Somaliland education system has four main levels, namely: pre-primary, primary, secondary, and higher education. Pre-primary (early childhood) runs for two years, primary schooling lasts for eight years and is divided into a four year elementary or lower primary cycle and four years intermediate or upper primary cycle. A primary school leaving examination determines entrance in to secondary school. Secondary education takes four years and successful completion is validated by a secondary school leaving examination. Higher Education is divided into post-secondary vocational training institutes that provide vocational training in various skills development and universities education that take between four to six years depending on the degree programme being studied.

2.5.1: Management of education

The Ministry of Education in Somaliland has the overall responsibility of managing all aspects of education within the national education system. Currently, there are five departments within the Ministry of Education. These five departments are Administration and Finance, Curriculum and Training, Department of Planning, Department of Non Formal Education, Department of Schools.

Teacher education falls under the Director of Curriculum and Training. The Department has three sections of (i) Administration and Logistics, (ii) Curriculum development and (ii) Teacher Training. Educational reforms in Somaliland are enacted through parliamentary legislation. For example, the current educational provisions of Somaliland are legalised through the Somaliland Educational Act. This Act legalises the provision of all aspects of education in Somaliland. Aspects such as the organisational structure, content and evaluation mechanisms are formally stated and enacted from this act.

Figure 2d: showing the organization structure and authority levels in Ministry of education (MOE).



Given the urgent need to consolidate and accelerate the development of teacher education, the Government of Somaliland plans to create a specific teacher education unit, within the

Department of Curriculum and Training, with a view to making it a separate department in the near future, in line with international practices of separating curriculum development and operational departments in ministries of education. In future the new department is expected to fulfil the following roles;

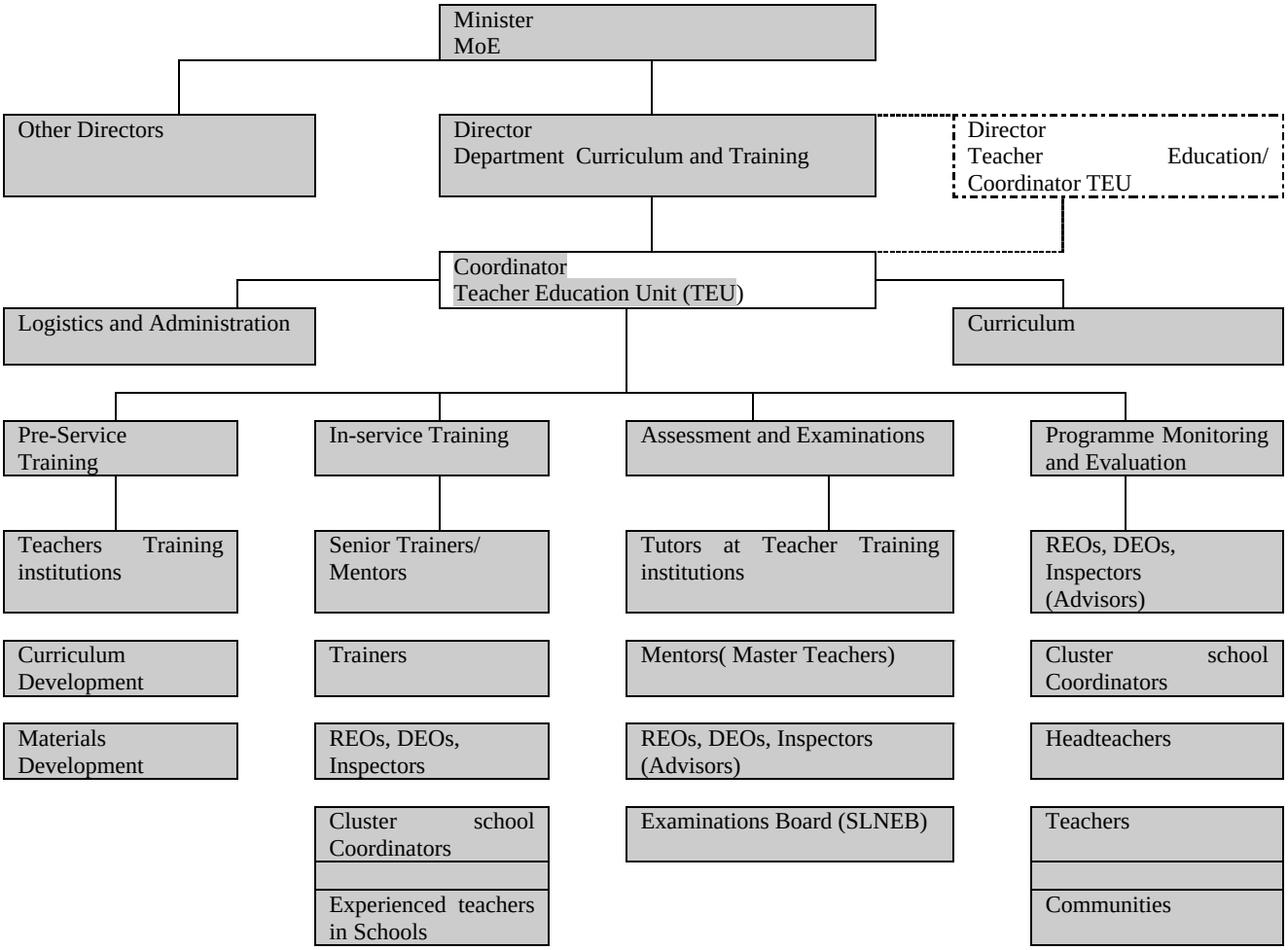
(i) pre-service teacher education;

(ii) in-service teacher education;

(iii) assess teachers' examinations;

(iv) monitor and evaluate teacher professionalism.

Figure 2e: showing the proposed Structure of the Directorate of Curriculum and Training



Source: (MOE, 2006)

The proposed structure of the Directorate of Curriculum and Training under which teacher education and training falls indicates that in future there will be more bureaucratic control of teachers' work. The audit and regulatory activities of the teacher education coordinators, assessors, examiners, mentors (master teachers), inspectors and advisors

within the bureaucratic structure can make teaching a managed profession and this can have a negative implication for teachers' professionalism, motivation and status.

2.6: The language of curriculum instruction

The Somaliland National Education Policy (MOE 2005), states that the Somali language will be the medium of instruction from grade 1 to 8 and the English language remains as a subject of study. By 2008 the English language will become the medium of instruction from grade 5 onwards. By 2010 the English language will be the medium of instruction for the upper primary schools (grade 4-8: Primary education)

Currently, English Language remains the language of curriculum instruction in all secondary schools, tertiary institutions and universities. The adoption of English language in the Somaliland education system is a fairly recent phenomenon. There are great contentions and criticisms about the quick, sudden and unplanned introduction of English language as a means of curriculum instruction. Traditionally, the Somali language has been the only language of curriculum instruction in all levels of education, apart from Arabic which was taught as a subject of study.

Teachers and educationists in Somaliland argue that because the majority of serving teachers have been trained to deliver the curriculum in the Somali language and students have been used to Somali language in primary schools, the efficient and effective provision of education in secondary schools has been undermined. Since Somaliland regained its independence after the civil war there has increased adoption and use of English language, which was once the language of instruction during the colonial period. The Somaliland National Education Policy paper (2005) gives the following reason for the adoption of English as the main language of curriculum instruction.

"*The world is fast becoming a global village. Through the media, communication services and trade links nations are drawing closer to each other… English has emerged as the major global language. In ensuring that citizens become proficient in English, Somaliland will be better placed to take its place with other nations in trade, education and politics*."

(MOE, 2005:9)

To legitimate the use of English the government has also directed that English will be the new national and official language of the state. But considering the enormous human and

material resources needed to develop a nation wide infrastructure for English learning and the fact that the promotion of English at the expense of the local native and Arabic languages can present dilemmas and ideological contestations it is unrealistic to assume that the public consumption of the new policy will be without conflict. This policy could be interpreted in the local context as indirect westernisation and drift away from the previous emotional and religious attachment to Muslim States.

The Somaliland National Education Policy paper (MOE 2005) maintains that Arabic will remain the medium of instruction for Islamic studies within the education system and also as a foreign subject language in all levels of education in public schools. Somali will also be taught as a subject of study to maintain and make children understand their culture, heritage and literature (MOE 2005).

2.7: Teacher education

Teacher education in Somaliland is categorised and located within the higher education institutions. However, there are major concerns from the stakeholders about the quality of teacher education and teacher professionalism in the Somaliland context. These concerns can be divided into two categories: (1) problems relating to the enabling infrastructure that supports teacher education and teacher professionalism. This includes a contested and uncoordinated governance system; unclear accreditation system of teacher education institutions; poor quality assurance system; inadequate funding; unclear outcomes; disparities in qualified teacher status in different universities; narrow paths into the teaching profession and lack of interest among graduates to pursue teacher education because of it is low status resulting from poor remuneration. The results of the above challenges have been an acute shortage of teachers at all levels. In addition to these challenges there are also: (2) problems that are specific to the teacher education programmes in the local universities, which have their roots in the historical nature and the social construction of the previous education and teacher education systems since Somalia gained its independence in 1960 from the British and Italian colonial powers. These limitations include:

1) Poor selection criteria and low level quality of teacher education entrants**:** The policy on selection is poorly articulated in the sense that predominantly trainees are selected by the Central Board of Admission, comprising Universities Deans of Education, Vice

Chancellors and the Somaliland National Examination Council officials. The selection criterion is based on a regional quota system and if the trainees fail to take up chance, as happens in most of the cases, then each university has the right to fill its gaps without consulting the Central Admission Board. Trainees are selected as a result of meeting a minimum academic requirement and there are no further interviews, aptitude tests or language tests. Generally, the minimum academic requirement points are too low reflecting lack of interest among the graduates to pursue teaching as a career. This presents a problem to teacher training institutions who must dedicate extra time and resources to improve the language and the knowledge content of the student teachers before they fully access the required teaching courses.

2) Teacher education students experience training and curriculum that is irrelevant to the new role of education. The Somaliland National Education Policy Paper (2005) redefined and transformed the education system from its previous socialist inclination to a capitalist orientation, where human capital theory, democratisation and economic competition are the core elements. The teacher education curriculum comprises separate subject training and pedagogical training. Primary school teachers train for all the subjects while secondary teachers choose one major and one minor subject. In addition all teacher trainees receive pedagogical training inform of educational courses such as philosophy, sociology, psychology of education and other related general methods of teaching. The critique of this model is that it produces poor relationships between theory and practice (Lewin and Stuart 2003a, Lewin and Stuart 2003b) and that this discipline based teacher education curriculum cannot provide the basis for student teachers to understand the problems they faced in the classroom because the disciplines are abstracted from real life situations and are insulated from each other (Akyeampong 2002). This model of teacher education, it is argued leads to inappropriate pedagogies and un-reflexive techniques of teaching in schools. As a result, school teaching is characterised and dominated by a transmission mode of teaching and learning in which pupils are expected to recall all facts when required. This is attributed to the poor pedagogical training of the teachers. Therefore, there is a need to promote effective learning in the form of child centred pedagogy which emphasises methods like questioning, practical demonstrations, group and individual projects and the development of critical thinking skills rather than knowledge transmission.

3) Poor partnership between universities and schools: currently all initial teacher education models in Somaliland are university based, apart from the teaching practice where students spend eight weeks in schools. School teachers and mentors also play very little role in trainees assessment, planning and certification. Schools assume the role of receivers of trainees rather than partners in the training process. Both Hargreaves (1994) and Furlong's (1992) analysis of teacher education reforms observe that the most contested dimension of initial teacher education policy concerns the role of practice. Young (1998) also observes a similar shift where global economic pressures have forced teacher education programmes in many countries to shift from educational disciplines to school based approaches. Similar dichotomy and tension between the "*academic theory- based knowledge*" which implies emphasis on accepted, scientific discipline oriented knowledge and "*knowledge derived from practice"* which emphasises utility as a criterion for quality is observed by Locke (2002) referenced by Garm and Karlsen (2004). In respect to Somaliland's teacher education, the point I am making here is that there is an on going strategy by the government to significantly increase the role of the schools in teacher education.

4) Inadequate and uncoordinated professional development of teachers. Chege (2006) labels the previously existing professional development programmes for Somaliland teachers as a failure. His report states that the previous in-service teacher training programmes had no records of the nature of content covered, number of participants, certification procedure, progression criteria and quality assurance. It is apparent from the policy documents that although the responsibility of this task was situated under the MOE, its lack of clear responsibility and poor policies and procedures hindered its effective operation. The concept of continuous professional development of teachers helps teachers to match their skills and professionalism with the dynamism of the society and changing times by exposing them to new opportunities, explorations, learning and research developments. More so with the introduction and emphasis of lifelong learning processes, this aspect of teacher education calls for increased planning in an objective and coherent way.

Chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis use critical discourse analysis methodology to deconstruct contemporary Somaliland education policy documents and semi-structured interviews with the main active policy actors of the current education reforms. Its here that I critically address the new discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism evident in education reform policies, their implications and how they provide an insight to solving the

above observed problems of current teacher education and teacher professionalism. In the next part of the chapter, I provide a brief overview of the national consultation process that led to the production of the national teacher education policy paper (2006) because I anticipate that it will enhance the reform analysis process in chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis.

2.7.1: Teacher education reforms

The limitations of the current and previous teacher education and teacher professionalism which are highlighted in section 2.5 above have led to the poor quality of teachers in schools which in turn resulted in poor quality in education (Chege, 2006). In 2006, the government of Somaliland commissioned a national teacher education policy consultation paper to review wide aspects of teacher education and teacher professionalism. The main agendas of the review included:

1. the roles and responsibilities of different actors in teacher education;
2. review of what was to be included in the curriculum and training of future teachers;
3. views about the professionalism of an ideal teacher;
4. regulations and procedures of quality assurance in teacher education and teacher professionalism;
5. the funding and the accreditation system of teacher education institutions;
6. management and development of teacher education and teacher utilisation.

Because of the poor economic status and the lack of expertise, the government could not fund this reform process and as a result of its appeal, the consultation process received funding from the European Commission. Apart from the consultation process the European Union also promised to fund: (a) the future teacher development programmes in Somaliland until the year 2011; (b) the improvement of the organisational and institutional infrastructures necessary for the education reforms and (c) addressing of the gender imbalances in the teaching force at all levels of education. However, because of the government's limited international sovereignty recognition, the release of funds to the Ministry of Education to conduct the education reform process presented a context specific challenge to the international donors. International donor institutions can only sign agreement charters with countries that have internationally recognised sovereignty status. As a result of this, the International Non governmental organisations were given the leading role to manage the resources for the reforms.

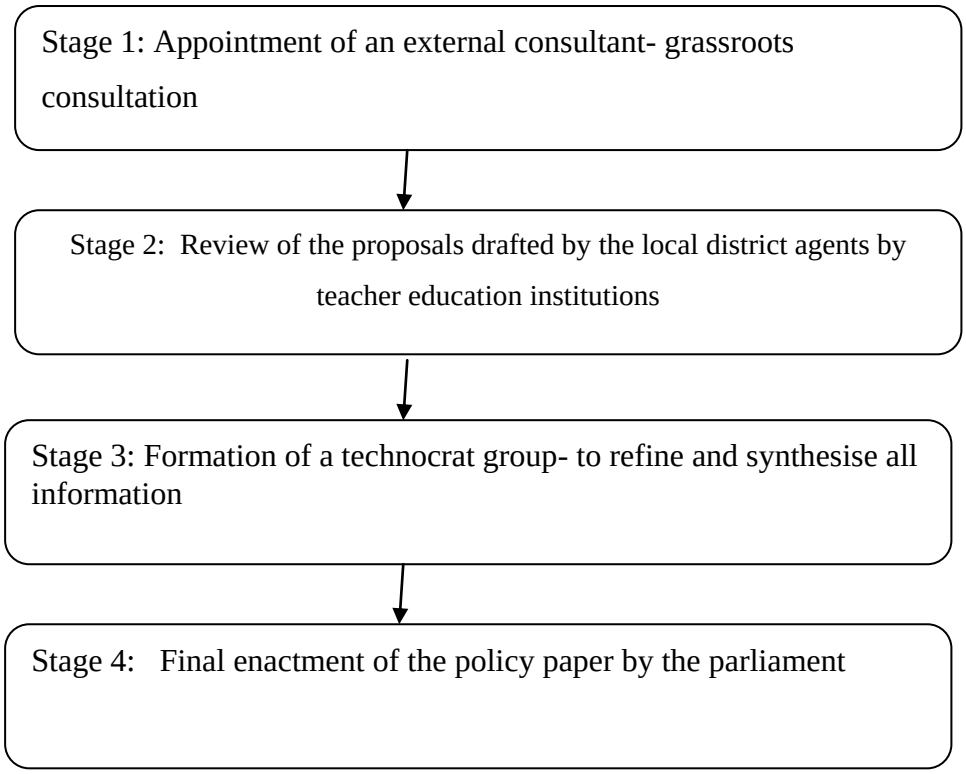
The first phase of the formulation of teacher education policy paper started with the appointment of an external consultant from Uganda. From my informal discussions and subsequent interviews with the senior civil servants in the MOE it wasn't clear whether it was the MOE or INGOs who resourced the external consultant. Some informants said the MOE, while others said that it was the leading agency in the consortium (Save the children UK). The documentation of the process of consultation about the development of the teacher education policy paper is sketchy. The indications are that the external consultant generated a baseline survey which targeted the Community Education Committees, religious leaders, teachers, and business leaders, local NGO, women, children, district government officials, head teachers and school teachers from district levels. The various meetings at district and regional levels lasted for a period of three months.

The second phase was to review the proposals drafted by the local district agents by teacher training institutions. This consultation process lasted for another three month. Teacher educators from the local universities responded to the views from the six regional committees (Awdal, Noth West, Sahil, Togdheer, Sool and Sanaag). The main issues about teacher education that were raised at the regional meetings included the need to improve the relationship between theory and practice; the need to improve the relationship between schools and teacher training institutions; the need to review the educational courses offered at teacher training colleges; the need for schools to have greater links with families and communities. There was also scathing criticism of teachers' use of outdated didactic pedagogics that encouraged students to memorise facts and formal knowledge. It was widely alleged that education in schools rarely promoted the development of higher levels of thinking skills and cognitive development. There was reference to inadequate use of technology in classrooms and there were also proposals that called for the review of the teacher education entry criteria and diversification of routes to teacher education. In summary, the proposals developed at regional level by education stakeholders were most critical of the professionalism of the Somaliland teachers in public schools and called for urgent reforms to change the professional role and identity of the teachers.

The third phase of the consultation processes involved formation of a group of technocrats comprising senior education personnell from the Ministry of Education, local education consultants, representatives from other government departments and representatives from INGOs that were led by the external consultant from Uganda. This group refined and synthesised all the information in the previous two phases. Finally, the policy paper was

progressively refined in a series of meetings with the development donor agencies before it was finally enacted in the parliament and published as the National Teacher Education Policy paper (2006). This process of teacher education policy development can be summarised in the following flow diagram.

Diagram 2f: Showing the process of Somaliland's teacher education policy development



Under the new proposals, teacher education faculties at local universities were required to work towards the improvement of teacher professionalism in Somaliland. To achieve this role, reform policies mandated teacher training organisations to review and improve the overall effectiveness of their provision in the following aspects:

- their selection criteria to support high quality outcomes;
- reform the curriculum of teacher education and promote and adopt a constructivist pedagogical training as well as embed gender mainstreaming in their training programmes;
- their partnership with schools to support the relationship between theory and practice;
- the extent to which their teacher training programmes produced the desired type of future teachers;
- their assessment and award policies to qualified teacher status.

Somaliland's national teacher education policy development process described as above can be conceptualised as pluralistic and a partnership between the local communities, the government and the international donor agencies. Education policies are products of compromises between multiple agendas and influences between various competing and contesting social agencies. The pluralistic nature of education policy involving senior national government bureaucrats, local education authorities, teachers groups, private sector, parents, students and donor agencies each with its own values and interest to advance usually creates a complex political space with multiple interpretation of problems and perceived solutions. Senge and Fullan, referenced by Trawler (2003) point out that for any social policy to succeed in the implementation stage there must be the development of a shared vision, one that attracts broad commitment because it reflects the personal vision of those involved.

2.8: The visible role of the INGOs

Through out the successive stages of the development of the teacher education policy paper, the role of the external development partners has been very visible. The INGOs that are actively participating in education and teacher education re-construction in Somaliland include UNESCO, UNICEF, CFBT, African Education Trust, Save the Children UK, Save the Children Denmark, Care International and other UN agencies such as UNDP. Because of their international connections and global operational experience it is expected that teacher professionalisation policies and practices in Somaliland will have opportunities to capture lessons and identify good practices. Additionally, collaboration with INGOs has the benefit of absorbing or attracting large external resources from the donor agencies without putting much pressure on the scarce national resources. Hence, while it's necessary for the government of Somaliland to enter partnership and collaborations with the non-state education providers, there is also a need to maintain the local ownership of programmes.

Ndaruhutse (2005) identifies six forms of aid instruments along which different development partners (DPs) can choose to position themselves as regards to giving financial assistance to a country. The spectrum ranges from traditional projects to projects using government systems, i.e. Sector Common Basket of Funds, Sector Budget Support (SBS), Aid Financed Debt Relief, General Budget Support (GBS) or Balance of Payment Support (Bops). These forms of international financing differ in target orientation,

financial management, financial system and financial reporting. According to Foster and Fozzard referenced by Ndaruhutse (2005:5) international development partners choose the type of the aid instrument by considering a framework of four categories i.e.: (1) the quality of the macroeconomic policies and budget management; (2) the quality of the sector policies (3) the quality of sector management and (4) aid dependency. In their analysis of the various aid instruments, Foster and Fozzard (ibid) have concluded that some form of Budget Support (either general or at sector level) will be the most appropriate aid modality, where a recipient government is committed to sound macroeconomic sector policies and there is a strong capacity to implement these policies. Contrary to this approach, where the development partners perceive the macroeconomic policies and the implementation capacity of the country as weak, they tend to choose the traditional projects approach with some form of technical assistance. In the case of Somaliland most of the financial aid from the European Commission to reform the teacher education sector attracted the traditional projects approach. According to this criterion the aid money could only be used to support criteria outlined in the project documents. In addition, the financial management system and reporting is structured according to the donor regulations and requirements.

In the next final section of the chapter I now briefly highlight the formation, training programmes and geographical location of teacher training institutions in Somaliland.

2.9: Teacher training institutions and their location

In this section I provide separate brief discussions of teacher training institutions in Somaliland.

2.9.1: Amoud University

Amoud University is located in Borame town, Awdal district, about 4.5 km east of the town. The Faculty of Education was established at Amoud University in 1998 with 15 students and three lecturers. Currently there are 624 students (both pre-service and in-service). The faculty has the following policy statement

"The faculty is committed to provide quality education to all individuals who meet its admission requirement regardless of race, religion, colour, gender and nationality. It is an

institution dedicated to serve all individuals who make the university without discrimination." *Source: University brochure.*

The Faculty was established with the following objectives;

- to produce qualified teachers for primary and the secondary schools in the country;
- to provide the Ministry of Education with the guidance in curriculum development and other educational matters;
- to lay down the ground work for a resource centre for the promotion of educational research activities in Somaliland and neighbouring regions;

The Faculty of Education at Amoud University offers three different programmes; ie

- two year pre- service teacher training diploma programme (Strengthening Teacher Education in the Public Sector, STEPS) which started in September 2003;
- two year in-service, Primary Teacher Training(Strengthening Capacity of teacher Training, SCOTT) project funded by the European commission until 2013;
- four year degree programme. (private sponsorships & scholarships).

(www.amouduniversity.net)

Students enrolling for the four year degree programme study for a Bachelor of Science (BSc). They are required to complete a minimum of 124 credit hours with cumulative grade point average (GPA) of at least 2.00 in a 4 point scale system to earn the degree. The establishment of degree in Bachelor of Arts is currently under-plan and is expected to be included in the programme soon.

The two year secondary education diploma programme which was included in the faculty of education in September 2003 had been proposed by the Centre for British Teachers Training (CFBT), with an objective of producing a great number of teachers for secondary schools in a short time to solve the problem of great shortage of teachers in these schools. It is co-funded by the European Union and DANIDA (Danish Aid Development Agency) and jointly implemented by CFBT, Somaliland Ministry of Education and Amoud University. Students who enrol in this programme are required to complete a minimum of 60 credit hours in their areas of study to obtain the diploma certificate. Those who successfully complete the programme may come back to the university to complete their degree programme after serving a minimum of 2 years at schools.

The admission requirements for the faculty are; that local applicants must pass the secondary school leaving examination conducted by the Somaliland National Examination Board on behalf of Somaliland ministry of education. Applicants holding secondary certificates or equivalent from recognised institutions in other countries have their

certificates evaluated and approved by the academic committee. The university operates on a semester system and the academic year commences in mid, September and continues until the mid July. There is a one month break after the first semester and a two month holiday at the end of the academic year.

2.9.2: Burao University:

Burao University was inaugurated in June 2004 and is funded by the local and the Diaspora community. The university has ventured in to teacher education and currently has an enrolment capacity of 79 female teacher trainees to undertake a pre- service diploma in primary teacher training. All the female teacher trainees are on a scholarship programme funded by the Save the children UK. The male teacher student's entrants were scheduled to commence on the 2007/2008 academic year.

The University also participates the in-service professional development programme for primary teachers, code named as Strengthening Capacity of Teacher Training (SCOTT) this project is funded by the European Commission. Around 450 teachers attended the professional development courses during the 2004/2005 academic year. The figure doubled to nearly 800 teachers during the 2006/2007 academic year. Trainings are held during the school holidays and teachers are given short upgrading courses in mathematics, English language, social studies, arts and craft, sciences, Arabic, Somali language as well as teaching methodology, class management and child psychology.

The challenges facing Burao University includes difficulties in recruiting qualified lecturers, poor funding from the Ministry of Education, difficulties in recruiting self funding pre-service students, poor quality and inadequate teaching learning resources, contentions relating to the use of the old Lafoole University teacher education curriculum's and difficulties in providing boarding facilities which limits the programmes to people living in Burao town and surrounding regions.

2.9.3: Hargeisa University.

Hargeisa University does not have operational faculty of education. However, plans to establish faculty of education at Hargeisa University are in an advanced stage. The university participates the primary in-service teacher education programme (SCOTT), funded by the European Commission. Currently Care International is supporting the

university to develop its faculty of education and procurement of text books, curriculum development and Information and Technology.

2.9.4: Gollis University

This is a private institution established by a Canadian professional who originally migrated from Somaliland. This institution specialises Geology, Business Studies, Information and Technology and Marine Studies. The national education policy document supports the rise of private institutions to help human resource development. The university does not have its own faculty of education, but it's a key player in the primary in-service teacher training course (SCOTT) funded by the European Commission.

2.9.5: Summary of the chapter

In this chapter, I have tried to map out the contextual frame work of the research by drawing together both the historical and the current events that shape Somaliland's education and teacher education. The main aspects that I have covered in the chapter included the colonial education, the post colonial education and the current education and teacher education transformation initiatives in Somaliland. My main interest and focus is to examine the current education and teacher transformation in Somaliland by investigating how external sources have impacted upon the process of education and teacher education transformation. External sources include the INGOs that are supporting education reconstruction in Somaliland, globalisation phenomena and the supranational organisations that influence global education policies. As I specified earlier in Chapter One, I will be using the conceptual frameworks of policy making process; policy transfer, lesson drawing and policy learning to demonstrate the impacts of external sources on the national education policy making process. Therefore the following literature review chapter draws upon discussions of these phenomena.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.0: Introduction

This chapter consist of three sections. Section one covers the process of education policy development. In this section, I define what policy is and then proceed to provide an understanding of the processes of education policy development. The section then progresses to review why policies arise, the complex nature of the policy making processes and the theoretical perspectives that inform policy development. Finally I locate the concept of policy formation within the frameworks of critical decision making, social fields, habitus and power relationship.

Section two covers the processes of policy transfer and lesson drawing as mechanisms that can inform contemporary national policy making processes. The roles of these two concepts in national policy making and policy learning are specifically examined. Other concepts that are reviewed in section two include the origins and studies of policy transfer, policy transfer agencies i.e. state, agencies, international organisations and other non state actors. The discussions and the reviews in this section are done under the thematic perspective of education policy globalisation. The discourses of economic rationalism, corporate managerialism and human capital are seen as the core ideological assumptions underpinning contemporary global education policies. The final section, section three, concentrates on the impacts of globalising educational policies on teacher education and teacher professionalism.

3.1: Section one: Processes of education policy development

Berkhout and Wiellemans (1999:403) conceptualise education policy "as a complex, dynamic and diverse socio-political system relating to sets of executive, administrative, deliberative and adjudicative institutions and/or official texts that direct education at the various hierarchical levels of the government". Philips and Ochs (2004) also provide a substantive account of the process of education policy development as a function of the guiding ideology of education, goals of education, strategies for policy implementation, creation of enabling structures that support it and the educational processes and techniques embedded in it (i.e. curriculum, pedagogy and the regulatory activities). These foci that constitute the process of education policy development can further be categorised into three perspectives. These are (a) the policy process or the substance (the intelligence

needs) of the policy; (b) the informational base upon which policy is constructed (analysis for policy); (c) the critical examination of an existing policy (analysis of policy) (Codd 1998:235). This thesis attempts to provide an understanding of how the above three aspects of policy development work together. The advantage with this approach is that, rather than separating the process of policy formulation and policy implementation as two linear models, the three perspectives are conceptualised together as policy in practice. In this way, the discursive aspects of policy are related and show the relationship between the context of influence, the context of policy text production and the context of practice.

Education policies are usually enacted in legislative parliamentary powers expressed as bills, legislative papers or working documents. These enactments contain specific measures, including aims and objectives to be achieved through certain strategies. However, it is difficult to attach rationality measure to policy issues. Policy is not like some mathematical formulae whereby, if followed, you will be certain to arrive at the intended outcome or answer. But as a rational perspective, the aim of having and developing educational policies is to enlighten and improve education systems and the teaching profession as well as to facilitate a dialogue between schools and wider society.

However, education policy studies consist of a multiplicity of disciplines and paradigms with often seemingly contradictory effects. For example, disciplines such as economics, sociology and philosophy directly influence values that underline education policies. It is common to hear that the new policies of education are aimed to raise education standards. Standards that are usually mentioned include quality, equity, individual potential, social mobility and social cohesion, choice, effectiveness, efficiency, value for money and procedural measures such as governance. The provisions and achievements of these standards can create potential dilemmas not only between the interest of the state and the individual but also between politicians and education professionals and between economics and cultural systems and so forth. Ball (1998) observes that policy and politics in education in the twenty-first century has been dominated by the discourse of economic productivity and competitiveness. But whose interests are at the centre of this shift in education policy; and how could things be, if we thought about education differently. These issues are usually discussed and contested during the policy formation phase. Bowe et al. (1992) calls this first phase of policy development the "*context of influence".* It is in this initiation stage that the various education stakeholders struggle to influence the definition and functions of education. And because education policy is based on the notion that it forms

part of a process that imposes values and therefore is part of the power struggle to control, it is difficult to negotiate a single space that unifies all the stakeholders' views.

Hogan (1992*)* sums up the complexity entailed in the negotiation of a single space in education:

"Education is more than a mere epiphenomenon of market forces because it is highly responsive to ideological and cultural conflicts, particularly those linked to issues of race ethnicity, national identity and international prestige" Hogan (1992:199)

Because of this conflict predisposition, some researchers use the "*concept of conflict paradigm"* (Scheurich, 1994, referenced by Berkhout & Wiellemans 1999:409, Paulson, referenced by Ginsburg et al. 1991) to explain the need for education reforms. This theory accepts that conflicts and contests over values and resources are inherent to society and conflicts about these preferences are the bases for explaining policy development. From the conflict perspective educational reforms are not viewed as part of a homeostatic system's response to functional incompatibility that may rise from time to time. Rather, educational reforms are seen to be part of ongoing struggles of social relations that are inherently contradictory. In this way education policy is seen as the negotiated single solution. This theory of conflict seems to replace "*the consensual approach*"(Berkhout & Wiellemans, 1999:409) or the "*national equilibrium approach"* (Paulson referenced by Ginsburg et al. 1991), which viewed and explained education policy development and reforms in terms of assumptions of consensual society with regard to values, social integration, and coherence and the need for regulation in social affairs.

Although as a rational perspective education policies are developed to improve practice, it is hard to imagine that all policies lead to their intended outcomes or improvements in practice. There are many reasons that can make policies fail in their intended outcomes. For example, the initial consultation and policy formation process could have been faulty, the circumstance, space and time might have changed during the implementation, or the local circumstances might not be appropriate if the policy was borrowed from an external source. Raab (1994) sees this limitation of social policies and questions the ability that any legislation would ensure enactment or implementation according to the intentions espoused by such policy. She further cautions against the development and use of studies oriented towards linear analysis of the communication path of policy, by describing such orientation as; "incompleteness or absurdity that confuses legislation with outcome" (Raab 1994:8).

The failure of education policies to achieve their intended outcomes can also be related to the fact that education policies are filtered through relatively autonomous institutions.

"Education policy documents, however, clearly reflect the values of the dominant group/power, but seldom guarantee a practice conforming to the expectations that shaped their development".

(Hogan cited in Berkhout and Wiellemans: 1999: 411)

For example, teacher education reforms are filtered down through teacher education colleges, faculties, and school management boards, association of teachers, schools, teachers and students. It is through these institutions that policies are transformed into programmes and practices. The roles and influences of these institutions in policy implementation depend on their ideological commitment to the changes introduced. In this case they can act as partners in the implementation process, if they think that they have been part of the policy formation process or they strongly believe that the changes will result into better outcomes. However, if these policy agents believe the opposite, they can subvert or refract the intended outcomes.

"the micro-political process of these institutions in the lower hierarchical level provide the milieu for policy contextualisation, not as much in the sense of being implemented but as being recreated"

*(*Bowe, Ball & Gold referenced by Berkhout and Wiellemans 1999: 413)

It is therefore through the inner lenses of these institutions coupled with contestations of meaning and interpretation of what educational policies actually mean in practice that educational policies aim to enlighten solutions to social, economic, national and individual problems.

3.1.1: The nature of the education policy making process

"Policy making is a process that evolves through cycles, with each cycle more or less constrained by time, funds, political support and other events. It is also a process that circles back on itself, iterates the same decisions issued time and again, and often does not come to closure. Choosing not to decide is a frequent outcome" (Rist, 2003:621).

Education policy development falls within the contextual frameworks of public social policy. Therefore, the process of education policy development and policy implementation is usually located within the bureaucratic structures of nation states. However, because policy formation and implementation create policy effects that affect wide fields of socio-

economic spheres, education policy development transcends the boundaries of the government decision-making institutional apparatus. Therefore, the initial policy formation process could involve considerable public debate and national consultation before the introduction of any new national standards. Nakamura and Smallwood, referenced by Rist, (2003) give the following descriptive account of the contextual scenario of any public policy formulation and development;

*"The principal actors in policy formulation are the legitimate or formal policy makers: people who occupy positions in the governmental arena that entitle them to authoritatively assign priorities and commit resources. These people include elected officials, legislators and high administrative appointees, each of whom must follow a prescribed path to make policy…Since these formal policy makers represent diverse constituencies- electoral, administrative, and bureaucratic, the policy making process offers many points of access through which interest groups and others from arenas outside government can exercise influence. Thus policy making usually involves a diverse set of authoritative, or formal policy makers, who operate within the governmental arena, plus a diverse set of special interest and other constituency groups from outside the arena, who press their demands on these formal leaders". (*Nakamura and Smallwood referenced by Rist 2003:625)

A similar perspective in policy development approach is observed by Kingdon (1995), who defines public policy making as a set of processes, including at least (a) the setting of an agenda, (b) the specification of alternatives from which a choice is to be made (c) the authoritative choice among those specified alternatives, as in a legislative vote decision and (d) the implementation of the decisions. Kingdon's approach to public policy analysis starts with an investigation of how social problems come to public visibility and warrant a governmental agenda. He used the word "*agenda"* to refer to the list of subjects or problems to which governmental officials, and people outside of government, but closely associated with government officials pay serious attention at any given time (Kingdon 1995:3). Central to the understandings his analytical framework are questions of what makes people in and around government attend, at any given time, to some problems and not to others. In the second item of his framework (item b as above) Kingdon concerns himself with how the alternatives from which decision makers chose are generated, and why some potential issues and some likely alternatives never come to be the focus of serious attention.

In his public policy analysis Kingdon draws upon three process streams, which he calls (a) *the problem stream* (b) *the policies stream* and (c) *the political stream*. In the problem stream the participants of the policy making process i.e. political parties, general public, private sector, interest groups etc (either individually or in group) bring the social problems

or desired changes to the surface. The process of agenda setting and alternative specification is then determined in a political stream, where each of the policy participation groups tries to secure its own interests and manifestations. In relation to this, it is interesting to note how Kingdon draws the issue of active and non-active policy participants because these concepts are significant for the analysis of policy outcomes and power relations among the policy communities in the sense that the selected policies or alternatives among the options in the negotiation process usually reflects the strength of the policy sponsoring party or group.

Kingdon argues that it is at this critical time and stage, where the above three separate streams meet that solutions become joined to problems. It is also important to note how Kingdon highlights shifting power relationships in the public policy making process. In the agenda (problem) setting stage, using the American governance, mode he vividly pictures how the legislative and judicial actors are more likely to influence the items that are to be dropped or raised in the decision making process that relate to the agenda been discussed. For example, considerations of cost and budget allocation issues, opposition of powerful interest groups and fear of negative political repercussions may compel the political stream in power to drop otherwise what could have been favourable items for selection. However, the power relation shifts to the experts during the policy implementation phase, because professionals and technicians decide how the policies are to be transformed into strategies and actions.

The above scenario of policy development vs. policy implementation exemplifies a conception of power as a multidimensional phenomenon (Foucault 1972). But, what is hidden within the above binary power relation is a third dimension of power relation which is constituted by policy accountability, where those in power positions aim to ensure that policies are implemented according to plan. In this sense, one can argue that a balanced or partnership mode of policy formulation stands a better chance during the implementation of public policies that involve considerable levels of different bureaucracies. Kingdon's model recognises this crucial factor and argues for consensus among the policy communities based on persuasion and diffusion rather than coercive practices. The notion of bargaining is used to reflect upon the building of the consensus among the policy communities as well as a tool for advancing own interest in the policy analysis model. In this way coalitions are built in the political stream through granting of concessions in return for support. This model of policy analysis also captures well the complexity and

fluidity of the nature of the policy making process by presenting the political stream as unpredictable and dynamic. For example, changes in political administration, public mood and election result can have effects on the negotiated governmental agenda. In this way Kingdon's model of policy approach challenges the rational policy cycle perspective because it takes account on power and interest of all the policy participating groups.

According to Kingdon, social problems come to visibility either because the problem presents as a crisis or a window of opportunity in the political stream has opened up i.e. change of the political party in power. When this opportunity occurs, various epistemic communities contest to attach or insert their values and interests to the vacuum created by the open window. Alternatively, the opportunity could also be created by continuous negative feedback on the operation of current programmes, or, people defining conditions as problems by comparing current conditions of their values with more ideal states of affairs, e.g. by comparing their own performance with those of other countries (Kingdon 1995). In this latter perspective the role of the media could be crucial. For example, the powerful media can exaggerate situations through constant negative reporting with certain inclinations. Due to this, the public image of the agenda or the problem could be manipulated to present it as a crisis and thereafter advocate for change.

Kingdon's (1995) above conceptualisation of policy are similar to Ball's (1994:15) definition of policy which I earlier highlighted in section 1.7 (page 16) of the introduction chapter. None the less, policies as textual interventions into practice are the result of compromises and decisions at various stages. Therefore, policy analysis takes into account *how* the decisions that form policies have been negotiated among the various policy actors.

I now focus on this process of decision making.

3.1.2: Critical decision making

In this thesis, the word policy will refer to both texts and discourses that shape public education provisions in a given context. One common concept that can be inferred from the previous discussions of what policy is and definitions by different authors suggests that public policy making domain involves a process of critical decision-making. For example, Etzioni, (cited in Parson, 1995) asserts the following:

"Decision-making falls between policy formation and policy implementation…however [they] are closely interwoven, with decisions affecting implementations and initial implementations affecting later stages of decision making which, in turn, affect later implementations. Decision-making is hence not to be viewed as a passive process… decisions are processes and early decisions are often vague directional signals, initial proddings or trial runs for later specifications and revisions".

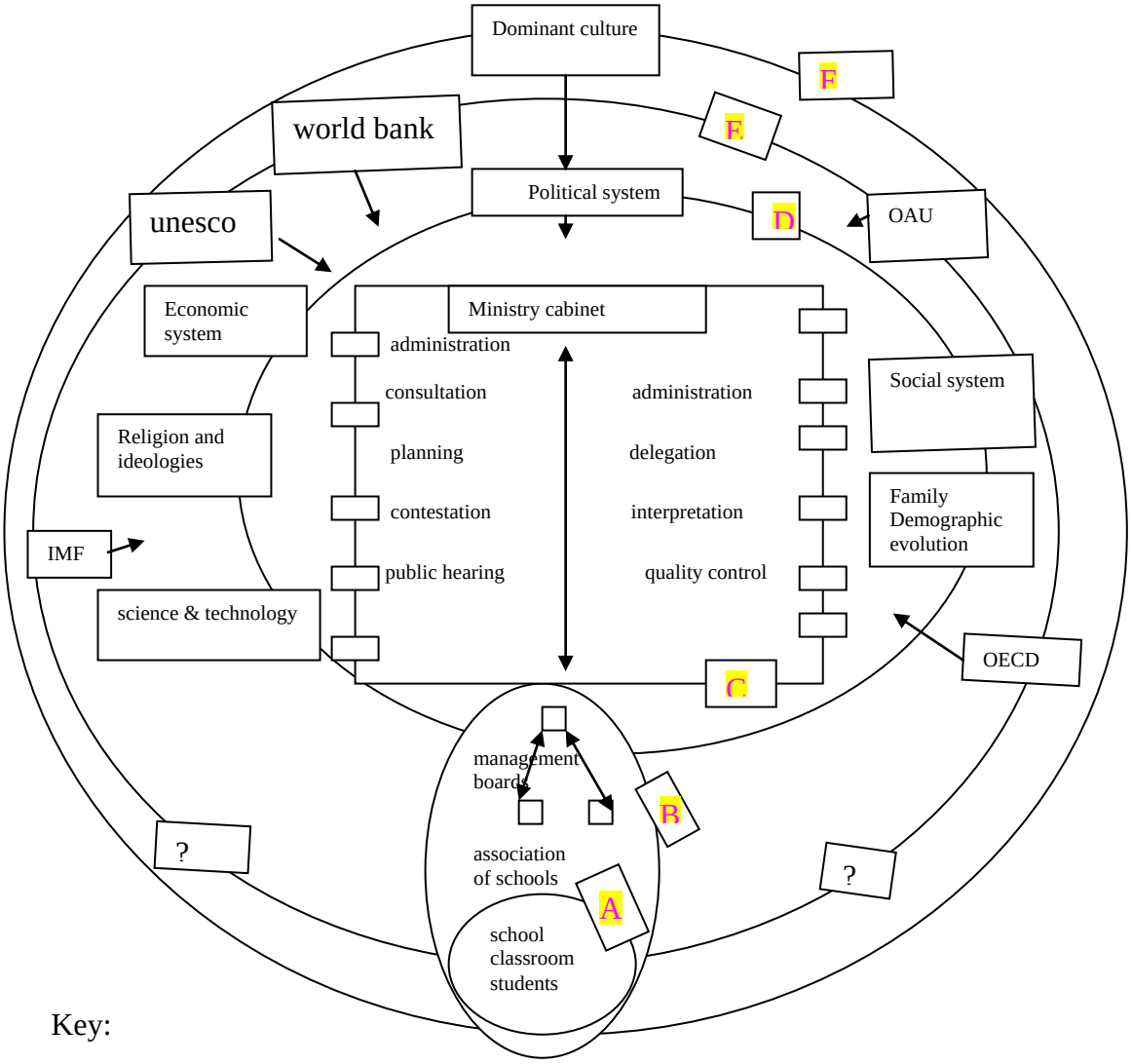
(Etzioni, 1968 referenced by Parsons, 1996:245)

Parsons (1995) identifies the following decision making areas in policy formation:

- decisions about what to make into problems;
- what information to choose;
- choice about strategies to influence the policy agenda;
- choice about what options to consider;
- choices about what options to select;
- choices about ends and means;
- choices about how the policy is implemented;
- choices about how the policy might be evaluated*;*

Decision-making is therefore a process in which choices are made or preferred options are selected among alternatives. The selection of decisions is influenced by the total set of local ecological and environmental contexts and conditions. However, in an increasingly globalised societies and nations decisions and choices made to inform national education policies are increasingly influenced by factors which are external. For example, international research and literature evidencing the existence of global dynamics and pressures towards trans-nationalisation of education policies include Tailor (2002), Stone (2004), Vidovich, (2004), Priestley, (2002), Moke, (2000) and Berkhout and Wiellemans (1999). These researchers present a heuristic model which captures well how the local and global forces interact in shaping and influencing the process of education policy development and their findings can be summarised in the following diagram:

Figure 3a: showing the interactions of local, national and international actors of education policies



Key:

The circles and arrows indicate both external and internal fields affecting education policy decisions.
Context A: represent the interrelated and diverse nature of learning situations (the teacher learner interrelationship. This context emphasizes the pedagogical imperatives to prevent education policy from becoming disproportionately influenced by economic needs, organizational efficiency or political ideologies between contesting groups.
Context B: represents the institutional patterns in which all learning is embedded in a particular community.
Context C: represent policy at a regional level or national level and focuses only on formally constituting political institutions and juridical processes but also on implicit structures and patterns, such as interactive networks and contesting discursive practices.
Context D: *represents the numerous other societal systems interacting with the education system.*
Context E: *comprises the role and impacts of supranational organizations.*
Context F: represent the dominant western modernism/technocrisation

Adapted from Berkhout and Wiellemans (1999:417)

The above model provides an excellent way of connecting education policies with the interactions, interdependencies and power relationships between the various policy networks within the field of education i.e. from the influence and the role of the local school to the influences of supranational organisations. In addition, the model explicitly draws attention to how every educational policy is impacted upon by other social fields' i.e. political field, economic field, social fields, family system and religious system. Thus conceptually, it provides a useful tool for analysing the informational base or the intellectual needs under which the globalised educational policies can be analysed (policy analysis). I found this framework, particularly useful in the subsequent part of this chapter that illuminate the concepts of: (1) fields and habitus (2) policy networks and policy communities (3) interactions and power relationships between various policy actors in policy formation and policy implementation. I now focus my discussions upon these aspects of the policy development process.

3.1.3: The concepts of habitus and social fields

Recent, sociological studies undertaken on the work of Bourdieu by Lingard et.al (2005) directly contributes to our understanding of how social policies such as education are developed and implemented. Lingard et. al (2005) observes that, although Bourdieu did not write explicitly about educational policy, close meta-analysis of his work shows that it had a considerable impact on understanding the processes of education policy formation. A particular area of Bourdieu's work, where public policy advocates heavily borrowed from his intellectual thought includes his concepts of '*social fields' and "habitus"*. His conceptions of these phenomena are located in the general theory of practice which focuses upon "the logic of social world" (Bourdieu 1991). In his view, social arrangement consists of various social fields or contexts which can be seen as structured spaces of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of capital. The various social fields which Bourdieu used to explain and analyse his conception of social practices, struggles and manoeuvres included field of the economics and its associated principle of rationality, politics and social systems such as family and religion. In addition, his conception of capital was broader than the word's strict economic sense. It included other forms of capital such as knowledge, skills, status, power and prestige. Bourdieu also noted that the access to one form of capital (i.e. power) can facilitate the acquisition of other forms of capital. In his theorising of social practices Bourdieu also used the concept of *habitus* (Jenkins, 1992, Bourdieu, 1991) to develop his

approach to social practice and its logic. Habitus exist in through and because of the practices of others and their interaction with each other and with the rest of the environment. According to Bourdieu habitus is a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways and these dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes (Bourdieu 1991:12). He further states that dispositions are durable, generative and transposable in the sense that they are capable of generating a multiplicity of practices and perceptions in fields other than those in which they were originally acquired. In this way habitus provides individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives (Bourdieu 1991:13).

The two concepts of social field and habitus can be used to analyse the struggles in which individuals seek to maintain or alter the distribution of resources and power at stake within the policy making and policy implementation processes. For example, in modern governments, the bureaucratic structure of the state and agents who occupy various positions within the constitutive social fields provide the mechanism which explains field relationships and their interdependencies. For example, Lingard et. al (2005) deploys the concepts of social field and habitus in the contexts of educational policy globalisation, which has resulted in the reduction of national autonomy in educational policy formulation. However, before I contextualise how these two concepts can be used to theorise social practices in the field of education policy (and particularly teacher education policy reforms), I want to introduce the concepts of policy networks/communities and power relationship so that the relationship between habitus and social fields can further be understood within the context of individual actions in social practices.

3.1.4: Policies, policy networks/communities and power relationships

I do not intend to repeat the definition of policy here. However, I intend to introduce the three other concepts of policy networks, policy communities and power relationship. I believe they will provide a valuable insight into the process of policy development, in particular, how the various interactive fields and actors within these fields influence education policy in terms of communication patterns, development of legislation and their implementation processes.

More recently, researchers have chosen to use the two concepts of '*Policy Networks'* and '*Policy Communities'* as approaches to both the public policy formation process and policy

analysis. For example, Selwyn and Fitz (2001) in examining the construction of New Labour's educational policy about the National Grid for Learning (NGFL), which significantly introduced information technology to UK educational establishments, have drawn on the two concepts in their research. These two metaphors seek to focus on the patterns of formal and informal contacts and relationships which shape the policy agenda and decision making as well as the interplay within and between formal policy making organisations and institutions. Parsons (1995) notes the significance of the two concepts as tools for analysing the process of public policy formation and implementation, particularly when applied to societies which are highly pluralistic and in which there is a multiplicity of influences on the policy process. Similarly, Knoke and Kuklinski, (cited in Parsons, 1995:185) have also expressed preference to the use of the two concepts as theoretical models informing policy development processes. According to them, these approaches are ideal for policy analysis because of their assumptions that policy is framed within a context of relationships and dependencies and policy actors participate in a social system in which other actors impact upon one another's decisions. These two concepts are also seen by Colen and Skogstad, referenced by Selwyn and Fitz (2001) as a locus of politics between all actors or potential actors that have a direct interest in a policy area.

3.1.5: Power relationship in social practices

There are different conceptions of power relationship. For example, first, power can be understood as a binary repressor and repressed relationship. This conception was advanced by Marx, Freud and latter by Reich (Foucault 1980); secondly, power relationship can also be conceptualised in it's capillary form of existence, where power reaches into the very grains of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts into their actions and attitude, their discourses, learning processes and every day lives. The second conception was advanced by Foucault (Foucault1980:39); the third perspective under which power relationship can be categorised includes the conception of power as an enabling capacity (Bauman and May 2001).

There is no doubt that the examination of power relationships in social practices is critical to the understanding of the issues of social and professional concerns. This is exemplified by the central role and the emphasis in which the concept of power is accorded to the understanding of social and professional issues in Jenkin's (1992) analysis of Bourdieu's work, Bourdieu's (1991) work itself; Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992); Foucaults 1976,

1980 and Fairclough (1989). Fairclough (ibid) identifies two forms of power: (i) power in face to face discourse and (2) hidden written power disguised in the language of policy texts. According to him, policy texts' choice of wording can help create social relations between participants because there are implicit assumptions and representations that can be made on the use of words or verbal expressions in policy texts. Both Bourdieu (1991) and Fairclough (1989) acknowledge language as the most strategic tool in which power can be achieved in social practices, more so in professional practices. According to Bourdieu the efficacy of performative utterances is inseparable from the existence of the institution that defines the condition that must be fulfilled in order for utterances to be effective. This demonstrates that the power of speech acts is a power ascribed to them by social institutions of which the utterances of the speech act is part. Similarly, Fairclough (1989) argues that language can be used to maintain or change power relationships in professions and institutions that are ideologically shaped by social relationships. On the other hand, language can reveal hidden ideology and structured processes thereby creating consciousness and resistance of policies by those affected by them.

From the above discussions of social fields, habitus, policy networks, policy communities and power relationships within the framework of the policy development process, it can be argued that their overall impact creates a policy orientation or focus, where each group advocates its own interest and ideology during the policy formation process. The outcome or the policies that result from these contestations can reflect the relative power positions among the negotiating policy stakeholders because different actors display and occupy different power positions. This view is supported by Rhodes cited in Smith (1997:78) who suggest that the policy networks vary across five key dimensions:

1. constellation of interest: the interests of those involved in the network varies according to service/function/territory or client group;
2. membership: affiliation of members. Are they public or private groups?
3. vertical independence: to what extent is a policy network dependent or independent of actors above or below;
4. horizontal independence: what are the interconnections between networks?
5. the distribution of resources: what resources do participants have to exchange?

Because of the above differences among the policy actors in terms of status or power, resources, membership, expertise and knowledge, the end process of policy decision-making creates situations where some of the actors consider themselves as winners,

whereas those, whose views are left out, perceive the process as defeat. How different policy actors act and react to each other can also be studied and analysed using Bernstein's concept of "*classification"* (Bernstein 1977 referenced by Arreman, 2005). Bernstein differentiates between policy actors as specialists who are bearers of academic knowledge and actors as non- specialists who are concerned with reproducing educational practices. Bernstein's concept of classification suggests that the organisation of knowledge and its production can be monopolised to constitute power and set boundaries of influence. The negotiation strengths of universities and colleges of education in the policy development process can be seen in this context.

Bernstein's concept of policy actors' classification can be linked to Bourdieu work which stated and observed that a social field is a site of struggles in which individuals seek to maintain or alter the distribution of "*capital"* (not strictly in its economic sense - it can include other resources such as knowledge, skills, status, political power, etc) specific to them. According to Bourdieu (1991) different actors within these social processes will have different chances of winning or losing depending on where they are located in the structured space of positions. This observation is similar to Kingdon's (1995) categorisation of policy actors as either active or passive. Although the above varied policy actors can have common certain fundamental prepositions i.e. the desire to improve the quality of education by improving teacher quality what is actually at stake is how the reforms redefine the teachers' capital (i.e. knowledge power, status, economic resources etc.) in relation to the other state and non state policy actors. There are also issues of economical, political and ideological values and principles at stake because social policies and decisions are always embedded in ideological beliefs and principles

3.1.6: Summary

So far in my discussion, I have concentrated in defining what policy is, explanations of why new policies are necessary, the complex nature of the policy making process and the different fields that can affect education policy development. I have also examined the theoretical perspectives that inform the process of policy making. Central to this theme of policy development was the concept of critical decision- making and contestations among the various epistemic communities or policy networks in terms of accessing power, resources or other gains. In the next section of the chapter, I discuss the concepts of policy

transfer and lesson drawing as external mechanisms that can influence or inform national decision making mechanisms.

Section 2:

3.2: Lesson drawing and processes of policy transfer

Rose (1993:27) defines policy lesson drawing as; '*More than a symbol invoked to sway opinion about a policy and more than a dependent variable telling a social scientist what is to be explained. A lesson is a detailed cause-and-effect description of a set of actions that government can consider in light of experience elsewhere, including a prospective evaluation of whether what is done elsewhere could someday become effective here'*. Several processes are involved in lesson drawing i.e. *Copying:* which involves enacting a more or less intact programme already in effect; *adaptation:* is similar but involves adjusting for contextual differences; *making a hybrid* consists of combining elements of a programme from two different places; *synthesis* is combining familiar elements of programmes in a number of different places to create a new programme; and *inspiration* is using programmes elsewhere as an intellectual stimulus to develop a novel programme (Rose, 1993:30).

The concept of policy transfer is similar to that of lesson drawing, although it is much broader. Dolowitz et al (2000) and Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) conceptualise policy transfer as an emulation process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in one time and or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and or place. According to Dolowitz and Marsh (ibid) the process of policy transfer can be either voluntary adaptation (where the receiving government readily either solicits or accepts from another source) or coercive (where a government or supranational institution encourages or even forces a government to accept a policy). The policy transfer could be inclusive of a broad range of elements including the policy goals, structure and content, ideology, attitudes and concepts. Bennett 1991, 1997, (cited in James and Lodge 2003) also conceptualise a policy transfer as an attempt to change domestic policy by external influence and convergence of policy in a different country.

James and Lodge (2003) present a critique of how the proponents of the two concepts of policy lesson drawing and policy transfer fail to distinguish between the normal national

policy making process and lesson drawing and policy transfer processes. A normal national policy making process stresses that policy decisions are made about the pursuit of valued goals through structured interventions by public bodies or their agents. These decisions are based on searching for the means to pursue these goals in a systematic and comprehensive manner i.e. reviewing policy in light of past experiences and any other available information to make adjustments where necessary. Therefore it is apparent that the two concepts of policy transfer and lesson drawing overlap with the conventional way of national policy making process.

The rationale as to why many policy makers use lesson drawing and policy transfer could be attributed to the fact that the two concepts are a very good guide for policy makers. Certainly it makes good sense to analyse and study similar programmes to reflect on examples of what has worked well or failed in other countries to enable policy makers to make informed decisions. Hence the intention to learn from the experience of others as part of the policy-making process sounds plausible.

It is hoped that this thesis will serve as an inspiration to the process of teacher education policy development in Somaliland. To serve this function, I will provide thematic syntheses of how teacher education policies in the developed world has moved away from the traditional educational disciplines, the emergence of more centralised forms of accountability of teacher competences and the greater responsibility of schools in the professional development of teachers. In my analysis, I will examine how the phenomena of globalisation and its associated neo-liberal policies have re-conceptualised the ideological, social, political, economic, administrative and institutional goals of education. However, I am well aware of the differences in the contextual features of Somaliland and where these examples of practice are drawn from (i.e. mostly from Britain, Australia, New Zealand). My motive is not to advocate a direct policy transfer, but, suggest that the educational policy makers in Somaliland can study and analyse the various objects and fields that constitute these countries' teacher education policies and practice in order to learn from them and develop programmes that are more appropriate to their local context. This practice will be similar to Rose's (ibid) description of policy inspiration, in which policy makers use programmes elsewhere as an intellectual stimulus for the development of novel local policies,

Other theorists (Rosenau, and Mann Cited in James and Lodge 2003: 186) attribute the increasing use of lesson drawing and policy transfer as a way of governments responding to global economic competition. Globalisation has established new economic, political and social circumstances that have changed state powers and context in which states operate. As a result governments are learning from competitors which results in policy makers being influenced by forces beyond the domestic context, which in turn leads to decreased national policy autonomy. This competitive adjustment seems to be a form of coercion, but this is not the same as direction from above. Cerny (1997:263) calls this competing form of the competition state as imitating successful competitors.

The four concepts of national policy decision-making, lesson drawing, policy transfer and policy learning processes overlap and interact in various dimensions. The difficulty of distinguishing the four concepts is further complicated by the fact that, the concept of public education policy making is a social field that cuts across many other different fields i.e. economy, politics, power, gender, and society (Lingard, et al, 2005). Public policies presuppose that there is a sphere or domain of life which is not private or purely individual, but held in common. The public comprises that dimension of human activity which is regarded as requiring governmental or social regulation and intervention, or at least common action. Public policies i.e. education, health, transport, social services, environmental services focus on what Dewey, cited in Parsons (ibid) once expressed as the public and its problems. Public policy is concerned with how the issues and problems come to be defined and constructed and how they are placed on the political and policy agenda.

3.2.1: The origin and processes of policy transfer

Berry and Berry 1999, cited in Stone, (2004) state that policy transfer studies was originally developed in the USA as a means to explain the adoption, spread and diffusion of common policies throughout the federal system. This phenomenon of transfer was initially conceptualised as a natural diffusion process defined as the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time and among members of a social system. Diffusion describes a trend of successive or sequential adoption of a practice in a policy or programme. The diffusion literature suggests that policy percolates

i.e. it is something that is contagious rather than chosen, It also connotes spreading and dissemination of ideas or practices from a common source or point of origin.

Berry and Berry 1999 (referenced by Stone, 2004: 547) identify the following four forces, which may create diffusion patterns:

1. a national communication network among different state officials;
2. states are influenced by geographically proximate neighbouring states;
3. leader states pioneer the adoption of a policy and the laggard states subsequently follow it;
4. national governments are a vertical influence for emulation of policies.

To describe the process of policy transfer as a process of (1) diffusion (Berry and Berry); (2) lesson drawing (Rose, 1991, 1993); (3) systematically pinching ideas (Schneider and Ingram, referenced by Stone, ibid) suggests the voluntary dimension of it. This notion of a diffusion process is close to the normal national decision and policymaking process. It might not be a pro-active conscious way of seeking to borrow from elsewhere, but rather a rational and pragmatic way of seeking solutions to problems and expanding the boundaries of existing innovation.

While it is reasonable to argue that most of the policy transfer between countries occurs on a voluntary basis, it is equally significant to understand how the process of transfer can be coercive either directly or indirectly. For example, Bennet 1991, (cited in Stone, 2004) uses the word 'penetration' to describe the policy transfer process. Similarly, Ikenberry (referenced by Stone, ibid) uses the connotation of 'external inducement' and both these phrases suggest compulsory conformity. Stone (2004) identifies the mechanism or strategies through which a country or an organisation can coerce another country to accept certain policies and practices as;

- selectivity: aid given only to those countries already exhibiting a good policy environment;
- paternalism: donors attempt to get aid spent on the goods and services that they favour;
- restraint: seeking protection against policy reversal that may occur with a new government;
- signalling: aid is used as a device to signal good policy behaviour by recipient country;
- inducement: getting governments to enact policies they would otherwise not have initiated.

This compulsory conformity policy transfer mechanism also suggests a particular power relationship between the two transacting countries. The fact that one country can be forced to accept policies and practices shows that the policy exporting country or the organisation enjoys superior or greater power than the receiving country. This power superiority can facilitate any of the three conceptions of power earlier identified. For example, the superior power can led to aggression or behaviour or transfer or influences of local policies. The origin of the superiority could be economic, military, and ideological or helplessness on the part of the policy receiving country. Stone's description of *pioneering* and *laggard* states relationship between policy exporting and importing countries signifies the unequal power structure between the two transacting countries.

Radaelli (2000) takes a mid position between the voluntary diffusion model and the compulsory conformity model and coins the third notion of 'institutional isomorphism' in which transfer tends to be a conscious process of spreading ideas and policies between countries. Unlike the voluntary approach or the external coercive force, the forces behind this third approach, can be described as 'self-compelling forces' such as the desire to be economically competitive. Much of the literature favouring this approach tends to originate from the field of political economy. From an institutional perspective, this model suggests that competition is compelling individuals, organisations, and countries to press for increasingly similar patterns of policies and practices in order to be globally competitive. The convergence of these similar policies has created a regionalisation model of governance. For example, the European Union represents an example of such model, where member countries share and borrow policies that are perceived to be the best practice.

Hall (1993:275) provide alternative explanations of the phenomena of policy transfer from the above three notions of voluntarism, coercion and institutional isomorphism. Rather than the conceptual perception of physical transfer of objects or ideas he portrays policy transfer as a form of *social learning*. He further argues that "*policy making is a form of collective puzzlement on society's behalf…much political interaction has constituted a process of social learning expressed through policy.* Unlike the previous explanations, rather than focusing on decision-making dynamics internal to political system and the role of agencies in the transfer process he emphasises the reason of the choice in selection of policy ideas, the interpretation of circumstances and emphasise the rationality embedded in

imitating, copying and modifying by decision makers. His emphasis is on *cognition* and the *redefinition* of interests on the basis of the new knowledge which affects the fundamental beliefs and ideas behind the policy in question. In this approach, policy learning occurs when policy-makers adjust their views or positions in the light of knowledge gained from past policy experiences and lessons drawn elsewhere. Hall argues that this strategy results in a more coherent transfer of ideas, policies and practices, because there is greater coordination in both policy formation and subsequent implementation stages. In addition, because this approach integrates and combines learning lessons from both outside the government as well as past home experiences, ad-hoc and piecemeal experimentation that can lead to policy failure is avoided.

Policy learning conceptualised as combination of both concepts of lesson drawing and policy transfer can lead to the development of consensual knowledge by the national specialists and epistemic communities about the functioning of the state and society, which is also, accepted as a basis for valid decision-making. When consensual knowledge is developed at a transactional level, the potential exists for the exchange of ideas providing impetus for policy transfer. Learning via regional or global networks helps to promote an international policy culture. Thus an international consensus may prevail on best practices. However, the local political realities and contextual differences may not allow best practices and policies to take root in policy implementation. Hence there might be a transfer of policy knowledge but not a transfer of policy practice. Therefore during the learning process, inappropriate lessons and contextual differences might contribute either directly or indirectly to the divergence or modification of policies and procedures.

In this context, we might ask what makes borrowed policies fail?

Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) have identified three factors that can be attributed to policy transfer failure in the recipient country. First, there are cases where the policy borrowing country makes uninformed transfer. In this case, the recipient country may have insufficient information about the policy and how it operates in the country from where it is transferred. Secondly, the borrowing country may make an incomplete transfer, where crucial elements of the policy or the institutional structure supporting it in the originating country may not have been transferred, thus leading to failure. The third case could be that the recipient country has made inappropriate transfer conditions, where insufficient attention regarding social, economic, political and ideological between the transferring and borrowing country leads to failure

Stone(2004) categorises the policy transfer inducers in to three categories:

1. state agencies of transfer;
2. international organisations;
3. non-state actors (NGOs and social movements).

I now discuss these in turn.

3.2.2: State policy transfer agencies

In this section I examine the role of government bureaucrats, politicians and government experts in policy transfer. This role is usually facilitated by good bilateral relations as well as general global observations of issues that matter to nations as evidenced by the following quotation:

"Looking abroad to see what other governments have done can point us towards a new understanding of shared problems; towards new solutions to those problems; or to new mechanisms for implementing policy and improving delivery of public services. International examples can provide invaluable evidence of what works in practice, and help us avoid either reinventing the wheel or repeating other's mistakes".

Extract from UK, Centre for Management and Policy Studies (CMPS 2002) referenced by Stone (2004:550):

This quotation suggests that the rationale behind, the idea of 'looking elsewhere by bureaucrats, politicians and government experts is to enhance the local decision making process. And one way of analysing solutions to local problems is to examine how others have approached similar problems. To do this does not suggest ineptness on the part of the national decision making experts. The practices inherent in the above quotation take us back to my previous question that asked how policy transfer is different from national decision making mechanisms used by state machineries. It also takes us back to the various multi-dimensions of the concepts of policy transfer and lesson drawing. It is particularly interesting to note the dimension of policy transfer entitled as *inspiration*, in which the state's policy makers draw on programmes in use on elsewhere as intellectual stimulus to develop novel programmes and innovations in respect to problems at home.

Apart from the advantage of enhancing local decision-making processes it can also be argued that, because the process of policy development is time and resource consuming

(both human and capital) economically, it makes sense to look elsewhere and learn from others' experiences. This not only subsidises the cost of policy development but can also result in best practices and improved policy development.

A good example, where the role of government bureaucrats and politicians as policy transfer agents can be seen clearly is the networking transactions between the bureaucrats and politicians of the European Union Member States. The European Union represents a convergence regional policy model, where there is a transfer of technical ideas, values and norms relating to a wide fields ranging from economics to public welfare. The existence of similar ideological and geographical proximity among the member states facilitates much of the interaction process. Radaelli (2000) argues that through the vertical influence of the European Commission, bureaucrats of EU member states display great communication and networking. From the interaction of the member states he also identifies the existence of power relations. The big states like Britain, France and Germany tend to seek leading positions, while other small member states and those with accession applications are relegated to what he describes as '*Laggard*' position.

Policy transfer between countries, through the state agencies depicts the existence of bilateral relationships and continuous interaction of policy networks between the transacting countries at the horizontal level. It also suggests an intentional way of influence and counter influence between bureaucrats, politicians and government experts.

Policy transfer studies using the state transfer agencies approach emphasises the investigation of directly observable transfer of people, policy instruments or legislation. There is relatively little analysis of the transfer of norms thus ignoring the ideological embeddedness of social policies. This approach neglects the unconscious ways in which the human mind absorbs ideas and values. Our exposure to the interaction of other people with different culture, values, experiences and philosophical thoughts not only captures our curiosity to learn new things, but also extends our imagination and raises the possibility of moving away from our comfort zones. For example, through this process of social learning or intercultural learning the Somaliland Western Diaspora communities have contributed ideas, values and norms that had positive impacts on the national education system.

3.2.3: International agencies

Before I point out how international organisation influence policy transfer, I would like to mention the thematic similarity between agglomerates in the private corporate sector and other international organisations that operate under the charter of International Non Governmental Organisations (e.g. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), United Nations, World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Both of these two categories of institutions (private/public) set similar norms and principles, rules and regulations in their practices globally. Wherever the location of their operation, they tend to develop common operational policy (one size fits all approach) responses. Where these institutions work in partnership with nation state experts they have been associated with the compulsory and conformity dimensions of policy transfer. For example, Lal (referenced by Stone, ibid) describes the standards of policies and practices resulting from the international organisations as the "*liberal economic order" or 'the Washington consensus'.*

Citations of examples, where international organisations have heavily influenced policies and practices around the world can be an endless activity. However, some of the outstanding examples include the OECD's involvement and standardisation of national accounting standards, human resource management, budget transparency, capital mobility and convertibility of inflation avoidance; UNESCO's promotion of lifelong learning; World Bank's economic and institution development policy mechanism. Stone (2004) in particular points out how the World Bank is contributing to the harmonisation of policies and practices through its knowledge sharing strategy. For example, through the bank's *'spin off'* organisations such as World Bank Institute (WBI), Global Development Networks (GDN) and Global Knowledge Partnership (GKP) the knowledge strategy of the bank is implemented. In this way, the bank represents itself as an agent of policy transfer. For example, the Economic Development Institute Publication (cited in Stone, ibid) attributes the following to the practices of the World Bank:

The world's nations can learn a great deal from each others experiences and we will continue to facilitate this learning, EDI cited in Stone, 2004)

International institutions promote and influence policies and practices globally, through networks of seminars, publications or through provision of incentives to join treaties such as World Trade Organisation, debt relief conditions, or in the coercive form, through

sanctions and conditions tied to loans. The integration and partnership mechanisms of international organisations creates overlapping clubs and means to provide order and policy co-ordination (Rosecrance and Stein, referenced by Stone, ibid).

3.2.4: None state- transfer agencies (NGOs and social movements)

My own career with Non Governmental Organisations attests to the fact that these institutions, although having weaker power relations than the international organisations such as OECD, can play a significant role in diffusion of policies, ideas and practices. Since the collapse of the Somali nation state, I worked directly with some of the non-international NGOs in Somalia that were funded and sub contracted by international organisations. During my stay in the UK, I have also actively participated in Somaliland Diaspora Community Organisations and networks that induced the institutional development in the Republic of Somaliland. As a development oriented lobby group, we significantly interacted with personnel from NGOs and other social movement groups that support development strategies in the world's poorest countries. Unlike the international organisations and state bureaucrats, NGOs and social movements represent the '*soft form of transfer'*. Stone (2004) states that, NGOs give normative resonance to cause groups by pulling together the symbols, language and cognitive frames that portray morally compelling issues in a concrete manner to which the public can respond.

My personal experience and reflection also suggest that local NGOs and social movements enjoy greater proximity in terms of time, space, power and leverage or position and relationship with the local population and institutions than their counterpart international NGOs. For example in 2004, I participated in a visibility study and grassroots consultation meetings for the need to establish Burao University in Togdheer Region, Somaliland. I was fascinated by the horizontal leverage of interaction and discussions between the NGO personnel and the local representatives, unlike the international NGO personnel whose interaction was limited to the formal speeches and presentations they gave in the discussion forums. This shows the ease with which these NGOs can facilitate the diffusion and transportation of ideas, behaviour and discourses in a more levered way rather than the much more visible legislation and regulations that are associated with bilateral donor countries and international organisations.

Stone (2000, 2004) and Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) identify other policy agencies that present soft forms of policy transfer. This category includes research institutes, consultancy firms, philanthropic foundations, university centres, scientific organisations, professional societies and training institutes. These institutions use their intellectual authority and market expertise to help transfer the intellectual matter that underpins most policies adopted by formal state decision making agencies. These organisations play an increasingly pro-active policy development role in developing and transitional countries.

In the following part, I now reflect upon the substantive policies and practices that the agents of policy transfer, which were described in this part of the thesis have introduced or influenced in the field of education policy.

3.2.5: Globalising education policy

What potential does the educational policy configurations' originating from globalisation tendencies have to offer to Somaliland's education policy reconstruction strategy?

The last twenty years have witnessed what Levin (1998:131) has described as a '*state of change'*. Levin refers to the continuous education policy reforms that have characterised the Anglophone developed countries in the West. In his analysis of the reforms Levin identifies the following five common themes across the Anglophone countries.

1. the need for change in education is largely cast in economic terms;
2. education change is occurring in the context of large scale criticism of schools;
3. large scale changes is not accompanied by substantially increased financial commitments to schools by the government;
4. change in governance are typically among the key proposals for education reforms;
5. In line with the economic rationale for education reforms, considerable attention has been given to make schooling more like a commercial or market commodity.

Levin uses the emergence of these themes to evidence that national governments do learn from others. The significance of Levin's findings is that it shows that globalisation of educational policy is occurring and that it is influencing national education policies.

Similarly, Angus (2004) notes that there have been massive changes in approaches to educational governance, including the establishment of a broadly common policy and management agenda that is characterised by new managerialism, devolution, rigid

accountability structures, entrepreneurialism, and a discourse of institutional effectiveness. Previously, these phenomena have been associated with the policies and practices of the private corporate sector. The fact that these discourses have been incorporated in the public sectors' strategic operations and development plans suggest shifts in the way public goods are conceptualised and subsequently delivered. Angus (ibid) also observes that the powerful transnational institutions such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, and European Union have increasingly forced the public services providing institutions to accept these policies for both their survival and effectiveness.

But, In order to fully understand the impact and relationship between globalisation and education policies, it is worth identifying the ideological and structural forces that have created "global agendas in education". These forces have been described as both fluid and ambiguous (Appadurai, 2001). However, it is widely perceived that the corporate sector led by American agglomerates is the real force behind globalisation. In fact some writers interchangeably use the word globalisation as Americanisation (Appadurai 2000 cited Appadurai, (2001) signifying the close relationship between American corporate policies and the globalisation concept. But irrespective of the parent country of the corporate organisations all of them have common characteristics. These are:

- the desire to set capital free globally;
- free market economies and minimal state control (Block 1996 cited in Shumar, 2004: 284)

These neo-liberal policies much favoured by the corporate sector have been advanced and articulated through three main agents. First, the supranational organisations like Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, World Trade Organisation, World Bank and International Monetary Fund have all tied their grant loans to countries to the acceptance of Structural Adjustment Programmes that have all the hallmarks of globalisation disguised as good governance. This gives globalisation a top-down imposition form of policy direction. Developing countries have been most susceptible to these policies from globalisation, because their economies heavily rely on loans and grants. These poor countries have been told to adopt policy reforms, mainly in their public sector areas. The originators of these policies argue that the adaptation of these measures will significantly boost their economies. However, recently the so-called credit crunch and the world wide economic recession has cast doubt on the efficiency of capitalistic neo- liberal practices that were initially regarded as a panacea to world economic problems.

Appadurai (2001) notes the discontent among the populations of many developing nations in relation to the supranational organisations' global agendas. Particularly, he questions whether these global institutions incorporate social and cultural development in their agendas. In addition, the globalisation project has been criticised for the effect it has on nation states' ability to determine their own economic priorities, the fluidity of labour market both in terms of labour rewards and resource sharing and failure of nation- states to protect cultural autonomy and economic survival of their citizens (Appudurai, 2001, Dale, 1999, Ozga and Jones, 2006, Shumar, 2004).

Ozga and Jones (2006:2) have highlighted the relations between global economics and education. According to them, international organisations (e.g. World Bank and IMF) fore-ground education and training in a way that constructs learners as potential commodities rather than human beings. For example, the World Bank describes the future human capital requirement as adaptable, creative, flexible, and innovative. In addition, the Bank further asserts that these qualities are best produced and delivered by deregulated education systems in which competition is maximised and business embedded. Critical analysis of their words suggests a way of making labour cheap and flexible for the corporate sector. In fact research carried out by Shumar (2004) explicitly identifies how the corporate sector has transformed time and space by applying the techniques of contraction and expansion of labour requirements in order to exploit labour to its advantage. The technique involves the integration of piecework in to the global industrial sector and use of a part time temporary and flexible workforce. The academic sector has not been an exception to this rule. There has been an increased use of part time flexible staff, quantification of work done by the staff and introduction of measures aimed to reduce costs at all levels.

As Shumar (2004) notes, the corporate sector has also used the creation of new technologies and media as a means to advance the globalisation agenda of policy configuration. I remember when I was a commerce teacher telling my students that the availability of raw materials and labour are the most important factors determining industry location. But, Shumar (ibid) argues that in this global economy raw materials and access to labour are not the most important for production. Rather, corporations now require an information infrastructure that can respond quickly to the demand for moving labour, products and materials. Having accurate information also helps them to respond quickly, where new markets are opening up and where supplies and materials can be obtained. A

good example and evidence of these findings is the unprecedented interest of giant western corporations in the markets that are opening up in China and India. These enterprises have fully utilised modern technologies, people, ideologies, and consumer patterns of consumption flows in order to expand their markets and advance globalisation's agenda of the free flow of capital globally. This particular view of globalisation is promoted and led by the American corporate who have significant influence in both the American and the rest of the world's policy agendas, particularly those of the developing countries.

Dale (1999:5) identifies evidence of educational policy globalisation both in the policy setting process and dissemination techniques. According to him the phenomenon of globalisation affects on national policies through the mechanisms of borrowing, learning, harmonisation, standardisation, imposition and through installing interdependence between nations. It is interesting to note how the word globalisation has been used and associated with educational policies and reforms in different ways (Ozga and Jones, 2006, Dale, 1999, Angus, 2004, Shumar, 2004, Priestley, 2002). Ozga and Jones (2006) conceptualise the phenomenon of globalisation in relation to its capacity to dissolve distinctions between the international and domestic, the global and local and its effects are evidenced in core economic and educational activities. Traditionally, it was more common to talk about economic globalisation, but the fact that it is becoming increasingly difficult to fully understand education policies and practices without reference to globalisation processes indicates that many writers and researchers are increasingly using the phrase '*education policy globalisation'* in their academic literature (Crossley, cited in Vidovich, 2004:341) .

The concept of '*education policy globalisation'* has been attributed to education policy transfer between countries (Vidovich, 2004). The critique of this suggest that it has weakened and negatively impacted on nation state's abilities in the policy formation process (Reich, cited in Priestley, 2002), that it has resulted in marketisation and commodification of higher education (Bernstein, cited in Shumar, 2004:830), that it has disfranchised the socio-cultural contexts of grassroots communities (Appadurai, 2001), that it acted as a tool for advancing and promoting government ideologies and political rhetoric (Hill, 2001) and that it leads to a culture of individualism and social Darwinist ideas of 'survival of the fittest at the expense of social cohesion (Canaan 2002 and Davies 2002 cited in Shumar, 2004)

But what influences policy transfer between countries? Vidovich (2004) and Smith et.al (2002) observes that policy transfer is related to ideological proximity and this is augmented by common traditions of language and culture rather than geographical proximity, as in the cases of Australian policy borrowing from the United Kingdom and US influence on UK higher education. However, there are cases where both the ideological and geographical element is absent, yet there have been incidents of educational policy transfer. For example Green 1999 (cited in Vidovich, 2004:353) points out that there has been a relatively consistent ideology in education policies between Western European countries and East Asian Countries, even though there exist different historical and cultural backgrounds. This suggests that the ideology of globalisation can transcend the traditional ideological differences between countries.

Shumar (2004) identifies the most notable countries within which neo-liberal education policy reforms have been associated with as, United Kingdom, United States of America, Australia and New Zealand. The underpinning principle behind the education policy reforms in these countries has been attributed to the globalisation agenda and the need to achieve economic competitiveness (Dale 1999, Vidovich, 2004, Ozga and Jones, 2006, Preistley, 2001, Shumar, 2004). It is also interesting to note the different ways in which the concept of globalisation itself has been conceptualised. For example, some researchers emphasise the economic dimension while others stress the socio- cultural dimension of globalisation. However, Held et. al (cited in Vidovich, 2004:342) conceptualise globalisation as a "process or sets of processes which embodies a transformation in the spatial organisation of the social relations and transactions- assessed in terms of their intensity, extensity, velocity and impact-generating transcontinental or interregional flows of networks of activity and interactions, and exercise of power". This gives a balanced definition of economic and social contexts. This definition is close to Appadurai's (2001) description of flows and disjunctures, in which he refers to the migratory nature of the ideas, technologies, techniques, ideologies, people, goods and consumption patterns associated with globalisation.

Vidovich (1997, 2001, and 2004) also notes the discourse of 'quality' in recent education reform policies and closely links it with the concept of globalisation. But the concept of quality is problematic and ambiguous in the sense that there is no universally accepted criterion that defines it. In one case, Vidovich (2001) uses the phrase of *'Chameleon quality'* to describe the ambiguity of the concept of quality and how many countries have

used this ambiguity to achieve ideological shifts in education and teacher education. In many countries what constitutes '*quality'* in education has been contested both in policy formation and practical levels. Quality is a complex and contested concept with multiple definitions. In particular, the notions of quality perceived as 'excellence,' 'standard setting,' 'total quality management,' 'quality assurance' and quality improvement' have been most problematic in education policies implementations (Vidovich, 2004:341).

Reich 1992 (cited in Priesley, 2002:121) argued that both the concepts of globalisation and 'quality policy' have not only significantly contributed to education policy migration around the world, but also have weakened and impacted greatly on the capacity of nation states to formulate policies. In fact it is becoming increasingly difficult to fully understand policy and practices in education without reference to globalisation (Crossley 2000, cited in Vidovich, 2004:341). This leads to the question of whose (dominant) discourse of quality becomes accepted. Simply to suggest the answer as globalisation disguises more the real processes and structures that represent and advance the dominant discourse of quality. The winning conceptualisation of the discourse of quality in education which is informed by an economic discourse has its roots in neo-liberal ideologies and the main value motive which informs this ideology is an economic value rather than social, cultural, or environmental factors.

Halpin and Troyna (1995) also argue that the transformational and transferability mechanisms of educational policies influenced by neo-liberalism's global agenda can be viewed both in terms of policy borrowing and policy learning among countries. The transfer mechanism viewed in this way suggests considerable relevant contextual compatibility between the borrowing and lending partners. The representation of what transpires as borrowing certainly sustains the compatibility assumption. This assertion is supported by Dale (1999) who in his analysis of education policies in the USA, UK, Australia and New Zealand identified evidence of policy harmonisation (a collective agreement to pool national policies to a regional level) and dissemination (setting policy agenda) with globalisation. Education policy configuration between these countries suggests little evidence of direct cloning of quality assurance policies in education from one country to another, which further suggests the existence of global-national-local dynamics in policy processes rather than direct cloning.

Many nation states have adopted neo-liberalism which states that modern economies or information led economies are recession proof, as long as the state does not interfere and capital circulates freely and globally (Shumar, 2004), although this belief has been significantly undermined by the current global financial crisis and the anticipated or the existing recession. The underlying assumption of neo-liberalism is that increasing public taxes depletes global capital that is necessary for efficient modern economies. The implication of this theory has been that many western capitalist countries have significantly reduced their funding to public services. The education sector has been one of the sectors hardest hit by this reduced state funding. For example in the UK, the ruling Labour government's political rhetoric is that it has significantly increased state funding to the education sector, National Health Service and transport sector. But close observation of the context, shows that most of the increased money to fund these services has been achieved through partnership creation with the private sector. A good examples of this government-private partnerships include contracting parts of NHS clinical operations to private firms in order to reduce waiting lists, use of private companies to run rail services and government-private sponsored schools. The rationale for the adaptation of this policy was that an increased use of private partnerships in running public services will be more efficient. However, other governmental agendas which suggest bringing these institutions to the market and then slowly introducing privatisation through the back door cannot be ruled out. This argument is evidenced by similar practices of other pro-market oriented governments like USA. For example, Shumar (ibid) identified similar strategies in the USA, where the previous Clinton administration had increased funding to USA libraries and museums in order to bring them to the market and then later these institutions were directly marketised and commodified.

Hill and Rosskam (ed) (2009) have observed that neo-liberalism and its associated globalisation of education policy characterised by privatisation and commercialisation have had a major implication for the education and training in the low- and middle- income countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In examining the impacts of neo-liberal education policies on schooling and education in Chile, Mexico, Venezuela, China, Pakistan, India, Turkey Burkina Faso, Mozambique and South Africa they have argued that the introduction of neoliberal agendas in education in these countries have resulted increased privatisation of education services. Their critique concentrates on how policies of capitalisation and commoditisation of education in these countries have led to competitive markets in education provision that are marked by selection, exclusion and inequality.

Their argument also centres on the assumption that education is not a commodity to be bought or sold and that capitalist markets hold opposing goals, motivations, methods and standards of excellence to education provision. Within this perspective of the neoliberal policy impact on education in the developing world, Delgado-Ramos and Saxe-Fernandez (2009) provide a classic example of how Bretton Wood institutions (WB and IMF) policies of privatisations of public education have impacted upon Mexico's education system. Their argument is that through cooperation with the power of the elite ruling group in Mexico the World Bank has successfully achieved its market-oriented agenda in education. The World Bank's market oriented education agenda in Mexico is reflected in the following quotation:

Mexico's strategic objective should be a dramatic increase in productivity through knowledge-based integration into global value chains and participation in knowledge networks. To achieve this Mexico will require reform of its system of national innovation and enterprise up-grading. A dynamic and flexible innovation system must be led by private demand and it must respond to private sector needs…in the short term, the policy agenda should focus on formulating a cohesive strategy, improving incentivises, and increasing the role of the private sector…the policy agenda should focus on formulating a cohesive strategy, improving incentives and increasing the role of the private sector in public programmes (World Bank 2006 report on Mexico's challenge of knowledge-based competitiveness referenced by Ramos and Saxe-Fernandez, 2009:48)

Ramos and Saxe-Fernandez (2009) observe that the implication of the above policy blue print in the Mexican context has been the privatisation of public universities, which resulted changes in their financing and administration systems. The privatisation initiative has led to Mexican higher education institutions becoming orientated to the market rather than public ownership, or governmental planning, increased deregulation of public education institutions, promotion of the ideology that education must be conceived and managed through the market and made available at certain prices, shifting costs to students. Such privatisation and marketisation policies have also slowly trickled down to the secondary and primary education provision in Mexico.

Ramos and Saxe-Fernandez have also observed that the World Bank and IMF have used highly conditioned loans to achieve the above policy objectives in Mexican education. However, after paying 56% of Mexico's debt with World Bank in 2006 the country still

owes US $ 5.6 billion and by 2007 new loans of 1.6 billion had been negotiated. Ramos and Saxe-Fernandez argue that in the Mexican context the World Bank's privatisation of public education has resulted in economic crises, reduced nation sovereignty in policy making processes, increased unemployment, wide spread class conflict and the transformation of education into a market commodity that can only be bought by high income families and partially by middle income families.

Herve Some (2009) provides another classic example of how neoliberal education forces have had major implications in Burkino Faso. Burkino Faso belongs to one of the highly indebted poor countries in Africa. Its human development index (HDI), life expectancy, education and its Per Capita Income places Burkino Faso in 172nd position out of 175 in the comparative world development index. Herve Some observes that in the last 12 years the World Bank and the EU have jointly loaned Burkino Faso about US $ 90 million to restructure its education policies and practices in line with the global establishments of the competitive market in education. As a result of this, global neo-liberal forces of privatisation and marketisation were introduced into Burkino Faso's education system. Herve Some observes that the outcomes of the neoliberal policies in Burkino Faso's context were similar to those earlier described in the Mexican context (see above). He also observes increasing local resistance to neoliberal education policies. For example, rather than the education policy decisions been made by the Bretton Wood institutions (WB and IMF) under the disguise of the "*market"* and collaborative local elites the local communities were now searching for alternative education in partnership with institutions that favour grass root development initiatives (i.e. the Catholic Church organisations, Intermon-Oxfam, ADEA among others).

Contrary to the above assumption King and Simon (2002) assume that globalisation will have significant positive impact on African societies and economies for the foreseeable future. Therefore, strategies for the Africans to survive in the current world must, according to King and McGrath, become strategies to compete better in markets increasingly impacted by globalisation. This assumption has implications for education because knowledge and skills possessed by individuals, enterprises and nations will determine how effective nation states and individuals compete in the global market, thus leading to a process of learning-led competitiveness among the global nations. The core of King's and Simon's globalisation message in Africa is that pockets of activity isolated from the global market are rapidly diminishing; therefore it is essential that policy

interventions and projects that seek to help the poor should be closely intertwined with policies for global competitiveness. The authors cite Kenya, South Africa and Ghana as nations that have made significant gains in their education reconstruction in order to promote the skills of abstraction, systems thinking, experimentation and collaboration that are needed to be acquired in the current process of knowledge- driven developments. However, from a functionalist's point of view increasing numbers of other African writers call for transnationalisation of education policies and practices that are transferred from the developed world in the African context. For example, Mazrui 1999 referenced by (Robertson et al 2007) point out that no country has advanced scientifically without significantly developing indigenous language. Mazrui gives examples of Japan and Korea as countries that have indigenised their "knowledge based economy" and as a result have significantly advanced their science and technology development. India and China could also be included in this category of countries.

According to Robertson et al. (2007) the wider perspective of the African response to globalisation and its implication for education and training has been a mixture of both welcoming gestures and scepticism. For example, the new regionalism in Africa which is both a process of intergovernmental collaboration as well as informal networks and associations between actors in civil society, NGOs and learning institutions at a number of different levels could be seen as a means of increased communication that can facilitate policy learning simultaneously with a number of African contexts. The new African institutions that have been enacted to facilitate learning between nations both within Africa and outside Africa include Commission for Africa (CFA), New Partnership for African Development (NEPARD), Forum for African Women Educationists (FAWE- an institution created by World Bank), Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), Africa Virtual university (AVU) and Association of African Universities (AAU). The structure and organisation of these institutions includes, and hinges on, both governmental cooperation as well as informal non-governmental memberships, thus providing a unique opportunity for sharing and disseminating practices across country contexts in matters relating to policy formation, policy analysis and research outcomes.

Robertson et al. (2007) analysis of the involvement of the above new institutions in the African education and the emerging education themes in African suggests that most Africans have acknowledged the need to have a new direction in education. This new direction emphasises the development of human capital defined by science and technology,

skills and competences development. Other themes that are part of this initiative include emphasis on quality, effectiveness and the involvement of the private sector in education. Likewise there is recognition that there is a need to integrate human rights, social cohesion, commitment to peace, African languages and cultures to the new economic discourses in education. The argument presented is that these measures will reduce the undesirable outcomes associated with neoliberal education ideologies of marketisation such as increased inequality, loss of culture and identity, excess individualism and a widening gap between the poor and well off sections of the population. The African writers that hold and support an African re-contextualised knowledge based economy that has connections with global markets include Ajululu, 2001, Cheru, 2002, Khor, 2002 (referenced by Robertson 2007:180). However, there are other critics who ague that the promotion of the neoliberal-model of education in Africa is a reflection of the hegemony of the new neoliberal economic model that is disguised to slot Africa into global markets (Mittelman 2000 referenced by Robertson 2007:180)

3.2.6: Higher education institutions as agents of globalisation

Higher Education institutions (Universities) as agents of globalisation cannot be overlooked either in terms of their overseas students' admission and their institutional policies and practices. This point is best demonstrated by the following speech given by the Australian Minister for Education in 2000 about Australian's quality policy in Higher Education.

"Australia is part of global community delivering higher education and the increased emphasis on quality assurance is a global phenomenon…" (Kemp 1999 cited in Vidovich, 2004: 343)

Whether neo-liberal economic policy has transformed higher education institutions for better or worse is contested. Slaughter and Leslie 1997 (cited in Shumar, 2004:827) observe that the major English speaking countries (Australia, United Kingdom, United States and Canada) have directly translated the neo- liberal economic policies into science and technology policies aimed at major granting agencies that fund higher education research. This technique serves the trick of the carrot and the stick. Because universities now operate like private enterprises in terms of their strategic thinking, they devote their energy and resources to where they see markets opening up and where they can secure funding. As a result there has been a tendency for them to promote faculties and academic

disciplines that could attract grants and funds from the government, grant agencies and private corporations. This has led to the closure or under valuation of faculties that the university administrators perceive as liabilities. Because of these, faculties like genetics, biosciences, medicine, computer science and information science were accorded special status because of their potentiality to generate income. In addition, universities were also pressurised by nation states to support the growth of technology-based industries if they wanted to attract funding.

Barrow 1990 (cited in Shumar, 2004) also notes what can be described as a power shift. Traditionally, faculties played a very significant role in the university's governance. They had the autonomy of decision making in matters relating to their research orientation, student admission criteria and numbers admitted, design and structure of their courses, methods of teaching, learning and delivery. In all these matters there has been significant erosion of influence by the economising and enterprise oriented university administrators. For example, Barrow (ibid) identifies how faculties are pressurised to produce research that fits within applied research goals of corporations, teach courses that can either serve these applied research ends or draw more students to their departments.

These practices re-define the social relationship of teaching and learning because the most important aspect has become the notion of delivering and selling courses as quickly as possible with the least cost so as to make the maximum profit. This sounds more like the neo-liberal policy of profit maximisation rather than an academic teaching and learning relationship. Lyortard 1984 cited in Shumar (2004) sum up the adaptation and transformation of higher education institutions under neo-liberalism ideologies with the assertion that universities are increasingly dominated by a means-ends rationality and bottom line policy. The commercialisation of the universities has led to several significant structural changes. These changes include adopting from the private sector labels, processes and structures from administration to budgetary strategies that focus on profit and reward entrepreneurship and discourses of accountability that stress the client and the delivery system.

These neo- liberal policies, which are associated with globalisation, had an influential impact on higher education institution's settings and ideologies. Vidovich (2004) observes that Australian universities are classic examples of how higher education institutions have wholly embraced the discourse of market ideology in their service provision. The

relationship between the global corporate sector and the higher education institutions can be described as a 'symbiotic relationship', in the sense that the corporate sector needs these institutions of learning to provide knowledge and 'expertise' necessary for the industrial and service sector. The professional graduates from these institutions also need reward for their labour from prospective employers. Both these sectors (i.e. the corporate and higher education institutions also in turn rely on the national governments structure, organisation and economic policies thereby creating a three dimensional policy relationship (i.e. state-corporate-higher education sectors relationship). For example, in the case of Somaliland the government has politico-economic agendas that are primarily informed and defined by being economically competitive in the global market. This economic agenda of the government in turn influences the reconstruction of education and teacher education.

In addition to the role of the higher education institutions as agents contributing towards education globalisation, in the context of Somaliland there is an active Diaspora community that contributes to the processes of lesson drawing, policy transfer and policy learning in the local national policy making processes. I now reflect upon the role of this sector.

3.2.7: Diaspora communities as agents of globalisation

The role of Diaspora professionals as agents of globalisation and development cannot be overlooked. Although this area has not attracted much research, there is evidence that migrant communities who live in western developed nations have influenced both the ideologies and development agenda of their home countries. According to a World Bank report (cited in AFFORD, 2000) between 2 million and 3 million people emigrate each year, the majority of them to just four countries: the United States of America, Germany, Canada, and Australia. And the number has been rising by 2% each year. This process has created trans-national communities within the developed nations. Green (cited in AFFORD, 2000) notes that trans-nationalism is a process whereby trans-migrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that connect their societies of origin with the societies of settlement. Similarly, Pires-Hester (cited in AFFORD, 2000) uses the concept of bilateral diaspora ethnicity, defined as "the strategic use of ethnic identification with an original overseas homeland to benefit that homeland through relations with systems and institutions of the current actual homeland".

A recent report by UNDP (2009) estimates that 14% of Somalias' population is now living outside the country as a Diaspora community, a proportion so large as to justify describing Somalia as a truly "*globalised nation*" (Menkhaus 2009 referenced by Sheikh and Healy (2009:6). There are two categories of this Diaspora community: (1) those living in neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda Djibouti and Yemen, and (2) the second category of Diaspora community lives mainly OECD countries such as the UK, USA, Canada, Netherlands, Sweden, Italy, Denmark and Germany. Lindley, 2007 (referenced by Sheikh and Healy 2009:18) estimates the Somali Diaspora remittance flows up to US $1.6 billion to Somalia and $700 million to Somaliland in 2004. The same report states that the Diaspora remittances represent 23% of overall household income with 40% of the houses receiving some assistance. A similar report by the United Nations and World Bank Coordination Secretariat (Somali Joint Need Assessment) in the year 2006 also states that the Diaspora remittances represented 71% of the Somali GNP estimated to be around US $ 1.54 billion (www.somali-jna.org).

In addition to household support and contributions to GNP the Somali and Somaliland Diaspora members contribute skills and technical support to the government and institutions in their homeland both formally and informally. For example, in 2004 the UNDP initiated the QUEST project to encourage Somali expatriate nationals in OECD countries to volunteer their expertise in the service of their homeland. Secondly, the Somali Diaspora is the major investor in the country and provides up to 80% of start up capital in Somalia. A World Bank report (2006) acknowledges this positive Diaspora contribution in Somalia and states that despite the absence of the central government of Somalia and the constant conflicts, the social and economic costs in Somalia have been mitigated by remittances from the Diaspora community in OECD countries. In the case of Somaliland, nothing examplifies more the contribution of its Diaspora community than the role it has played in education reconstruction. For example, in Somaliland there are four institutions of higher education i.e. Amoud, Hargiesa, Burao and Golis Universities. The Somaliland Diaspora community in the West has played a crucial role both in terms of the initial establishment and the current maintenance of these institutions both financially and academically. Hence one can argue that this Diaspora community-country of origin relationship is part of what Appadurai (2001) describes as flows and disjunctures constituted by flows of persons, ideas, technologies, techniques, ideologies, images and objects.

3.2.8: Summary

So far, in this chapter, I have concentrated the process of education policy development and the conceptual frameworks of policy transfer, lesson drawings, policy learning and the various agents which facilitate policy transfer or learning to occur. Most of the discussions and the reviews in these sections were done under the thematic perspective of education policy globalisation. The discourses of economic rationalism, corporate managerialism and human capital were seen as the core ideological assumptions underpinning the contemporary global education policies. In the final part of the chapter, I now focus upon the impact of globalising educational policies on teacher education and teacher professionalism.

Section three

3.3: Impact of globalising educational policies on teacher education and teacher professionalism

Over the past decades, any one who has followed educational policies in many countries cannot fail to see the trend of shifting discourses in teacher education and professionalism, which resulted from radical reforms in teacher education based on the neoliberal agenda of constructing education as a discourse of human capital. Teacher education and teacher professionalism has changed as a consequence of this shifting economic discourse. Quicke (2000) observes how these reforms have re-defined the teaching profession and impacted upon teachers' daily lives and duties. Critical review of the literature contextualising teacher professionalism based on the neo-liberal economic policy i.e. Hargreaves (1994) and Quicke (2000) suggest that the focus of teacher education reforms in many parts of the western developed world have focused on re-visioning of the work of teachers and teacher education. The discourses of teacher education and professionalism that are promoted within neo-liberal political spaces include outcome based standards; evidence based practice; professional collaboration and collegiality, partnership in delivery, quality in terms of efficiency and effectiveness(value for money); competencies, emphasis on professional development; continuous appraisal, increased regulation, accountability and transparency (Hargreaves, 1994, Quicke, 2000, UNECO, 2001 and TTA:UK, 2003). But the question is what effects did these discourses have on the teaching profession?

The effects of the above discourses on teaching profession is a complex and contested matter and I belief there is no absolute answer to it as there is no absolute agreement on what constitutes a profession. However, although this research does not propose to answer whether teaching is a profession or not, the background analysis of the history and theory of the professional project provides an insight into the altering professional identity of teachers which emerged from contemporary reforms to the policies and practices of teacher education.

Teaching is an occupation that is embedded in both social and political contexts. For example, in most cases, teacher education is controlled by governments, but also in practice, by other actors who manage education e.g. teacher educators, head teachers and school teachers themselves. Corrigan and Haberman (cited in Anderson 2002:255) argue that teacher education and teacher professionalism is influenced by five spheres of influence. These include: (1) the society, (2) the state, (3) the universities, (4) colleges of education and (5) schools. They also suggested that teacher education and teacher professionalism will change when one or more spheres of influence changes or dominates others. This pre-disposition involves values and social interests to be contested. In addition, the practices of teaching and teacher education occur within a broader band of structural relations in which schooling is located. This structural relation is also intertwined with another layer of context in which there are struggles in power relationships. For example, the fields of politics and economics directly impact on education policies and practices.

Unlike the past decades, the perspectives under which 'professional expertise' have been studied and scrutinised has changed. For example until the 1960's, the sociology of the professions was an area in which functionalist theory flourished ((Macdonald, 1995). This perspective borrowed views from Durkheim who viewed the motives of professionals as selfless and as offering a moral basis to the existing society of the time against the dangers of individualism (Durkheim 1992). In 1970, the analysis of professionism shifted to a consideration of power relationships, in which professionals were seen as groups seeking desirable resources such as power, social and cultural authority, improved working conditions and greater financial rewards rather than being motivated by altruism and selflessness. This philosophical view of the professionals was influenced by the work of Larson (1977). Similarly, contemporary debates and changes in teacher education and teacher professionalism advocated by many nations have redefined and reconstituted the

aims, content, structure and process of teacher education and teacher professionalism. In addition to these aspects of teacher education, this reconstitution seems also to be concerned with the control, location and the very nature of professionalism itself (Barton et al 1994). This reconstruction of teacher education and teacher professionalism is subsumed within national discourses of political and economic neo-liberalism in an environment increasingly dominated by globalisation of trade, economic competitiveness, knowledge and skills.

Macdonald (1995:1) prefers to use the word occupations rather than professions for sociological clarity. He defines professions as "occupations based on advanced or complex or esoteric knowledge". Day (1999) also notes that professionals are distinguished from other workers because they have a codified body of knowledge, strong collective identity, service ethic and professional identity. Because of these attributes of professionals, Larson (1977) uses the phrase 'Social Closure' referring to the ability of a profession to exclude others from its domain of power and influence. The critical reflection on the phrase of social closure indicates that for a profession to exclude others from its domain, first it must have the power and status to do so. Has the teaching profession ever attained such power and status to exclude others from its domain and more critically how do the new emerging discourses of teacher education and professionalism such as outcome based standards; evidence based; professional collaboration, collegiality, accountability and transparency increased or decreased such power or status to exclude others from its domain of influence. The implications of these new discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism have drawn on the debate of whether the teaching profession has been re-professionalized or de-professionalized. The significance of drawing this discussion in my thesis is that education and teacher education reconstruction in Somaliland has resulted new features of teacher education and professionalism (these features are drawn and discussed in chapters 5, 6, and 7). The introduction of these features in Somaliland context has generated contestations and counter- contestations of whether teachers are been "*re*" or "*de*" professionalised by the evolutionary intervention measures among the various education and teacher education stakeholders. By drawing similar discussions in the global context, I anticipate that the related discussions in the Somaliland context will be well informed. I now proceed to reflect upon these two contesting positions in global context.

3.3.1: The re-professionalisation point

Delanshere and Petrosky (2004) described and reflected upon the reforms of teacher education in Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States of America as an international convergence towards uniformity, conformity and compliance with the neo-liberal economic and political discourses. In their analysis of teacher education reforms they argue that these countries have taken the lead in adopting the previously highlighted new discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism and made explicit assumptions that the new discourses constitute as a measure of re-professionalising teachers. This view is consistent with the policy guidelines of the Australian College of Education which encourages teachers to work collaboratively with their colleagues (Brock cited in Leonard and Leonard, 2003); The General Teaching Council of England which advocates that the bases for raising schooling standards lies largely in collaborative enquiries and open active professional learning; in Canada The Ontario College of Teachers asserts that teachers are educational leaders only when they collaborate with their colleagues, parents and members of the community; in USA, The Interstates New Teachers Assessment and Support Consortium recommends that new teachers be prepared to foster relationship with school colleagues in order to improve students' learning (Leonard and Leonard, 2003). Hargreaves (1994) also supports the new emerging collaborative culture of the teaching profession.

The common assumption made by the above advocates of collaboration and other new discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalisms (i.e. accountability, competence, evidenced based etc) is that the new discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism can translate into increased efficiency by eliminating duplication of activities, greater diversity of teaching strategies, and increased capacity of reflection which is seen as democratic and educationally productive. In support of the new teacher professionalism of collaboration and collegiality in the UK, Furlong et al. 2000 (cited in Sachs, 2001) also notes that, "*long gone, when isolated unaccountable professionals made curriculum and pedagogical decisions".* In his view, it is essential to change teachers' professionalism in order to re-construct the nature of the knowledge base, skills and values of modern teachers in a modern society.

Other arguments but forward for the adoption of the new discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism include belief that the new collaborative culture will enhance

teaching -learning quality as well as will contribute to the institutional development of the educational institutions within a changing times characterised by shifting knowledge base, technology, knowledge society and economy. Therefore teachers in this new context have to work in networks and be involved in networks to cope up with uncertainties and changing contexts (Hargreaves 1994).

3.3.2: The de-professionalisation point

However, other researchers see the new professionalism as comprising increased managerialism, masking the hidden forces of disciplinary and bureaucratic power exerted to control teachers' autonomy and professional judgement. For example Sachs (2001) identifies the dominant discourse in Australian's new teacher professionalism as managerial professionalism. She also notes similar practices in the USA and UK. Similarly, studies carried out by Flores and Shiroma (2003) of teacher professionalisation and professionalism in Brazil and Portugal suggest that the concept of lifelong learning pioneered by UNESCO has affected teacher education in these countries. In their analysis they described, how recent policies and reforms in education have introduced the discourses of managerial practices, collaboration, and standardisation of curriculum and assessment, which all call for new ways of approaching the teaching –learning profession. Similar argument of the new discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism serving as de-professionalisation of teaching profession is observed by Codd (2005). According to him the neo-liberal agendas of economic rationalism, managerialism, commercialisation and globalisation, have produced an erosion of trust and a degradation of teaching as profession. Particularly, Codd observes the effects of corporate business involvement in education as the principal strategy in reducing professional trust of the teachers and changing the relationship between teachers and the nation state. However, one has to be cautious in Codd's assertion, in the sense that he assumes a particular view of a profession. For example, a profession that has the earlier cited description features of Macdonald's (1995) and Larsons' (1977)' description of autonomy and social closure.

Clarke 1995, cited in Saches (2001) also observes that the wider global economic reforms based on the neo-liberal agenda of efficiency and effectiveness of public service delivery have significantly undermined the professionalism of teachers. Clark observes that the re-structuring of teachers work has resulted standardisation of practice in teaching profession. The implication of this is that teachers can no longer claim to be autonomous in their

professional practice. This standardisation of practice can in turn facilitate others gaining control of teachers work because once practices of labour is standardised it is easy to design instruments of audit and control. For example those who control teachers work can as a result of this produce evaluation sheets or tick boxes that measure teachers' competences. This practice erodes the reflexivity and dynamism involved in teaching – learning processes. It also assumes that different contexts in which teaching occurs can be standardised. Other authors have critiqued the managerial model of new teacher professionalism because they argue that this mode of control which the private sector sees as an efficient way of solving problems cannot be adopted in teaching profession (Rees cited in Sachs, 2001)

These managerial practices have created debates about teachers' professional identity. In relation to this managerial practice education institutions' quality achievement efforts focus on the measurement of students' scores in standardised tests. Arguably, teachers and schools have become obsessed with measurement techniques, devoting their energies to measuring quality gains and performance, so as to please external auditors and be safe within the scrutiny of audit. The effects of the new discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism on professional practice and teacher identities can be summed up as reduced discretionary judgement; reduced opportunities to engage with the moral and social purpose of education and increased commitment to work with others. This reduced autonomy and increased external controls of teachers work by others can be seen as a form of de-professionalisation.

Etizioni (1969) observes that teachers claim professionalism because of their professional judgement and discretion exercised in their work. However, from the above analysis one might argue that the new teacher professionalism based on collaborative culture as well as disciplinary and bureaucratic control has eroded teachers' professionality and professionalism, reinforcing Etizionis's assertion of teachers as having a semi-professional image. Other researchers like Denmore cited in Mcdonald (1995) view new professionalism as the "*proletarianisation*" of teachers work. The concept of proletarianisation originates from the capitalist method of production. It involves tendencies to regulate labour organisation such as increasing division of labour, transforming high-level tasks into routines and growing control over each step of the labour process, thus increasing the workload of each individual. This practice of subjecting teachers to administrative bureaucracies and routinising 'expertise' via

bureaucratic procedures, achieves a similar function to the proletarianisation strategy of capitalism. Bureaucracies are not simply systems of rules they are means of handling knowledge and practice and therefore are a threat to professional knowledge, judgement and ultimately to professional power. On the other hand bureaucracies can be part of the necessary infrastructure that supports professional practices such as education.

Popkewitz (1994) observes that teacher education reforms have made the teaching profession more bureaucratic in the name of professionalisation. Standardised hiring practices, uniform curriculum policies and teacher evaluation procedures are some of the elements of the reforms that have resulted in increased bureaucratisation. However, Popkewitz's (ibid) argument that teaching professionalism is being increasingly bureaucratised sidelines the role of the state. The state as one of the key stakeholders in teacher education provides the infrastructure, policies and procedures necessary for teacher education and the teaching profession to function effectively. Therefore, while acknowledging the negative effects that increased bureaucratisation can have on the teaching profession, there is also a need to situate the discussion in a broader perspective which considers balanced governance and sharing of roles and responsibilities among the teacher education stakeholders.

The re-professionalisation practices or the perceived de-professionalisation practices resulting from global teacher education reforms have increased teachers' accountability. Kogan (1986) defines accountability as a condition in which individual role holders are liable to review and suffer the application of sanctions, if their actions fail to satisfy those to whom they are accountable. Characteristically, teachers undertake self-reflection and audit on their professional practice. For example, they audit how well their students understood lessons, how they managed classes, or how students performed formative assessments. This can constitute one particular discourse of professionalism as self determining and autonomous in decision making. However, the new teacher professionalism has been much characterised by external audit, whereby teachers explain their professional practice and competences to external auditors i.e. to the Ministry of Education school inspectors in most African countries or OFSTED inspectors in UK schools. The rapid increase of the use of external educational accountability can be construed as either lack of trust to the professionals or increased quest for quality or both. The quest for quality in education is an international phenomenon. Many countries around the world are adopting the philosophy of quality and external accountability as the basses

for restructuring their education system and teacher education. But do these external audits mean strategies for transferring power and decision making from the professional teachers to the state?

Quicke (2000) examines the notion of professionalism in relation to the contemporary context in which professionals work. In his view, as the society changes, so does the social and cultural context of professionalism. For example, he paints a vivid picture of how the forces of increased individual reflexivity, an intellectual and popular sceptism, feminist critique and New Right critique in Western societies have challenged and weakened the popular voice and power of the state, expertise, knowledge and thus the role of the professionals in what he calls *'postmodernist times'*. This disjuncture between modern society, professionals, state power and capitalist economy in the western and developed world have increasingly reinforced the Marxist and Weberian theories of professionals as interest groups linked to the class system of capitalist society. This reinforced principle of doubt has questioned the extent to which the resolutions of social problems could be based on 'expert' objectivity (in the form of professional discretion or autonomy).

3.3.3: Re-conceptualising teacher education for a global future

Education policies and practices occur both in social and political contexts. In the political context education reforms ca be been seen as an attempt by governments to control and mould new teachers and student teachers so as to prepare them for what government sees as the task of economic, ideological and cultural reproduction (Hill, 2001). There is belief that teachers' work is related to the production and reproduction of knowledge, attitudes and ideology (Althusser, Harris, Apple, Ainley cited in Hill, 2001). The English teacher education reforms and debates in the 1990s provide a picture of how politicians can use teachers and teacher educators as tools for propagating their political ideologies. Demaine (1995) observes that, in England and Wales, teacher education reforms became the central aspect of the Conservative Governments' education policy in early 1990. During this period there was continuous attack on the alleged political ideology of teacher trainers and on the character of the courses offered. Conservative party politicians sensing danger and political threat from the ideological orientation of faculties of education wanted to reform teacher education using the discourse of power relationship. Initially teachers and teacher educators resisted these changes. However, through dismantling and reorganisation of the educational infrastructure and through the introduction of new criteria for funding

allocation, the Government overcame its resistance to change. This is evidenced by the changed nature of teacher education and teacher professionalism where the competence-evidence based model of teacher education become the dominant model; shifts to towards school-based approaches in teacher training, the emergence of more centralised forms of accountability of teacher competence, introduction of increased governmental control tied to specified funding and accreditation criteria, more emphasis on outcome based standards; increased emphasis on partnership and collaboration and defined quality criteria. Even when the UK Labour Government took over from the Conservatives many of the previous government's educational ideologies remained unchanged. In fact under the New Labour government there has been even more corporate involvement in education policies and practices (e.g. private sector taking over failing schools to establish new academies that have new looks).

In relation to the above argument, Ball (2009) explores aspects of privatisation of public sector in education in UK. He also examines how the New Labour's education modernisation programmes constitute more accountability and performance management. In his analysis he points out that the government's hiring of private consultancies has increased 42% without using its own staff. For example, Ball identifies over 50 consultancies work in education policy and research undertaken by Price Water House Consultancy Company since 2001 for the government which coasted billions of pounds. He calls this privatising educational policy and research. Similarly, Ball et al (1997:148) observe two types of increased accountability in UK schools and teachers. They call the first one *market accountability* and the second one *political accountability*. Their assertion is that the combined processes of these two types of accountability have led to the encroachment of the managerial model in schools management and teachers work.

The relationship between professionalism and production and reproduction of knowledge, attitudes and ideology is discussed by Popkewitz (1994:7) who argues that professional knowledge are not only knowledge that describe the world but are systems of ideas and practices that authorise how people find out what they are in society. It is this knowledge that help us to come to grips with abstract systems that place our individuality in the world that transcend the local, communal, national and international. For example, we participate in education and schooling in economic systems that are often global and in state governing systems in which we are citizens. Each system imposes sets of obligations and responsibilities on what we do and how we are to think of ourselves as members of these

systems of relations. At the same time professional knowledge provides strategies by which our sense of self is re-embedded in a community (Giddens 1990 cited in Popkewitz, 1994:7). The above functional role of professional knowledge makes appealing for governments to control what constitute teachers knowledge base. The Holmes report (1985) cited in Popkewitz (1994:6) asserts that the reform of teacher education "depends upon engaging the complex work of identifying the knowledge base for competent teaching and developing the content and strategies whereby it is imparted". This report, further argues that, the right knowledge base for teachers can give teachers the higher cognitive resources needed to make good pedagogical decisions and manage productively the hundreds of distinct interactions they will have with pupils each day.

But what is this right knowledge base for teachers? And how can the different paradigm of teacher education practically translate into teacher education curriculum that promotes either the diverse functions of education i.e.(social cohesion, realisation of individual potentiality, national economic competitiveness, preservation of cultural heritage and national identity or specific discourses such as promoting instruments of national economic policies? Investigations of these questions are critical for my research problem because they provide an understanding of how teacher education policies and practices in Somaliland can be improved by incorporating lesson drawing and policy transfer in the national policy making processes so as to make an informed decisions in future.

According to a report from Association for Teacher Education in Europe research project (Snoek et al, 2003) there are four contesting paradigms in which teacher education programmes are likely to be located in future. These are:

1. individual pragmatism approach;
2. individual idealism approach;
3. social pragmatism approach;
4. social coherent individualism;

In the individual pragmatism approach, model 1, Snoek et al, (2003) described the main focus of education and teacher professionalisms as the promotion of individual responsibility; problem solving; freedom of choice; self determination; individual growth. The central theme of this approach is education for employment. The provision of public education with this background ideology emphasise state's desire to prioritise economic development through the creation of individuals who are self- determined in pursuance of

their education and employment. From this model, it is assumed that the cumulative effect of the production of economically strong individuals might result in an economically competitive nation. However, because this paradigm is geared towards economic goals, there is a possibility that the social aims of education are neglected. The implications of this model could be the stratification of society according to economic strengths and neglect of research and knowledge practices that do not result into any direct economic gains (i.e. those that are geared towards the realisation of social and cultural objectives). Privatisation of public services and a very active and influential corporate sector in both public policy making and provision of public services are also an integral part of this model because the state perceives them as partners in an efficient way of producing goods and services.

The second paradigm, model 2, is that of "individual idealism", in which the main underlying principles are respect for persons, individual rights and freedom, tolerance for diversity and individual responsibility. Public education provision based on these principles creates highly liberal policies and practices in the society, schools, training institutions and work force. Although individualism is one of the products of the current era of post modernity in western developed nations, it is difficult to imagine how any state could function and provide public services in an environment where every individual is independent and different from others. The loss of commonality in this scenario could result in survival of the fittest and anarchy, low social responsibility, and high tendencies to social vulnerability.

The third paradigm, model 3, is that of "social-coherent pragmatism." The main features of this ideological approach to education are the commonality and centrality of public provisions. The aim is to create common organisational structures around human life and the central tool that can achieve this purpose is education and schooling. The problem with this approach is that there is a possibility of social stagnation, lack of innovation, invention and imagination.

The fourth paradigm is described as "social- coherent idealism" and takes a mid position between the above model two and three. The apparent assumption is that the end product is a society that is both homogenous and heterogynous. The main limitation involved in this approach is the state's temptation to absolutely control the ideologies in the society under the pretext of knowing what is the best for all the citizens, which can lead to indoctrination and this depresses the chances for innovation and progress.

Andersson (2003) presents alternative argument. She identified the following four possible paradigms upon which teacher education policies and practices could be based.

1. the traditional craft model: this approach aims to create teachers that will function immediately in schools of today;
2. the critical social paradigm: the aim of this model is to develop teachers who can change the school of today for the school of future;
3. the academic paradigm: the aim of this paradigm is to create academically able teachers who have knowledge about learning strategies;
4. the personalistic paradigm: the focus of this paradigm is to develop teachers with a personal psychological maturity for the understanding of others.

The limitation of the Snoeke's et al 2003 and Anderson (2003) approaches is that they assume the existence of four separate ideological approaches to training teachers and providing public education. Although the degree of emphasis favouring a particular approach could vary from one country to another, in reality most governments aim to provide a combined initiative of the different perspectives. However it is important to point out the range of contradictory tensions that can result from the combination of these approaches in developing education policies. For example, policies aimed to increase the economic function of education could undermine the social function of education.

From the four approaches presented in Snoeke, et al's. analysis the individual pragmatism approach seems the dominant global approach because the main underlying principle of contemporary education and teacher education reforms is economic competition as evidenced by education instruments of economic policies in Britain (Young, 1998); Hong Kong (Choi, 2005), USA (Gideonse, 1993), Norway (Garm & Karlsen, 2004) and many other nations around the world. Young, (1998:52) observes that most teacher education policies in the western developed world have responded to globalisation and global competition by (a) the development of new concepts of learning, (b) a rethinking of the teacher education curriculum, (c) the development of new forms of partnership between schools and universities, and (d) a reconsideration of how the professional skills and knowledge of teachers are assessed and by whom.

Popkewitz (1994) argues that the way the teacher knowledge base, curriculum and learning are conceptualised can serve as a tool for social regulation. In his analysis he argues that pedagogy is concerned with the selection, organisation and evaluation of knowledge, including content and language use. According to him these aspects of pedagogy are more than cognitive lenses; they are ways of thinking, seeing, feeling and acting in the world. In this sense, we can understand the acts of teaching as forms of social regulation. Similarly, Foucault's (referenced by Popkewitz, ibid) argument that knowledge is a form of power and this power is embodied in the manner by which people gain and use it to intervene their social affairs can also be drawn to evidence the significance attached to the knowledge base of teaching profession.

Darling-Hammond (2006) observes that many countries around the world that have initiated teacher education reforms have been primarily concerned with what goes in to the 'black box' (teacher education curriculum). One clear picture that has emerged from the international literature relating to teacher education reforms in the developed western world is a shift of the curriculum from discipline-based to classroom problem solving based curricula. For example, Young (1998) observes this trend in UK. In the 1980s, teacher education curricula in the UK were dominated by educational disciplines, especially philosophy, psychology and sociology. The assumption was that these disciplines formed the key part of the content of what professional teachers needed to know. During the reforms most of these disciplines were withdrawn from teacher education because they were not considered to provide an adequate model for students to understand the problems that they face in the classrooms. However, critics to these changes argue that these disciplines were seen as politically critical rather than constructive to good classroom pedagogy. Therefore the changes were informed politically rather than pedagogically. Whatever the reasons for the teacher education transformation were, it is explicit in most literatures that the distribution of power has shifted from the education professionals towards the state bureaucratic machinery. In observing the effects of global reforms on teacher education and teacher professionalism Codd (2005: 193) states that under the neoliberal policies of *marketisation* the global education industry has transformed and presented teachers as "the managed professionals."

Young (1998) further argues that the best way to discuss this re-conceptualisation process of teacher education is by drawing on the idea of modernisation developed by Giddens. Young defines modernisation as a generic term which can be used to refer to the changes

designed to replace the traditional institutions and modes of practices by institutions and practices that are more rational in decision making (Young 1998:54). In his analysis of global reforms of teacher education Young has drawn on three forms of modernisation processes. These are (1) evolutionary modernisation: among the features that are associated with this type of modernisation are a belief in the link between science and progress; the extension of rational and scientific methods from technical matters to decisions about education and health and the structural differentiation of occupations and increasingly specialised production of knowledge. (2) technocratic modernisation: in addition to the features associated with the evolutionary modernisation this modernisation policy has introduced business efficiency models to education and other aspects of public provisions and the extension of evaluation, monitoring and testing of skills Young 1998:54).

Teacher education programmes in the USA, Australia and Europe are currently based on this above "technocratisation process" and many more countries in the developing world are still struggling to reform their education systems according to this model. However, Young identifies limitations in this model. For example, he cites how priorities of greater control and technocratic practice have created teacher demoralisation and fall in teacher recruitment. Similarly, Beck et al. referenced by Young argues that the adaptation of technocratic practices in education lacks social input therefore this approach creates problems that cannot be solved.

The point that Young makes in his analysis of current and global future of teacher education using the phenomena of modernisation concept is that there is a need to move towards a third modernisation process defined as (3) reflexive modernisation because of the above identified concerns and recognitions of limitations of adopting evolutionary and technocratic principles in public social organisations such as educational institutions. He conceptualises reflexive modernisation as a process of public learning and he beliefs that this shift would involve the development of a dialogue between all education and teacher education stakeholders thus leading to collective intelligence.

3.3.4: Chapter summary

In this chapter, using three separate sections, I examined three inter-related frameworks of discussion. These included (1) the processes of education policy development; (2) the

processes of lesson drawing and policy transfer and (3) the impacts of globalising educational policies on teacher education and teacher professionalism. The first conceptual framework of the processes of education policy development has drawn upon the policy perspectives and the nature of policy making processes from different authors. This included Berkhout and Wielemans (1999), Rist (2003), Kingdon (1995) and Ball's (1994) conceptions of policy and policy making processes. The central themes that occurred most of the authors' definitions of policy and conception of the nature of the policy making processes were: (1) policy making as involving critical decision making; (2) phenomenon of power relationship; and (3) resource contestations among the various policy actors.

In my discussions, using mainly Bourdieu concepts of habitus, and social fields and Foucault's conception power in its capillary form I discussed how the above themes shape the process of policy making.

In section two of the chapter, I defined concepts of lesson drawing, policy transfer and policy learning and discussed the various forms and perspectives under which these phenomena can influence national education policy making processes. Particular themes that occurred in this section were how the processes of lesson drawing and policy transfer were leading to policy learning and thus influencing countries national education policy making processes and eventually contributing to the process of educational policy globalisation through the agents of policy transfer such as INGOs, state agencies, higher education institutions and diaspora communities.

In this context the international literature relating to the reforms in education and teacher education suggest that the primary reason cited for the reforms stems from the need to compete successfully in world markets as a condition of economic development. Examples of countries that re-defined their education and teacher education programmes according to these instrument of economic policy include Britain (Young, 1998); Hong Kong (Choi, 2005), USA (Gideonse, 1993), Norway (Garm & Karlsen, 2004). The list could be endless because these economic pressures have influenced educational policies in almost every country. As described in the previous sections of this chapter, promoting this economic discourse has led to the adoption of neo-liberal economic policies, which led to cuts in teacher education expenditure. Under this policy, higher education institutions

including those responsible for teacher education programmes were required to design measures to cut expenditure and maximise the economic benefits of educational spending by increasing efficiency and directing their goals to economic rather than social or cultural ends. In addition, teacher education institutions were required to make a fundamental change in the structure and content of their teacher education programmes. The assumptions of these reforms were that the implementations of the changes will subsequently lead to higher skilled workforce, qualified at a lower cost per person and this will make the country more competitive.

Finally, the chapter examined the consequences of the shifting global education and teacher education discourses on teacher education and teacher professionalism. The two themes that were discoursed included the‘re-*professionalisation'* and ‘*de-professionalisation'* point of views advocated by different researchers. Neither of the two point of views represented a definitive answer to the question of whether the contemporary education and teacher education reforms have had a de-or re professionalisation effects because there is no absolute profession.

The conceptual frame works in this chapter which include policy, policy making processes, lesson drawing, policy transfer and policy learning directly relate and inform my research problem of providing an analytical understanding of how external sources influence and impact upon Somaliland’s education and teacher education policy making processes. These concepts provide the theoretical understandings of: (1) *why* and *how* social policies such as education change; (2) what influences decisions made in national policies; (3) and finally how change impacts on the local context. Chapter 5, 6, an7 of my thesis explicitly explain how the above conceptual frameworks are related to Somaliland’s education and teacher education reconstruction. However, before that, in the next chapter, I now draw the research methodology that I have used to investigate this matter.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0: Methodology: Researching national policymaking processes and policy transfer, in the field of teacher education

4.1: introduction

The previous chapter demonstrated how complex the process of national education policy making is in an increasingly globalised and networked era.

"National policy-making is inevitably a process of bricolage; a matter of borrowing and copying bits and pieces of ideas from elsewhere, drawing upon and amending locally tried-and tested approaches, cannibalising theories, research, trends and fashions, and not infrequently a flailing around for anything at all that looks as though it might work. Most policies are ramshackled, compromised, hit and miss affairs that are reworked, tinkered with, nuanced and inflected through complex processes of influence, text production, dissemination and ultimately recreation in context of practice"

(Ball 2001 referenced by Rinne et al 2002:644)

The literature review also highlighted the various tensions and contestations of how globalisation phenomena in its various forms and associated agencies influence the historical traditions and social frameworks of national decision making mechanisms (the theoretical perspectives which I discussed as either voluntary or coercive policy transfers or lesson drawing). The final part of the literature review focussed on the impact and the resultant features of globalisation in educational policies which are related to broader economic, social and ideological changes. These conceptual frameworks play a significant role in the designing and justification of the choice of the research methodology.

In this methodology chapter, I will first briefly discuss critical discourse analysis as my methodological stance. After a brief overview of this, I will move to draw in my research questions. Secondly, a description and analysis of the nature of the policy making process and the role of research is given. This section mainly draws on models of policy analysis

advocated by Rist (2003), Mitchell (1984), Scheurich (1994), Kingdon (1995) and Fairclough (1989, 1993, 1995, 2003). The third section investigates the relationship between educational research and educational policy by giving comparative analysis of the 'engineering, and 'enlightenment' models of research-policy relationship. Further discussion and analysis of the enlightenment model of research is then provided within the context of the critical interpretive and constructionist research approach. It is within this constructionist approach that the methodology and methods of critical discourse analysis are tailored towards answering this thesis's research questions. In the final section, the chapter explores research methods of using policy documents and interviews as sources of research data and ethical considerations associated with them.

This researcher finds logic in the use and the selection of a constructionist qualitative research position in this policy-oriented research because interpretive inquiry seeks to explain the world in terms of the understanding, experience and meaning generated by its actors (Cohen et al 2003). However, although all qualitative approaches (i.e. interpretive symbolic interractionism, interpretive phenomenology, interpretive hermeneutics, feminist methodology, ethnography and critical theory) provide well developed approaches for understanding the social world and the meaning it has for people, the methodology I have adopted is that of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough (1989, 1993, 1995 and 2003). Fairclough's theory of discourse is based on a three dimensional framework, which includes the analysis of text; analysis of the process of text production, consumption and distribution; and socio-cultural analysis of discursive events and practices. Fairclough's theory of discourse and understanding of policy draws on a Foucauldian theory of discourse as the conjunction of power and knowledge (Foucault 1972) and raises question of how power and ideologies are exercised through policy processes and policy documents. My intention is to conceptualise education policy documents as discursive practices so that eventually, in the subsequent data analysis chapters, I can deconstruct Somaliland's education reform documents and draw the emerging teacher identities represented by these education policy documents. Philips and Hardy (2002:3) state that discourse analysis is a methodology that explains how we know the social world, as well as a set of methods for studying it. In addition, critical discourse analysis offers new opportunities for researchers to explore the empirical ramifications in the light of the linguistic turns that have worked their way through social sciences and humanities in the last 20 years (Philips and Hardy, ibid). The later part of the chapter further extends my use of critical discourse analysis in relation to my specific policy-oriented research.

My methodological choice of critical discourse analysis does not constitute an exclusion of the use of the other constructivist research approaches. In fact, the boundaries between these approaches are fluid and they overlap so rather than strictly sticking to the use of critical discourse analysis, where other approaches aid the context of discussion or the analysis of the texts and data gathered their use will be fully utilised. Philip and Hardy (ibid) observe that critical discourse analysis is a methodological position that allows the researcher to integrate personal reflection and experiences with the methodological enquiry of the subject matter under investigation. This practice of infusing personal experiences and reflection to aid understanding and interpretation of social phenomena under investigation has been also noted by Usher (1996), Crotty (1998) and Rist (2003). Similarly, Potter and Wetherell (1987) concur with the idea that the researcher should play an active role in the co-construction of knowledge. Being reflexive throughout the research process, the researcher is able to demonstrate not only how texts and narratives are produced and consumed but also the social conditions and socio-cultural situations under which policy texts are produced.

4.2: Research questions

Main research question**:** How do external sources inform and impact upon Somaliland's education and teacher education policy making processes?

The following two sub questions will provide a focus for this study;

a) How does the mechanism of policy transfer and lesson drawing from other external sources influence upon Somaliland's national teacher education policy making process?
b) How do Somaliland's contemporary education reform policy texts construct future teacher education and teacher professionalism?

4.3: The nature of the policy making Processes, and the role of research

But, how can research influence, contribute and inform a decision making process that is not only an ongoing and constantly evolving process, but also, one that is multidimensional and multifaceted? The following quotations provide descriptive accounts of what a policy formation process might involve;

"Policy making is a process that evolves through cycles, with each cycle more or less bounded, more or less constrained by time, funds, political support, and other events. It is also a process that circles back on itself, iterates the same decision issue time and again, and often does not come to closure. Choosing not to decide is a frequent outcome" (Rist, 2003:621).

The above statement aids one's conceptualisation of the invisibility of the policy formulation process. It also pinpoints the challenges arising from researching or investigating policy related issues and the complexities and manner in which research can contribute to informed decision-making process. Rist (2003:619) similarly observes that;

"The tendency in policy research and analysis has become ever more centrifugal, spinning off more methodologies and variations on methodologies, more conceptual frameworks, and more disarray among those who call themselves policy analysts or see themselves working in the area of policy studies".

Rist, observes, that despite all these efforts, the impact of policy researchers to improve policy research has been limited. Rather, what has become the norm is more divergence in the ways in which studies are designed and conducted, and disagreements and controversies over the ways in which the data are analysed and findings reported. Rist attributes the limitations of policy research's impact on practice to researchers' misconception of the decision-making process as a discrete event, where groups of authorised decision makers assemble at a particular time and place to review a problem, consider alternatives and then select an alternative that seems well suited for achieving their purposes, rather than conceptualising decision making as processes that are complex, continuous, multidisciplinary and multidimensional.

Rist's views are critical of the proliferation of persons, institutes and centres conducting policy related work that has failed to impact on practice. According to him, this type of explosion of research oriented institutions has failed to produce a greater clarity and understanding of national policy issues. However, it is ironical how Rist can acknowledge the fluidity and amorphous structure of the policy formation process, yet support and advocate for policy research orientation that aims to provide solutions to social problems. Chelimsky, referenced by Rist (2003) concurs with this view of the limited impact of educational research and attributes the obscurity and the limited impact of policy oriented

researches on practice to the over emphasis and fixation on state-of the art methodologies, the technical adequacies of policies and the complex analysis of policy research without commensurate concern for its utilisation**.**

Rist (2003), Nakumura and Smallwood cited in Rist (2003) provide a framework entitled 'policy *cycle'*, in which the contributions of policy research in general and qualitative research in particular can be understood. According to them, the policy cycle consists of three phases i.e. (1) policy formulation, (2) policy implementation and, (3) policy accountability. In their discussion the above authors make the following distinguishing definitions about the three policy phases.

1. **Policy formulation phase**: a set of instruments from policy makers to policy implementers that spell out both goals and means for achieving those goals.
2. **Policy implementation**: it is the stage that policy initiatives and goals established during policy formation are to be transformed in to programmes, procedures and regulations.
3. **Policy accountability:** this is the impact or outcomes when the policy is sufficiently mature.

The problems with these definitions are that first, they assume policy making processes as a linear top- down model and as discrete events rather than continuous interactional processes. Their second limitation is that they make the assumption that those who implement policies do not participate in the policy making processes. Albert and Jackson (1985) describe the relationship between the processes and cycles in policy making as interactive.

In the field of teacher education policy development using the above conception of policy making processes one can assume that policies are only developed at high political - bureaucratic structures of governments and that teachers and other education professionals have got limited input. This makes teachers and educationalists implementers of policy.

Croll et al (1994) identifies four models of describing and analysing the role of teachers and teacher educators in the formulation of education policy and the resultant process of change. These include: (a) teachers as partners in the policy making process (b) teachers as implementers of changes (c) teachers as resistors of change and (d) teachers as policy makers in practice. In most circumstances teacher education policy development encompasses various dimensions of these four models.

Other policy analysts have positioned themselves differently in the study of the subject of education policy. For example, Scheurich (1994) advocates and designs what he called '*policy archaeology'*: a new policy methodology. According to him, rather than beginning after social and educational problems have emerged into social visibility, policy archaeology studies the social construction of these problems and rather than acquiescing to the range of policy solutions debated by policy makers and policy analysts, it interrogates the social construction of that range, and rather than accepting policy studies as a 'neutral' social science, it questions the broader social functions of policy studies (Scheurich 1994: 29). However, although critical review of Scheurich's perceived new methodology shows that the central conception of his policy analysis lies in the historical nature of the regularities which shape the social construction of the problem, it fails to show how it is different from the other critical approaches like critical discourse analysis advocated by Fairclough (1989, 1993). In addition his methodological orientation accords less emphasis to the principles of power and ideology which are central salient features of any social policy.

Another academic who provided a contested approach to the study and analysis of social policy is Mitchell (1984). In his policy analysis approach entitled: the State of the Art, Mitchell drew a four paradigms methodological perspective upon which policy analysis can be based. Mitchell calls his analytical framework for studying policy as: (a) structuralism (b) functionalism (c) exchange and (d) interactionism. In order to explain the operational nature of his framework, he used metaphors to explain his use of these concepts. For example, *structuralism* asserts a parallelism between social behaviour and the actions of a machine. According to this metaphor, public policy is defined as what governments do (Dye referenced by Mitchell, ibid: 143); *functionalism* draws upon the self-regulating characteristics of living organisms for the development of its central ideas. In this metaphor, he conceptualises public policy as "proposed course of action…to reach a goal" (Freidrick 1963 referenced by Mitchell ibid:143); In his *exchange paradigm* he draws the general principles for analysis in the relationships ordinarily found in markets. According to this metaphor, public policy is conceptualised as the regulation of private activity through subsidy or manipulation (Ripley 1966 referenced by Mitchell ibid: 143); the metaphor of interractionism sees social actions as more like the richly textured spontaneity of human conversations (Mitchell 1984:140). According to this metaphor, public policy is conceptualised as a conscious attempt to find constructive responses to problems (NAE 1969 referenced by Mitchell ibid: 143).

Central to Mitchell's presentation of public policy analysis is the need to control two fundamental concepts of '*scarcity*' and '*conflict*'. To him, if these two concepts did not exist there would have been no need for public policy formation. Therefore, according to him, studies of public policies require theoretical models that specify the process by which policy controls these two phenomena. The overall characteristic of Mitchell's public policy conceptions leads us to the view that, public policy making in social fields should aim towards social problem solving. A critique provided by Shapiro and Berkeley (1986), in response to Mitchell's (1984) arguments on the studies of public policy, states that:

"The characterisation of the four paradigms model as the conceptual foundation of policy analysis suggests an epistemological or ideological commitment on the part of analysis that simply is not contained in the policy literature".

Shapiro and Berkeley (1986:82)

A third and a more subtle way of approaching public social policy studies and analysis is an account presented by Kingdon (1995). Kingdon's perspective of policy analysis was covered in the literature review chapter (reference can be made on section 3.1.1). I do not intend to repeat its features here. However, for methodological purposes it is significant that I briefly reflect upon his idea of public policy analysis which draws upon three process streams: i.e. (a) the problem stream (b) the policies stream and (c) the political stream. In the problem stream the participants of the policy making process i.e. political parties, general public, private sector, interest groups etc (either individually or in groups) bring agendas (problems) into the public domain. The process of agenda setting and alternative specification is then negotiated and determined in a political stream, where each of the policy participation groups tries to secure its own interests and manifestations. Kingdon (ibid) argues that it is at this critical time and stage, where the above three separate streams meet that solutions become joined to problems. Thus Kingdon's theory of policy analysis first contributes to our understanding of the complex nature of policy making process because it presents policy making process as both unpredictable and dynamic. Secondly, his theoretical analysis of policy making process has methodological significance in the sense that it shows how the policy making process is a struggle of power relations among the various policy actors. Thirdly, it further evidences the manifestations of power in its capillary and multidimensional form. In this respect, Kingdon highlights the shifting power relationships in the policy making process. For example, how the legislative and the judicial policy actors are more likely to influence the items that are to be dropped or raised

in the decision making process in relation to the agenda being discussed and how this power relation shifts to the experts during the policy implementation stage, because it's the professionals that decide how policies are to be transformed into strategies and actions. In this way, his analysis of the concept of power is consistent with Foucault's conception of power as a multidimensional phenomenon (Foucault 1972).

4.4: Educational research and educational policy

Whitty (2006) observes an inevitable conflict between the pro-neo-liberal policy makers who favour evidence based scientific research in education and the traditional qualitative research model, which, rather than providing clear solutions to educational problems, provides an insight vision on which policy makers can base their policy decisions. This methodological contestation in educational research is also observed by Lather (2004), Dillard (2006), Donmoyer (2006), Demerath (2006). Taylor et al. referenced by Taylor (2002:50) argue that the process of policy formation is a complex social and technical process. This process provides a sense of why certain policies have been developed, how adopted policies are justified, what competing interests have been negotiated and what consequences are to be expected. On the other hand Trowler (2003) observes that the findings and results of education research are received, interpreted and filtered by segmented audiences whose perception of policy phenomena is largely conditioned by their pre-existing ideological and cultural characteristics.

From the above observations of policy formation and research reception possesses it is difficult to determine the role of research in policy making processes. There are two factors that contribute to this limited role of research in policy making process. (1) first the complexity and the ambiguity involved in the two processes can create variations in policy interpretation, which in turn can lead to contestations among the various policy actors and, (2) secondly, the is time variation between when research that informs social policies are carried out and when policies are developed. Thus the changing nature of the context can make research findings obsolete. However, despite this technical incompatibility of education research, policy making and policy implementation processes, what most research-policy analysts do not emphasise is the hidden salient manifestations and interests in which each category of policy participating actors is aiming to either gain or preserve positions of power and influence. Politicians who may or may not have the 'expertise knowledge' which informs the decisions to be made on public issues enjoy or argue for the

legitimate representation of the interest of the policy stakeholders, while the educational researchers often question policies passed by politicians on the basis of their ‘ knowledge and expertise’.

Nutley and Webb (2000) cited in Evans and Benefield (2001:530) provide a broader perspective of the relationship between research and policy makers. They acknowledge that, despite the enthusiasm for social science research, policy making is rarely a rational process, and evidence of what works is only one of the considerations that policy makers have to take into account when making decisions. In their accounts they provide and describe the various ways in which policy makers might use research evidence:

- **knowledge driven model**: derived from the natural sciences. The basic assumption of this perspective is that, the fact that knowledge exist, sets up pressures for its development and use;
- **problem solving model**: involves the direct application of the results of a specific study to a pending decision;
- **interactive model**: researchers are just one of the participants among many. The use of research is only one part of a complicated policy process that also uses experiences, political insight, pressure, social technologies and judgement;
- **political model**: research as political ammunition, using research to support a predetermined position;
- **tactical model**: research as a delaying tactic in order to avoid responsibility for unpopular policy outcomes;
- **enlightenment model**: the indirect influence of research rather than the direct impact of particular findings in the policy process.

Similarly, Trowler (2003:176) identifies two models of policy research which can lead to defining the research relationship with policy and policy making. He calls this the social ‘engineering’ and ‘enlightenment’ models. The following table shows the differences between the two approaches

Table 4a: showing the differences between the engineering and enlightenment models of research

	Engineering model	Enlightenment model
The type of data collected and method of data analysis	Bias towards quantitative	Bias towards qualitative
Ontological position i.e. view of the nature of 'reality'	Foundations: considers there to be an objective reality which can be apprehended by research. Research results have foundations in reality.	Relativist: considers social reality to be socially constructed to (a greater or lesser extent). Research results are true for particular social groups only. They are themselves constructed in nature.
Epistemological position i.e. view of the status of 'knowledge' created by research	Absolute/ positivist: 'true' knowledge which correctly describes reality can be achieved given sufficient effort and rigour and effort in research.	Relative/ interpretive: 'knowledge' is conditional upon its social context. Absolute truths, at least in the social world, are not achievable. Insight and informed judgement are among the important goals of research.
Relationship to policy	Informing policy makers about the 'facts' proposing solutions to problems	Giving policy makers enlightenment or challenging the accepted definitions of 'educational problems' and reframing what is problematic in education.

Adopted from Trowler, 2003: 176

I now examine in detail the methodological significance of the engineering model of research and the enlightenment model separately. I do this because of two reasons. First, I discuss briefly the engineering model of research-education policy making relationship because my thesis primarily covers education and teacher education policy making processes. Therefore I have to provide justifications why I belief that the engineering

approach of research is not appropriate to my thesis. This is because of recently there has been a rationalistic view of educational policy research that is mainly held by and associated with the neo-liberal ideologists who conceptualise education policy as being a cure to problems being investigated (Demerath 2006). The advocates of this approach privilege educational research that uses experimental designs and randomised trials despite its human and social contexts. Secondly, because my thesis adopts the enlightenment approach I have to provide in-depth discussions of this perspective so as to theorise its methodological usefulness in relation to my research.

4:4.1: The engineering model

The engineering model adopts a 'scientific' standpoint and a belief that 'proper', rigorous educational research can give policy makers hard data and results on which to base their policy directions. It also implies that it is possible to formulate rational, top-down, prescriptions for action on the basis of these decisions. It is linked to the managerial approach to policy implementation. In this view the role of educational research is to explain how the educational world works and to suggest action. It is sometimes prescribed as being 'political arithmetic' or 'tradition of objective' methods of data collection and analysis used to inform political choices.

Cohen et al (2003), associate the origin of the doctrine of positivism with the philosophical view of knowledge, held by French philosopher Aughost Comte in the 19th century. This approach is based on the assumption that true knowledge can only be based on scientific enquiry, which rests upon the creation of theoretical frameworks that can be tested through experimentation, replication and refinement. Mouley (cited in Cohen et al 2003) summarises the basis of empirical scientific inquiry as experience, classification, quantification, and the discovery of relationships and approximation of truth. Thus, this approach presupposes that scientific inquiry is the only ideal knowledge that allows researchers to formulate laws, which enable us to account for the happenings in the world around us. Brat quoted in Cohen et al (2003) also stresses the need to produce reliable knowledge through empirical investigation that yields data that strongly support or reject research hypotheses. The impression created in this approach is that because positivism emphasises data quantification, measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables rather than meaning and process, it is only this approach that can produce value free knowledge. Usher (1996: 12) identifies the following assumptions with positivism:

I. *that the world is objective, in that it exists independently of the knower;*
II. *that there is a clear distinction between subjects and objects (the subjective knower and objective world);*
III. *that the validity of knowledge claims is a matter of whether these claims are based on the use of the senses, on observation enhanced by measurement;*
IV. *that the social world is very much like the natural world;*

Usher (1996: 12)

Similarly, Crotty (ibid) gives the following descriptive account of the epistemological assumptions of the positivist notion of knowledge and knowledge acquisition;

'That things exist as meaningful entities independently of consciousness and experience, that they have truth and meaning residing in them as objects (objective truth and meaning therefore), and that careful (scientific) research can attain that objective truth and meaning. Crotty (1998:5)

The above quotation indicates that epistemological enquiry and critique of research are pointless exercises, so long as the right methodological procedures have been properly applied. This makes both knowledge and knowledge enquiry two objective phenomena.

The engineering model assumes that research reports can be translated unproblematically into action. However, research findings are presented to diverse audiences and probably they will filter those findings through their own perceptions, values and attitudes. Therefore, policy texts are read in an active way by these highly differentiated audiences. For example, teachers will not simply react to research reports in an automatic way, but will selectively interpret them and decide to act, not to act or change their practice in unpredictable ways. This is partly due to the nature of the teaching profession where teachers are required to make split-second decisions in a context characterised by unpredictable group dynamics and diverse pupils' personalities.

Therefore despite positivism's success in the field of the natural sciences, its ontological and epistemological bases in the field of the social sciences and humanities have been accused of having de-humanising and alienating effects in serving contemporary life contexts (Ions cited in Cohen et al. (2003). Furthermore, every ontology and epistemology itself is culturally specific, historically located and value laden (Usher 1996). Usher also

provides a thoughtful critique of the positivist approach to the investigation of social sciences, he particularly points out the aspects of rationality, impersonality, non-reflexivity, objectivity and ontological assumption of social closure, which are associated with the scientific model.

In his seminal work, *The Sociological Imagination*, Mills, cited in Parson (1995) also summarises the limitations of positivist approaches to the social sciences as the need to distinguish between '*troubles'* and '*issues'*, implying that objective conditions (in their "*truth"* sense) and causes cannot be applied to human activities. One such example of human activity is the teaching profession. Whether it is the policies that shape teaching as a profession or the actual implementation of policies (policy in practice) to suggest objectifications of the conditions under which education issues and problems occur in order to investigate them implies that researchers have the ability to control human subjectivity. Individuals are embedded in wider social contexts which are located in time and space. It is through these contextual pre-dispositions that individuals create interactions and inter-relationships that shape their understanding, meaning and experiences. Therefore to argue for the creation of objective conditions in order to study educational issues only reinforces salient discourses of power and politics of control to legitimate certain ideologies. And the advocacy of the use of research methods that employs objectivity of the research condition is only a way of colouring the talk in order to disguise these hidden discourses.

Other researchers have pointed out the philosophical complexity under which the advocates of positivism as the only way of gaining superior knowledge have camouflaged themselves. For example, Lyotard cited, in Scott and Usher (1996) argues that;

"Since science has never been a matter of simply observing and recording the regularities of the world but has always seen itself as discovering the "truth" of the world, it has been obliged to justify its project through a legitimating discourse which has to be philosophical" (Lyotard cited, in Scott and Usher 1996: 15)

Kuhn cited in Scott and Usher (1996) played a significant part in changing our understanding of science, research and scientific methods. His work examined two phenomena: (1) how scientists actually work on the practice of science rather than scientific self-understanding. (2) how scientific discoveries are located in historical rather

than the transcendental realm. These two major aspects of his work provided a critical explanation of how "*normal science*" research is culturally bound and culturally specific practice; how objectivity can change with shift of the paradigm and why knowledge cannot be conceptualised in a linear and cumulative way, where increasingly correct descriptions or truth are discovered.

These arguments have given the social researchers the initiatives, impetus or the foundation of marking acceptable discontinuities from the much-glorified scientific model of inquiry. Through time and space positivists themselves have also acknowledged the limitations of looking for the real 'truth' and this has moderated their claims to linear rationality of knowledge discovery, thus leading to increased flexibility in their scientific approach.

"*Truth is now located in the context of probability rather than certainty, claims of certain level of objectivity rather than absolute objectivity, and seek to approximate the truth rather than spring to grasp it in its totality or essence" (Crotty, 1998: 29)*

In view of the above limitations of positivist epistemology in investigating the social world, the philosophical stance underpinning this thesis is that of constructionism, which is based on the notion of the enlightenment model of the research/ policy relationship.

4.4.2: The enlightenment model

The aim of this approach is to illuminate educational issues, giving policy makers a good grounding in the context within which they seek to make policy, including well-formulated theories and concepts. There is no attempt to deliver the "truth" because that is seen as a fundamentally problematic concept. Parlett and Hamilton cited in Trowler (2003:184) advocate the adoption of this method in which the phenomena in question including their rationale, operation, achievements and difficulties are studied intensively. Similarly, from the point of view of critical social research Troyna cited in Trowler (ibid) argues that, the task should be critical theorising rather than taking just problem solving approach. The problem solving approach takes the world as given, including the current power relationship and structured disadvantage. From a critical social research point of view, critical social research does not accept the status quo because accepting it effectively supports it. Therefore critical social research aims

- to raise awareness of the inequalities and injustices inherent in the current social arrangements in the hope of ultimately changing them;
- to situate issues in their social context;
- to promote radical change through critically addressing, rather than accepting, current policies and practices;
- to take account of the political, ideological and discursive struggles which surround educational policy making;

Therefore the point is that enlightenment model of research constitutes an example of critical research that calls for the adoption of constructivists' approach to knowledge and inquiry. In the next section, I explore the ontological and epistemological positions of this research paradigm.

4.5: My methodological stance: Constructionist position

Interpretive, constructionist enquiry seeks to interpret the world in terms of the understanding, meanings and experiences generated by its actors (Cohen et al 2003). The central themes of this approach are that the human world and experience are subjective, therefore efforts must be made to understand the perspectives of the subjects of the study rather than from the external structure and the theory that precedes the study. Therefore interpretive researchers have to begin with the individual and set out to understand their interpretation of the world around them.

Glauser and Straus (cited in Cohen et al 2003) argue that theory is emergent and must arise from particular situations; it should be grounded in data generated by the research, in this way theories generated make meaning to those whom they apply. Thus theories become set of meanings, which yield an insight into understanding of people's behaviour.

"Constructionism paradigm rests on the principle that all knowledge and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context". *(Crotty 1998:42)*

Unlike positivism, which asserts that truth and meaning reside in their objects independently of any consciousness, constructionism suggests that, meaning is not discovered but constructed. The advocates of constructionism challenge the idea that

meaning is inherent in the objects, merely waiting for someone to discover them. According to Mereau-Ponty (cited in Crotty, 1998) the world and objects in the world are indeterminate. This means that although the objects in the world may be pregnant with potential meaning, in reality, actual meaning emerges only when consciousness engages with them.

Similarly, Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty cited in Crotty (1998) position the discovery of 'truth' and meaning in a middle ground, where 'objectivity' and 'subjectivity meet. In their position they acknowledge, that the world is '*already there'* and can be a useful partner in helping the human mind discover 'meaning' and 'truth'. In this way they coin the phenomenological concept of '*intentionality'.* Their epistemology gives us a straightforward and simple way of understanding this. They used the word intentionality to mean *referentiality, relatedness, directedne*ss or *aboutness.* This means that when the human mind becomes conscious of something or when it knows something, it reaches out to, and into that object. Therefore intentionality posits a quite intimate and very active relationship between the conscious subject and the object of the subject's consciousness. In this way consciousness is directed towards the object; and the object is shaped by consciousness. Thus knowledge is constructed rather than discovered.

To embrace the notion of *intentionality* is to reject objectivism. Equally, it is to reject subjectivism. What intentionality brings to the fore is to focus both the subjective mind and the subject, thus, creating interaction between subject and object. The image evoked is that of humans engaging with their human world. It is in and out of this interplay that meaning is born. The meaning that emerges from the interaction between the human mind and objects in the world relates to the essentiality of the objects, otherwise the interpretation of the mind alone could lead to excess subjectivity of the phenomena, the meanings are thus at once objective and subjective. It is through this inter-junction of objectivism and subjectivism that construction of meaning and truth about objects and events emerge (Crotty 1998). However, the significance of this methodological discussion is not to engage in philosophical discussions of whether 'objectivity' thus 'truth' exists or not but to highlight the methodological usefulness of qualitative interpretive inquiry in knowledge construction. I now turn my discussions to this theme.

Denzin and Lincoln (2003: 5) identify and associate qualitative research inquiry with the interpretive research paradigm;

"Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials- case study; personal experience; introspection; life history; interviews; artefacts; cultural texts and productions; observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts- that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individual's lives"

Denzin and Lincoln observations are important to my thesis. This is because I need to pays close attention to the social context and the way the education reforms in Somaliland were socially determined by aspects of power relationships, interactions, interdependences and interrelationship between the various groups in the policy development process. Therefore the use of the constructivist approach of research which uses both interpretive and critical analysis of the social contexts and texts observed is seen as methodologically appropriate. Weber referenced by Seale (1998) supports and favours the use of an interpretive research approach to study and investigate social contexts and inter-relationships between various groups of social actors. Howard and Sharp referenced by Cohen et al (2003) define a research approach as seeking to add one's own knowledge and hopefully to that of others through methodical process, by discovery of non-trivial facts and insights. In addition to the discovery of knowledge, research enquiry also aims to enlighten solutions to social problems, for example the role of educational research is both to contribute to new knowledge as well as provide an insight to current educational problems. Crotty (1998:2) identifies the basic elements of any research process as;

- *What methods do we propose to use in our research?*
- *What methodology governs our choice and use of methods?*
- *What theoretical perspective lies behind the methodology in question?*
- *What epistemology informs our theoretical perspective?*

Crotty (1998:2

Crotty (ibid) conceptualises the above four key elements in the following ways:

- ***methods****: the techniques or procedures used to gather and analyse data related to some research question or hypothesis;*
- ***methodology****: the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to desired outcomes;*
- ***theoretical perspective****: the philosophical stance informing methodology and thus providing a context for the process and grounding its logic and criteria;*
- ***epistemology****: the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and thereby methodology.*

Crotty (1998:3)

The process of theorising knowing and knowledge is a complex matter. Epistemological endeavours focus on how the knower goes about obtaining knowledge and understanding. The knower cannot also exist without the known, thus introducing ontology. Ontology deals with the nature of knowledge and the relationship between the knower and that, which will be known (perceived reality). Epistemological and ontological questions are related because claims about what exists in the world imply claims about what and how, what exist may be known (Usher 1996:11). Hamlyn and Maynard (cited in Crotty, ibid) also assert that epistemology deals with the nature of knowledge, its possibility, scope and general basis. Thus giving the philosophical grounding for deciding what kind of knowledge is possible and how we can ensure that it is both adequate and legitimate. Hence the need for any researcher to identify, explain and justify the epistemological stance he or she adopts.

Seale (1998) argues that the quality of research is improved if researchers engage with philosophical and methodological discussions. The choice of research methodology usually raises the notion of research paradigms. Research paradigms are philosophical positions reflecting contested research stances about knowledge and knowledge acquisition, they are complicated and contested in the academic world (Seale, ibid). Research paradigms reflect debates about how to conduct research. The advocacy, use and adoption of particular research paradigms by particular individual or institution reinforce the notion that the epistemological status of the researcher is a product of the socialisation processes of the researcher. Guba and Lincoln 1994 referenced by Dillard (2006:60) give the following definition to the concept of paradigm;

"*The basic belief system or world view that guides the investigator, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways"*

(Guba and Lincoln 1994 referenced by Dillard 2006:60)

Paradigm conceptualised as the above definition indicates has cultural and social meaning behind it. In addition, to the above argument (Dillard, ibid) signifies that because world views are not innocent, the concept of paradigm represents the notion of power and politics. The subjective nature of the concept of paradigm and in particular, the extent to which different approaches of qualitative enquiry have proliferated in education research can be seen in a discussion debate facilitated and transcribed by Wright (2006). In this discussion, Wright (ibid) mediates a dialectical, multi-voiced text involving three panellists

each defending methodological positions of papers they presented. What came out of this discussion contextually evidences Dillard's (ibid) above definition of paradigm as subjective world views. For example, if in my view the world is based on my religious beliefs and I construct knowledge through theological perspectives then the "gate keepers" of research phenomena should allow the use of "God centric epistemology". Equally, if I am a "black feminist researcher" my view of the world is shaped by different socio-cultural circumstances; therefore, the way I view the world and construct knowledge in any given topic will be different from a Western European or white American conception. These variations of methods of inquiry lead to a more ambiguous concept of 'reality'. Lingard (one of the panellists in the above discussion) referenced by Wright (ibid) responds to the debate of the above variations by stating:

"Accepting some version of a constructivist epistemology does not make much sense to talk about ontology because we can't know whether or not there's a "real" out there, much less what it is. What we know about "reality" will always be filtered in some way -e.g. by the particular language we employ to think and talk about the world.

Wright (2006:91)

The challenge with Lingards's response is that when he talks about 'reality' he is also implying the 'truth'. So the question is are there multiples of 'truth' so that depending on one's epistemological and methodological approach one can discover the version that one's method is predisposed to lead to or as 'reality' suggests there is only one 'truth' out there and one can only discover it, if the positivist stance to knowledge inquiry is applied. This debate also highlights the problem of the hegemony of the principal paradigms and the struggles of the marginalised ones. This factor takes the above discussion back to the notion of paradigm as attached to power and politics. Indeed in the discussion, someone points out one of the participant's access to grants and government resources because of his or her positivist research approach. To summarise this discussion and reference to this particular debate the questions are, does it matter which paradigm one uses? Is there a specific distinct epistemology and specific and distinct research paradigm for a researcher depending on his or her socio-cultural circumstances?

In my view, while acknowledging these differences, it is also equally important to stress that knowledge production requires more than the consideration of colour, culture, ethnicity and life experiences. To argue for unregulated production of knowledge without

authority as a warrant, undermines the nature of knowledge and academic discourses used to pursue such knowledge.

But, there has never been a consensus among researchers as to what constitutes the best research approach because methodological preferences have both historical and socialisation perspectives. It is as if every researcher is trying to win and defend the approach he or she has used. Philosophical assumptions of knowledge inquiry are also contested in the academic world because disciplines and fields of knowledge, though they share and rely on human discovery, differ in many other aspects. For example, while the field of social sciences and humanity is more prone to inter-subjective meaning and interpretation, the natural sciences are more likely adapted to scientific inquiry that favour experimentation and hypothesis testing.

Even within the social sciences and humanities, field researchers do not agree what constitutes the best form of inquiry. For example, sociologist Durkheim, developed the *Rules of* S*ociological Method* and considered social facts as "things". His arguments were that sociological attitudes should be like those of natural scientists, implying that the study of social science ought to be a rigorous empirical discipline. And to achieve this empirical attitude, he recommended the eradication of the influences, values and preconceptions of the social researcher. The following quotation highlights Durkheim's position of knowledge inquiry;

He (sic) (the social scientist) must embark upon the study of social facts by adopting the principle that he is in complete ignorance of what they are, and that the properties and characteristic of them are totally unknown to him, as are the causes upon which these latter depend"

Lazar (1998:15) referencing the work of Durkheim.

Giddens (1978) also summarises Durkheim's views of social phenomena as belonging to the realm of nature. This implies that society is a part of nature; therefore a science of society has to be based upon the same logical principles as those used in natural sciences (Giddens 1978:35). According to him, the behaviour of individual characters in the society is constrained and moulded by the totality of the already existing and established social facts, much the same way as the external environment does constrain the character of the physical world. The methodological significance of Durkheim's argument is that it

suggests causal and functional relationship in human behaviour. This further implies that, if researchers control the variables that cause human behaviours to happen they can predict or direct human behaviour to certain position. It also implies that the discovery of objective knowledge can be achieved in social sciences because social behaviours can be controlled and the researcher's influence in knowledge discovery can also be constrained.

However, Durkheim's critics were quick to dispute the practicability of interpretations of social phenomena without the researcher being reflexive and critical. Researchers are human beings and they do not enter into the research processes with a vacuum mind. Their previous experiences, understanding and knowledge affects how they attach meaning to the social contexts under investigation. For example, Alfred Schutz (referenced by Lazar, ibid) in his study entitled *Theory Formation in the Social Sciences* asserts that the primary goal of social science is to produce organised knowledge of social reality and because of the relations of human interaction, intercommunication and language, scientific empirical inquiry has no place in the study of the social sciences. This view is supported by Taylor (cited in Seale 1998:15) who also rejects the notion of the empiricist tradition in social research and rather counter poses a conception of social reality which is characterised by inter -subjective meaning.

Weber (2002) and Mills (1959 seek to reconcile positions of naturalism and interpretivism. According to them, controversies over different views of methodology and theory are properly resolved in close and continuous relation with substantive problems and grappling with these issues in this way is the best way to develop craftsmanship in research inquiry. Mills in his Sociological Imagination insisted that theory and method should not be considered separately, but should always be related to each other because, neither method nor theory is an autonomous domain.

From a sociological perspective the interpretive paradigm is often linked to the thoughts of Weber who suggested that human sciences are primarily concerned with the understanding and meaning of phenomena. Collins (1986) substantially covered Weber's methodological position. He argues that Weber never denied the existence of an external world. However, he added to the notion that we can never know just what it is. And because of this he advocated the concept of understanding as the correct sociological method, a practice he called "*Verstehen*" (Collin 1986:31). Weber's conception of society was that society is the product of meaningful human actions. The significance of this conception is that Weber's

interpretive sociology greatly emphasised the role of the individual in the society. In his approach the individual represents the upper limit and sole carrier of meaningful conduct in the society. In his analysis he argued that concepts such as society, organisations, associations and the state designate certain categories of human interaction. And because the social world tends to focus on exactly those aspects that are qualitative and individual, the sociological study of the individual provides an understandable meaning and action about the concept of the society, organisations and state. Unlike Durkheim who stresses the role of the totality of human actions (society) Weber emphasises the role of the individual in the construction of human behaviour and knowledge. The epistemological and methodological significance of Weber's conception of understanding is that as individuals we always perceive the world through a screen of our subjective categories, i.e. mental forms that we place upon everything we might possibly see or even think about. And trying to see how things look apart from the forms, through which we perceive them, is like trying to see what the world look like when we are not looking at it (Collins 1986:33). From this methodological argument, Weber derived the view that:

"to explain something causally in human behaviour is for the analyst to put himself or herself in the place of the actors, to emphatically share in his or her world view and to understand subjectively meaningful reasons for choosing to act as he or she did "

Collins (1986:42)

Similarly, Grace (referenced by Ball, 1997:264) concurs with Weber's view of knowledge and knowledge construction in social sciences and states the following:

"Policy scholarship resists the tendency of policy science to abstract problems from their relational settings by insisting that the problem can only be understood in the complexity of those relations. In particular, it represents a view that a social-historical approach to research can illuminate the cultural and ideological struggles in which schooling is located…Whereas policy science excludes ideological and value conflicts as 'externalities beyond its remit"

These two quotations signify how hard it is to separate human behaviour from the contexts in which they occur.

4.5.1: Summary of the advantages of constructionist research approach

- when carried out properly is a systematic and rigorous form of research;

- the value of constructionist research approach is that it offers a way of getting close to people's feelings, values and reactions;
- it allows insight into issues without the researcher imposing their own conceptual framework;
- it focuses on events, processes, actions, feelings, values etc;
- it is a useful tool for exploring conceptions and beliefs, for understanding complex processes and for developing theories;
- it involves sampling, developing a study instrument, collecting data and checking the validity of findings, therefore it is an empirical investigation in its own sense;

4.5.2: But why is qualitative constructionist research ignored by most governments?

The interpretive approach has it is own limitations. It has been criticized for its micro-social persuasion (Gideon 1976), it's lack of generalization (Mead 1959) and it's over reliance on uncontrolled interviews and subjective observations that produce inaccurate theory and knowledge (Argyle and Bernstein quoted in Cohen et al 2003). The rationalistic view of educational policy research mainly held by and associated with the neo-liberal ideologists conceptualise education policy as being a cure to problems being investigated. For example, Demerath (2006) observes that despite the inherent methodological assumptions and challenges associated with the engineering model of educational research in the USA, the No Child Left Behind Act, The Education Act of 2002 and the new Institute of Education Sciences tend to privilege educational research that uses experimental designs and randomised trials as the gold standard for evaluating educational programmes and indeed, for education research in general. Whitty (2006) similarly, observes that in the UK, New Labour has proclaimed commitment to evidence-informed policy research. Certainly, this advocacy of the engineering model of educational research has received hostile reaction from some academics. MacLure (2005) calls this type of advocacy "clarity bordering stupidity" In her analysis, MacLure presents a critique of the work of the EPPI-Centre at the University of London, Institute of Education, whom she accuses of promoting 'systematic review of research', which is designed to support evidence-informed policies and practices. Similarly, Hammersley referenced by MacLure, (2005:394) states that systematic review favours quantitative methods and embodies a scarcely-concealed positivism that places qualitative research far down the credibility hierarchy. These observations highlight two contrasting arguments. First, that, unlike medical research, qualitative research in education has failed to produce

any cumulative knowledge that is useful for policy makers and, second, that what is disguised as "systematic review" in education is a political manoeuvres to legitimate audit culture and policies towards trends of control and accountability in knowledge production and use.

There are extensive debates about which methodological position works best in educational research: Maclure (2006), Arrman (2005), Lather (2004), Whitty (2006) Wright (2006) Dillard (2006) Taylor (2002) Demerath (2006) Evans and Benfield (2001) Donmoyer (2006) and Taylor (2004). These debates about the use of research paradigms in education signify lack of consensus about what should constitute the base for educational research and, perhaps they also reflect an absence of consensus on what is 'education'. Power relationships, masked by political ideologies, are also salient features of these politico-intellectual discussions. For example, Demerath (2006:98) referencing the works of Lather and Erickson, argues that the thrust from the global rise of audit culture, neo-managerialism and states' interests to shrink governments roles, and consolidate power over academics are the main forces behind the standardization of what is been promoted as 'scientific based research in education'. According to these forces qualitative research does not conform to the norms of standardization, measurements and control, therefore the principles of managerialism cannot be effectively applied.

Other researchers who favour the use of qualitative research in education to investigate educational issues and problems have provided a similar counter critique to the above challenges. For example Flyvbjerg, cited in Demerath (20006: 98) argues that, those who doubt the significance and contributions of qualitative research in education because its methodology is biased towards context issues ignore the assumptions that qualitative research contributes to the understandings of the natural sciences. This centrality derives from the essential role that context plays in the social sciences and, that qualitative researchers are keepers of context and interrelatedness (Goldschmidt, cited in Demerath, 20006:98).

Similarly, ontological standardization measures dismiss and sideline other relativist ontology which is accurate understandings of local levels. For example, the feminist epistemological perspective is grounded in the notion that knowledge can be dually conceived and dually constructed on the basis of gender (Strathern, referenced by Demerath (2006). Additionally, the relativist ontology that has been used to study cultural

research in education and critical race theory are both founded on the powerful assumption that culture and race are always present in human social life and that their implications have a far reaching effect on how knowledge is constructed (Dillard 2006). Thus, ontological relativism is at the heart of the distinctive philosophical stance that characterizes interpretive science and its ability to problematise, or expose, hidden assumptions that guide beliefs and assumptions (Geertz cited in Demerath, 20006).

4.5.3: How can the question of quality criteria be addressed in qualitative constructionist research?

Demerath (2006) defends the methodological empiricism of qualitative research by stating that collecting research data through the process of the intertwining of the researcher's own sensory apparatus and embodied presence, direct observations and the context reality constitute an empirical investigation in qualitative research, just like the scientists do empirical investigations in their work. She further outlines how qualitative researchers address the quality criteria in their research by stating that*:*

A critical interpretative qualitative researcher first explores the question of;

1. what is happening? Then moves to the next question of;
2. what do these happenings mean to those who are engaged in them? And finally adds to a third question of;
3. and are these happenings just and in the best interest of people generally.

Similarly, Becker cited in Demerath (2006:106) has outlined a set of validity criteria for qualitative researchers that are linked to the purposes, assumptions and objectives of qualitative inquiry. This includes,

1. accuracy: are the data accurate? Are they based on close observation of what is being discussed or only remotely indicators?
2. precision: are the data precise? Are they close to the things being discussed and thus ready to take in to account other matters/influences not perhaps anticipated in the original formulation of the problem;
3. breadth: is the analysis full or broad? Does it take in to account a wide range of matters that impinge on the question under study, rather than a relatively small number of variables?

4.5.4: Summary of the limitations of the enlightenment model

In the previous section of why qualitative constructionist research is being ignored by most governments I have highlighted most of the perceived limitations of this research approach. To sum it up, this approach has been accused of using findings which are non-cumulative, a series of interesting, but essentially non comparable case studies. The interpretivists reject generalisation as a goal and never aim to draw generalisations out of the randomly selected samples of human experiences. However, they argue that each case can illuminate problems being investigated. For example, Geertz referenced by Trowler (2003:189) argues that every instance of social interaction, if 'thickly described' represents a slice from the life world. Thus every topic must be seen as carrying its own logic, sense of order, structure and meaning.

4.6: My position in this research

Since the collapse of the central government of Somalia nineteen years ago, the provision of teacher education in Somaliland has been fragmented, based on ad-hoc and contextual circumstances rather than being informed by research findings. The main strategy has been the Emergency Teacher Education Pack developed and implemented by the International non governmental organisations (INGO). However, since 2005 the government has been playing a more supportive role in developing and initiating legislative proposals aimed to reform teacher education system. Therefore my objective of undertaking this thesis is to contribute towards this ongoing process.

My interest in teacher education in Somaliland began in early 2001, when I took part in a series of consultation meetings that were aimed to map out how to establish teacher education institutions in Somaliland in order to alleviate the acute shortage of qualified teachers in the region. This initiative was a joint venture between the government, international organisations, local organisations and the Somaliland Diaspora Community in the UK. This had been an opportunity for me to comment on Somaliland's teacher education policies and practices. It is from this stage, that I developed an interest in the subject matter and thought of a way to contribute from the perspective of the Somaliland Diaspora-Home development dimension.

I am fascinated by the idea of policy transfer and internationalisation of social policies, particularly in the field of education. Hulme (2005) argues that policy transfer can provide a theoretical tool to connect perspectives on international policy change. For example, apart from person to person transfer of money and consumer goods to immediate and extended family members, other forms of Diaspora engagement and support for development to their home countries includes a more professional and technical oriented transfer of invisible resources such as knowledge, values and ideas. It is through these processes that the Somaliland Diaspora communities in Europe can play the agency role of policy transfer, a process that directly contributes to the internationalisation of social policies.

Therefore, I anticipate that this research may offer a model of advancing local education decision-making processes, particularly to countries in transition after experiencing civil wars, by focusing on the international movements of ideas and practices in the field of teacher education policies and practices. Concepts such as policy cycle (Rist, 2003); lesson drawing (Rose 1991 1993), policy transfer (Dolowitz, 2000, Dolowitz and Marsh 1996), O' Neil and Nellis, referenced by Hulme, (2005) will provide the theoretical perspectives for discussing and understanding the construction and deconstruction of Somaliland teacher education policies and practices in context. (For detailed discussions of these theories reference can be made to the literature review chapter).

However, my position in this thesis is not to provide prescriptive solutions to educational issues that are inherent in this research. But rather, provide thoughtful insights and understanding about how national education policy makers can reach informed decisions that improve the process of policy formulation. Thus, this research embraces the enlightenment model of research (see earlier categorisation of research models by Trawler, 2003), which aims to illuminate problems facing education by providing in-depth understanding of the practices, values and experiences that shape the context in which problems occur.

4.7: Using critical discourse analyses to analyse policy texts

So far I have concentrated in discussing the broader methodological perspectives of qualitative, interpretive constructionist method of knowledge inquiry. By now stating that I want to discuss critical discourse analysis one may raise the question of: but how is CDA

different from qualitative interpretive research approach? The answer to this question is that CDA is both a methodology and method that can be located within the broader frameworks of interpretive qualitative inquiry; therefore it shares similar methodological features with other research approaches such as phenomenology, ethnography, critical theory and feminist methodology**.** Because of this similarity to highlight again all the methodological features of CDA will be repetitive. Therefore in this section, I will only discuss the main essential aspects of CDA that I think are particular to the criticality nature of CDA in analysing contemporary policy texts.

Recent approaches to policy analysis in education have been influenced by discourse theory perspectives (Ball 1990, Yeatman 1990, Taylor 1997, Taylor et al. 1997 all referenced by Taylor 2004:437). From such a perspective, policy making is seen as an arena of struggle over meaning, or as 'the politics of discourse' (Yeatman 1990 referenced by Tailor 2004) and policies are seen as the outcomes of struggles between contenders of competing objectives, where language-or more specifically discourse is used tactically (Fulcher 1989 referenced by Taylor 2004). Similarly, Thomas (2005:2) argues that education policy can be understood as discursive practices and education policy can be examined as a discourse related problem. This kind of approach is a good strategy for investigating and illuminating the politics of discourse in policy arenas and in exploring the relationship between policy texts and their historical, political, social and cultural context.

"*Texts are sites of the emergence of complexes of social meanings, produced in particular history of the situation of production, that record in particular ways, the histories of both participants in the production of the text and the institutions that are involved or brought into play, indeed a particular history of the language and social system, a partiality due to the structuring of relations of power of participants"*

(Kress referenced by Philips and Hardy, 2002:4)

Thomas (2003) gives a more explicit account of the comparative advantages and properties of discourse analysis in deconstructing the production and consumption of policy texts. His arguments are based on the assumptions that: (1) CDA is centrally concerned with the relationships between ideologies, discourses and power (2) critical discourse analysis, particularly focuses on the discursive strategies that legitimate control or otherwise naturalise social order; (3) critical discourse analysis investigates how formation of

discourse and power are manifested in policy texts in use (4) by investigating the relationship between power relations evidenced in social formation, critical discourse analysis has the potential to show the contours and gaps, the nodal points and silences in the local articulation of broader political discourses

The above points support the methodological strength of CDA in investigating the discourses which are seen and those which are not but in operation. The emerging strength of CDA is also evidenced by the increased use of CDA as the principle methodology and method for gaining an understanding of the discursive construction and deconstruction of meaning about education and education policies. For example, Thomas (2003) used CDA to study the cultural politics of education reforms in Australia; Taylor, (2004) researched educational reforms in Australia using the same method; in the UK (Mulderring 2003) used it to explore the production and consumption of education under New Labour; Fairclough (1993) used it to explore the marketisation of public discourses: universities and, Hussein (2006) about locating the value conflict between the rhetoric and practices of the public and teacher education in Ethiopia, within the hegemony of global neo-liberalism.

Definition of critical discourse analysis

Philips and Hardy (2002) call it a methodology that explains how we know the social world, as well as set of methods for studying it. Parker (referenced by Philips and Hardy) also defines discourse as an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination and reception that brings object into being. Philips and Hardy (2002:2) argue that discourse analysis offers a new opportunity for researchers to explore the empirical ramifications of the linguistic turns that has worked its way through social sciences in humanities in recent years. Similarly, Taylor (2004) observes an increasing importance of language in social life in 'new times'. She finds CDA as of a particular value in documenting multiple and competing discourses in policy texts, in highlighting marginalised and hybrid discourses, and in documenting discursive shifts in policy implementation process.

In the introduction part of this chapter I have stated that the methodology which I have adopted for my thesis is critical discourse analysis approach advocated by Fairclough (1989, 1993, 1995, 2001, 2003). Therefore it is significant that I draw upon Fairclough's

conceptualisation of this combined methodology and method. Fairclough (1993:138) defines CDA in the following ways, by breaking it down into the main terms that constitute it:

Discourse*: (abstract noun): language use conceived as social practice;*

Discursive event*: instant of language use, analysed as text, discursive practice and social practice;*

Text*: the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event;*

Discourse practice*: the production, distribution and consumption of text;*

Interdiscursivity*: the constitution of a text from diverse discourses and genres;*

Discourse*: (count noun): way of signifying experience from a particular perspective;*

Genre*: use of language associated with a particular social activity;*

Order of discourse*: totality of discursive practices of an institution, and relation between them.*

I found Fairclough's (1993) definitions of the main terms that constitute CDA not only valuable for my subsequent discussions, but also significant for the potential readers' clarity of understanding of how I use these concepts in context.

The following two section sets out Fairclough's views of this methodology in relation to the methodological principles of this critical inquiry and its use in illustrating and analysing educational policy documents. The first part discusses Fairclough's social theory of discourse analysis and, the second part examines and sets out the analytical framework of its operation (i.e. the three dimensional framework for analysing discursive events in policy texts (Fairclough 1989, 1993, 1995).

The subsequent two chapters, chapter 5 and 6 (i.e. policy texts analysis and interviews data analysis) of my thesis utilise this methodological position in order to examine the discursive aspects of Somaliland's teacher education and teacher professionalism. The policy texts that will be examined include (1) the Somaliland national education policy (MOE 2005); (2) the Somaliland national teacher education policy (MOE 2006); and (3) the Somaliland national education sector strategic development plan (MOE 2007).

a) Fairclough's social theory of discourse analysis

Fairclough (1995) traces the roots of critical discourse analysis to the philosophical approaches of Marx (1954); Gramsi (1971); Althusser (2001); Foucault (1969); Bourdieu

(1991); Bhaktin and Derrida (1976). His argument is that CDA is informed by the disciplines of semiotics, linguistics and pragmatics, each of which brings further theoretical influences to bear. However, although all the above philosophical positions have dimensions of power and perceived ways of knowledge construction, they significantly differ in the way they operationalise power and social relations. For example, Marx's conception of power is presented as a class based and oppressive phenomenon, while Foucault's conceptualisation of power is presented in a more net like capillary way, including both repressive as well as positive elements. In this way Fairclough (1995) highlights the notion of a variety and uncertainty of power, thereby creating a model which emphasises uneven, complex and contradictory forms of power. For example, my research concerns the processes of national teacher education policy formation as well as the process of policy implementation. A good way of seeing Foucault's multi-dimensional perception of power within the policy formation and policy implementation process is in the ability by those at the grass-roots level to subvert or refract the national education policies and reforms. The refraction or the redirection of policies is a clear representation of how power can become a 'capillary' form at ground level.

Foucauldian accounts of archaeology of knowledge (Foucault 1972) provides an analytical understanding of how power and knowledge are embedded in discourses of human interaction. For Foucault, discourses are knowledge forms manifested in different ways of thinking or talking. Therefore discourses are ways of knowing about the world. According to him power relations operate among individuals and groups. And these power relations provide and constitute the bases for constructing the identities of power infused human interactions. According to Foucauldian theory, concept of ideology, knowledge and power relations are central to the understanding of human interactions, and to understand both the salient and explicit features of this human interaction the role of language is paramount.

There are many different versions of discourse analysis, drawing on a wide range of theoretical traditions in social theory (Van Dijk 1993). Fairclough distinguishes between those approaches which pay close attention to linguistic features of text (which he refers to as textually oriented discourse analysis) and those which do not. The latter approaches, often influenced by Foucault, generally focus on the historical and the social context of the text and usually give little attention to the linguistic features of texts. My own approach to the use of CDA to examine policy documents and subsequent transcribed semi-structured

interviews narratives will be the combination of the above two approaches (emphases on language, historical, political, social and cultural context observations).

My approach will be to look closely at the use of language in the narratives i.e. metaphors, lay outs and textures, tones and expressions in order to gain an understanding of the political and educational ideological goals that shape the current educational reforms. I will later combine these different perspectives to form a higher level of abstraction, in which I look for ideas and concepts, phrases and key words to constitute holistic discourses, which I shall call discursive themes. My approach has found support from the theorisation of the use of critical discourse analysis postulated by Fairclough (2001). Fairclough emphasises that the use of critical discourse analysis is interdisciplinary, and that this approach can open a dialogue between disciplines concerned with linguistic and semiotic analysis with those concerned with theorising and researching social process and change. Fairclough's work draws on theories and techniques from a wide range of disciplines to bring together the different approaches and different levels of analysing texts and narratives using CDA methodology.

Fairclough's conceptualisation approach of the using of critical discourse analysis as a combination of language use with historical, political, social and cultural observation has a methodological advantage in exploring the relationships between discursive practices, events and texts in my research context. By considering both the use of language in the texts and the wider social, cultural, structures, relationships and processes in which the documents and the interview narratives are located, this type of methodology is able explore and examine how policy texts construct representations of the world they relate to.

Education policy formation and policy implementations are two processes where the concepts of ideology, human relations, use of power and language interact both in horizontal and vertical dimensions. The methodological ability of critical discourse analysis to construct and deconstruct these processes of interaction and inter-relationship is observed by Fairclough (1989, 1993, 1995, 2001, and 2003). For example, Fairclough (1989) argues that power in modern society is increasingly achieved through ideology and more particularly through the ideological working of language. In this respect Fairclough (1998: 22) observes that:

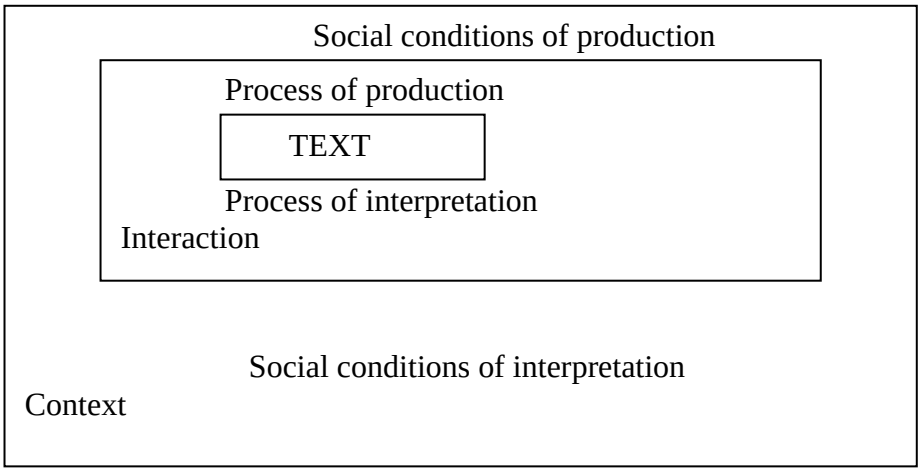
- language is part of the society and not somehow external to it;
- language is a social process;

- language is a socially conditioned process.

This methodological conception of language as a form of social practice (Fairclough 1993; 1998, Dijk 1993) is greatly influenced by the Foucauldian theory of discourse. Viewing language as a social practice implies, first, that it is a mode of action (Austin, 1962; Levinson, 1983 referenced by Fairclough 1993:134) and secondly, it is always a socially and historically situated mode of action (Fairclough 1993). Halliday's 1978,1985 (referenced by Fairclough 1993:143's) theory of language use further extends these constitutive features of language, by stating that language is always simultaneously constitutive of (a) social identities, (b) social relations and (c) systems of knowledge and belief. This conception of language, which stresses the multifunction of language can be a good investigation tool for analysing the opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (Bourdieu 1978 referenced by Fairclough 1993:135.

Linguistic phenomena are therefore social, in the sense that, whatever people speak, listen, write or read they do so in ways which are socially determined and have social effects. Because of these properties of language, Fairclough (1989) differentiates the process of text production and text as a product. In this way, critical discourse analysis methodology involves the whole process of social interaction, which includes analysis of text production, the analysis of the way the texts were socially determined and the interpretation processes involved in the text. Fairclough (1989:25) present the methodological features of CDA in the following diagram:

Figure 4b: *Discourse as a text, interaction and context (Fairclough 1989:25)*



So, in seeing language as a discourse and social practice one is committing oneself not just analysing text or just analysing process of production and interpretation, but also to the analysis of the relationship between text, processes and other social conditions and situational contexts and more remote conditions of institutional and social structures.

b) Fairclough's analytical framework of policy text analysis

Fairclough (1995) calls the relationship between the text, interactions and context the three dimensional framework of discourse analysis. The three phenomena which constitute this framework include:

- analysis of text;
- analysis of the process of text production, consumption and distribution;
- socio-cultural analysis of discursive events and practices;

In my data analysis, through the integration of these three processes, I intend to explore within the policy texts the connection between language, power and ideology. Van Dijk referenced by Fairclough (1995), states that to theorise these complex relationships and identities in both local and global perspective, the analysis should be detailed, explicit and systematic. According to him, this can only be achieved through the exploration of the theoretical concepts that inform the phenomena and not by mere paraphrases or quotations from the document texts. In his argument, he calls for the need for discourse analysis to map systematically, the analysis of the spoken or written texts with the systematic analysis of the social context. By integrating the two domains of written texts and social context, it is possible for the social researchers to provide an understanding of the way the policy documents are produced and interpreted. This approach has the potential to trace the social origins upon which the current social relations and strategies generated are based.

Gergen (1985) argues that the reason discourse analysis tries to include a concern with text, discourses studied and context relates to, the fact that, it represents a methodology and not just a method that embodies a strong social constructivist view. According to him it's through the investigation of these interrelated discourses, that researchers construct "socially validated discourses". For example, policy documents have goals and these goals are constituted by the beliefs, values, needs and attitudes of those people who constituted them, so it is only through critical deconstruction of these documents, that researchers can reveal the meaning and discourses that these documents signify. Parker and Burman 1993

referenced by Philip and Hardy (2002) add on to the understanding of the features of discourse analysis by stating that, it shares an interest in the constructive effects of language and is reflexive as well as an interpretive style of analysis.

Philips and Hardy (ibid) support the ability of CDA to deconstruct documents, by stating that, social reality is produced and made real through discourses and social interactions and these cannot be fully understood without reference to the discourses that give them meaning. However, it is equally important to emphasise that methodology does not do anything itself; it is the constructive capacity of the researcher, which is implicated in the whole processes of knowledge construction. CDA lends itself into this position

In the next section I now draw on contemporary critical debates surrounding teacher education reforms, including my own research that I belief CDA, through series of paradoxes of dispersion of meaning has the ability to explore the layers and contradictions and thereafter thematise change.

4.8: Researching contemporary teacher education reforms, knowledge and power

Over the last decade, there has been the production of a significant international literature, relating to the re-construction of initial teacher education programmes and professional development of teachers in many countries. For example, the Lisbon Strategy 2003, Snoeke et al 2003 and the conference on the teacher education policy in Europe (TEPE) Ljubljana (2008) mapped out the changing landscape of European teacher education; Sulivan (2002) documented the future directions and issues in Australian teacher education; Hartley (2002) examined global influences on teacher education; Robinson (1999, 2003) investigated initial teacher education in a changing South Africa; Whitehead (2000) on teacher transformation in Albania; Ludke and Moreira (1999) and Flores(2003) on teacher professionalisation and professionalism in Brazil; Codd (2005) presented teachers in New Zealand as 'Managed Professionals'. The literature relating to teacher education reforms around the world is substantial so rather than focussing initiatives of specific country profiles what is significant is to understand the common central features and forces that shape the global context. However, it's also worth mentioning that while there has been commonality of features in many countries these reforms have also been context specific.

Critical debates and issues surrounding these teacher education reforms has been focussing issues of teacher quality, efficiency, curriculum standardisation, administrative decentralisation, competences, teacher accountability and audits, lifelong learning and collaborative work practices. There are fundamentally three ways of seeing these reforms: (a) the ideological forces behind the reforms (b) the vision of education that these reforms lead to (i.e. what kind of education do we want our societies to provide to our children) and (c) what type of teacher identities result from these reforms. The perspective of effects of phenomena (a) and (b) on (c) takes two contrasting views: (1) that the cumulative effects of the reforms has been de-professionalising teaching (2) that teacher education reforms have re-professionalized teaching profession in line with the changing context of society and knowledge. But, because these reforms have affected the professional knowledge base of the teachers and their professional autonomy in decision making, their power relations to others is significantly affected.

The methodological principles of CDA highlighted and discussed in this chapter are well suited to the analysis of the interrelationship between the three phenomena above (ideological forces, vision of education and the resulting teachers' identities) in the context of Somaliland educational policies. In particular, this methodology will provide representation of the discursive construction of the 'future teacher' and identify the obstacles that work against or for the problems being tackled. It will also investigate the conjuncture of the networks and the social practices within which, this discourse of teacher professionalism is located. In addition, CDA hopes to uncover the salient struggles over power that are internalised in these discourses and the relationships between the discourse studied and broader political, economic and social contexts. This is what Fairclough (1995) refers to as contextualising the problem.

In the case of Somaliland teacher education reforms, contextualisation will also be explored in relation to the wider literature relating to the topic. This is similar to the notion of public policy analysis, which states that people define conditions as problems by comparing their current conditions and values with those of others and by comparing their own performance with that of other countries Kingdon (1995). This methodological position has also the potential to illuminate how processes of policy transfer Dolowitz (2000); Dolowitz and Mash (1996); Hulme (2003 2005) and lesson drawings Rose (1991 1993) inform national policy making process.

To understand the education reconstruction in Somaliland from a critical discourse analysis perspective, I intend to examine:

- the political spaces that facilitated the production of the contemporary education policy texts;
- how the educational goals promoted are related to the political ideologies;
- how global educational policies (read globalisation and education policies configuration) influence the production and implementation of these policies;
- how the locals present themselves and histories they tell to explain the global practices;
- operational structures resulting from the new reforms;
- the political and cultural dislocation caused by the new emerging discourses i.e. how it empowers and dis-empowers different identities;
- how particular actors draw on globalisation discourses to legitimate their position and actions;

To frame these perspectives, I need to consolidate critical discourse analysis methodology as a three dimensional framework. Fairclough (1995:2) advocated this methodological technique in which three separate forms of analysis are integrated ie;

1. the analysis of written or spoken text;
2. the language use of the text in the process of the text production, distribution and consumption;
3. an analysis of the context i.e. the socio-cultural practices.

By integrating these three types of analysis and by drawing on Foucauldian theory of discourse as the conjunction of power, knowledge and ideology (Foucault 1972), my use of critical discourse analysis forms a genealogy of discourse, which is the basis for linking the methodological assumptions of critical discourse analysis with methods of data collection and analysis. In this way, I present critical discourse analysis as a "shifting synthesis" (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). By drawing from this methodological perspective, I intend to thematise, the emerging discourses, which result from the recent education reforms in Somaliland context.

4.9.0: Research methods of data collection

The data collected in this research is a result of five month's field work which used:

1. written policy texts;
2. semi-structured interviews;

4.9.1: Documentary data using critical discourse analysis

In the previous section, I provided the methodological account of how I will be using critical discourse analysis to investigate education policy documents. In this section, I will detail how I will be using the technique as a method. However, there is no clear distinction between the two strategies rather they overlap and inform each other. The documents which inform this research are primarily written texts. According to Fairclough (1995) a text may be either written or spoken discourse. For example, the words used in a conversation or the written transcription of the conversation can both constitute a form of a text. A text can also be a piece of written language (e.g. policy document as in the case of this research). Fairclough observes that most contemporary printed texts are increasingly becoming multi-semiotic texts, in the sense that they incorporate the use of language with photographs and other graphic designs which provide more salient representation of values. The written policy texts that will be analysed using this research strategy include;

- The Somaliland National Education Policy (MOE 2005);
- The Somaliland National Teacher Education Policy (MOE 2006);
- The Somaliland National Education Development Plan (MOE 2007).

Scott, referenced by McCulloh (2004) defines documents as artefacts, which have as their central feature an inscribed text. The potential value and importance of using textual analysis as a research tool for understanding education policies and practices has been noted by McCulloch (2004). However, this potentiality of the use of documents to gather research evidence has been give scant attention (Platt, Burgess, May and Prior, referenced by McCulloh, ibid). McCulloch contends that a documentary research method is an effective technique available to students, researchers and academics carrying out extensive research, particularly in the area of education, history and social sciences. The sources of information using this research method could range from books, reports, official documents and printed media.

Burton and Carlen 1979 (referenced by Codd 1988:243) conceptualise the deconstruction of official policy documents, as cultural and ideological artefacts to be interpreted in terms of their implicit patterns of signification, underlying symbolic structures and contextual determinants of meanings. My approach to the use of the above documents is based on the theory of critical discourse (Fairclough 1989, 1993, and 1995). In this, Fairclough, questions the representational aspect of the language used in policy documents, he also contextualises the political intensions, values and thoughts contained in policy documents. A similar view is held by Codd (1988) who emphasises the recognition that meaningful deconstruction of policy texts depend on the recognition of the political, economical, historical, social and cultural contexts under which policy texts are produced. According to him it is only through this comprehensive and integrated approach that the divergent meanings, contradictions and structured omissions of the policy statements can be uncovered.

CDA as a method can be construed as a form of textual deconstruction of phenomena that have relationships (e.g. the relationship between political ideology and education ideology can be investigated and the effects of such relationship can be critically examined). In this way policy texts as instruments of communication can be viewed as the "the captured essence of values (Ball, 1990, Stevens 2003 referenced by Alford (2005) because values presented in policy documents are mediated by words (Tailor et, al. 1977 referenced by Alford (2005). It is therefore important to critically examine policy texts in order to analyse possibilities and limitations that results from changes.

In my analysis of Somaliland's education reform policy texts I am interested in exploring the discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism that are evident in the three policy papers that I earlier named and the ways in which these discourses are constituted through particular linguistic choices. Codd (1988) calls this form of enquiry, where the researcher critically examines an existing policy as "*analysis of policy*." Goddon et. al 1977 (referenced by Codd 1988) further extends the concept of "*analysis of policy"* by stating that it can take two different forms:(a) analysis of policy determination and effects, this approach examines the inputs and transformational processes operating upon the construction of public policy and also the effects of such policies on various groups and (b) analysis of policy content, which examines the values, assumptions and ideologies underpinning the policy process. My method of approaching policy texts combines these two approaches in the sense that I will be concerned with both the contents and the

representational aspects of the policy texts because policy texts are hybridised texts which contain competing discourses (Alford 2005). This method of policy analysis is consistent with Ball's (1994) view of policy texts as discourses. Viewing policy as a discourse reflects how behaviours and ideas of individuals and groups are constrained by factors external to them as well as the relative freedom individuals and groups have to change things (Trowler, 2003).

Therefore my role as a critical researcher is to deconstruct the selected policy texts and to achieve this task I have to apply the combination of intellectual craftsmanship, sociological imagination (Mills) and intellectual reasoning. The sociological imagination enables the researcher to capture the larger socio-historical scenes under which discourses are located, while the intellectual craftsmanship and reasoning helps the researcher identify the various elements, definitions and core concept contained in the reform documents. Fairclough (1993), states that, the comparative advantage of using CDA as an investigation tool over other critical methodologies is that it relates power and discourses in an explicit way. Thus, providing a cognitive interface of models, knowledge, attitudes and ideologies and other social representations of the social mind, which also relate the individual and the social, and the micro-and the macro levels of social structure.

Fairclough (1995:6) argues that texts are social spaces in which two fundamental social processes simultaneously occur: cognition and representation of the world, and social interactions. Fairclough (1995) states that it is only through the combination of language, textual and content analysis of texts that meaningful insights about what is in a text as well as what is absent from a text, both which are significant from the perspectives of socio-cultural analysis can be observed. Fairclough (ibid) further states that texts in their ideational functioning constitute systems of knowledge and beliefs and in their interpersonal functioning they constitute social subjects. This multi-functional view of policy texts is also observed by Halliday 1978 (referenced by Fairclough 1995:6) who states that:

"Language in texts always simultaneously functions ideationally in the representation of experience and the world, interpersonally in constituting social interaction between participants in discourse, and textually in tying parts of a text together into a coherent whole and tying texts to situational contexts".

Through their multifunctional aspects, policy texts negotiate the socio-cultural contradictions and, more loosely, 'differences' which are thrown up in social situations, and indeed they constitute a form in which social struggles are acted out *(*Kress, 1998 referenced by Fairclough 1995:7). For instance, with respect to ideational function, people deal textually with contradictions or differences in beliefs, knowledge and representations. With respect to the interpersonal function, texts negotiate social relations between people in circumstances of doubt or contestations, and people attempt to work out textually, in their use of language, the dilemmas they face in defining their own identities (Billing et al. 1978 referenced by Fairclough 1995:8).

4.9.2: Interviews

Denzin and Lincoln (1998) define Interviews as 'a conversation, the art of asking questions and listening to responses.' May (2003) gives a similar description by stating that interviews in social research are methods of obtaining and generating conversation with people on specific topic or range of topics as well as methods of analysing such data. In social research, it is the interpretation the researcher makes from the interview scripts that significantly contribute to the research data. May (ibid) identifies four types of interviews i.e. structured, semi structured, un-structured and group interviews. Semi-structured interviews are the favourite methods for qualitative researchers because of their flexibility and ease in which they allow interviewees to develop ideas and speak more widely on the issues raised by the interviewer (Schuman cited in Denzin and Lincoln 1998:53).

This research uses semi- structured interviews and these interviews consist of two strands. The first strand focus on the collection of data relating to the wider education reforms in Somaliland and how these reforms impact on the discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism. In total, 15 interviews were conducted and all the people involved actively participated in the development of the recently enacted education reforms in Somaliland. 5 of these interviews were with senior officials from the Ministry of Education, 5 others were with senior education policy advisers who were currently working outside the Ministry of Education and the remaining 5 were with executive officials of non- governmental organization that financed and participated in Somaliland's education reconstruction strategy. The technique of non-probabilistic purposive sampling strategy was used to select the participants. Girden (2001) defines non-probabilistic purposive sampling as a method of selecting those individuals who are most likely to

provide relevant data. Therefore since these people participated in the decision making process of the education reforms, they were most likely able to provide research-relevant data. The interview questionnaires in this category explored the general discourses of education production and consumption, general goals and purposes of teacher education, factors affecting teacher development and the influences, issues and the directions of teacher education in Somaliland, policies relating to bridging demand and supply in light of the social and economic re-construction of the state and society.

The second strand of the interview schedules related to investigating the voices of the teacher educators. Teacher educators in Somaliland are working in an education sector that has recently experienced substantial education policy reforms. They are also working within a difficult educational and social circumstance. Despite these circumstances teacher education institutions and teacher educators in Somaliland are being urged to re-conceptualise and re-design their pre-service teacher education programmes in order to respond to the new national policies on teacher education. The interview questionnaires in this strand closely examine how the teacher education policy initiatives and goals are to be transformed in to programmes. A sample of teacher educators from Amoud and Burao Universities were interviewed about their understanding and support for and implementation of new policies and problems they are likely to face in making the new policies a reality. The interview questionnaires mainly examined the impact of the new educational reforms on teacher education and teacher professionalism.

May (2003) highlights some of the advantages of using semi- structured interview techniques in qualitative research including that which takes a social a social constructionist view:

- the open ended nature of the questions defines the topic under investigation, provides opportunities for both the researcher and the interviewer to discuss same topics in more detail;
- interviews allow an opportunity to study in-depth of the problem under investigation;
- interviews yield insights into peoples biographies, experiences opinions aspirations attitudes and feelings;
- interviews have good strength of producing social knowledge;
- semi structured interviews are in between the focused and structured methods and utilize techniques from both;

- questions are normally specified, but the interviewer is free to probe beyond the answers;
- the interviewer can ask both clarification and elaboration on answers given;
- this type of interview allows people to answer more on their own terms than the structured interview permits, but still provide greater structure for comparability over that with focused interviews;
- the context of the interview is an important aspect of the process as it is a dialogue with the interviewee;
- interviewing is a great way to learn detailed information from a single individual or a small number of individuals;
- the interviewer can work out a list of questions that will encourage interviewees to talk freely while obtaining the required information.

4.9.2.1: Interview data analysis

Interview data analysis entails the range of processes and procedures whereby the researcher moves from the qualitative data that has been collected into some form of explanation, understanding or interpretation of the raw data. This is achieved through the development of categories, relationships and assumptions that reflect the respondents' view of the world (McCracken 1988 referenced by Basit 2003:143). Qualitative data analysis is usually based on an interpretive philosophy. The idea is to examine the meaningful and symbolic content of qualitative data. In my research, qualitative interview data information was gathered in a non- numeric form and tape recorded and transcribed immediately after collection. The transcribed interviews were then treated like a 'text' in a similar way to Fairclough's (1993) conception of text as written or spoken language produced in a discursive event. In this way interviewing becomes an interactional event or intelligible interaction, where interviewee's responses are taken as accounts drawing underlying historical, political, social and cultural contexts of discursive practices (Hostein and Gubrium 1994 referenced by Roulston 2001).

My interview data analysis will be reflexive and cyclical, in that it will aim to expose and track discourse and themes as they arise from the original research questions. The design of the analysis procedure would be as follows:

1) the transcribed interview data will be read several times in order to form categories of data.

2) similar issues, keywords, ideas and concepts will contribute to the formation of each category. The categories formed would be then further synthesized to form emerging themes;
3) in each of the transcripts the key themes, generated by the interviews questions, will be noted in the margins;
4) the next step will be intra- interview analysis of different sets of transcripts. In this activity, I will look for key findings of each interview and their contextual proximity and relationship with the other sets of the transcripts;
5) the list of the key themes among the whole sets of the transcripts will be then developed and highlighted using different coloured pens.

When data are analysed by theme it is referred to as thematic analysis. This type of analysis is highly inductive because the themes emerge from the data and are not imposed upon by the researcher. After reducing the interview data using the above framework a combination of content/semantic, linguistic and thematic analysis approach will be developed. In addition the interview data will be examined as a form of genre (use of language associated with a particular social activity), particularly in so far as they will exhibit in relation to discourses of ideological status (both political and educational), power relationship, knowledge, identity and its local-national-global context embedded ness.

In summary, the analysis of the interview data will be similar to that discussed under the documentary data using discourse analysis because both the policy documents and interview transcripts will be conceptualised as forms of discursive texts. Therefore, describing interview data analysis using critical discourse analysis will be just a repetitive task of the procedures that I have already highlighted previously. During the interview process the research participants were given two language options. (i.e. English and Somali). Majority of them opted to conduct the interview using English language, while few preferred to use Somali. The need for translation did not a rise as Somali is my first language.

4.9.3: Ethical issues

The use of text documents and interviews in my research ethically oblige me to provide honest representation and analysis of the information that I extract from these methods because documents both in their ideational and interpersonal function involve peoples'

beliefs, values and social relationships. In respect to this, the following ethical considerations were drawn to address the ethical implications that can arise from the actual conducting of the semi-structured interviews with the research participants. The codes were drawn and adopted for the following issues that are ethically sensitive:

- issues relating to power;
- issues relating to the researcher's and participants safety;
- issues relating to confidentiality of data;
- issues relating to trust;

Eln et al (1991) observes that ethical issues are very important through out the research process and that ethical implications are not only confined to the methodology chapter. The aim of the exploration of ethical questions as they relate to a piece of research is to ensure that the research process poses no risk of physical or psychological damage to the research participants (Fowler, 1993) therefore strategies should be in place to ensure that no such damage occurs and if it occurs, however limited, support is available. In this research I was conscious of the risks of my research participants, in particular teacher educators' positions of giving accounts about governments education policies.

4.9.3.1: How I addressed the ethical issues in this research

1. First, I completed and submitted an ethical application form to my supervisor who in turn forwarded it to the School's Research Ethics Committee for consideration. The ethical application form was accompanied by a detailed outline of my research proposal, including the methodology and the methods that I intended to use. The Committee subsequently approved my application prior to my departure for field work.
2. My research involved social interaction between the researcher, senior government education officers; education advisors, NGOs personnel and teacher educators. In any human interaction the issue of power is always inherent to it because there are several ways in which the issue of power can be conceptualised i.e. power represented by official authority, power represented by the social status of the individual i.e. financial status, social class, family status etc. People's response to interview questions is affected by power relations. In my research, I had no official functioning formal authority because I was neither employed by the Ministry of Education nor had I any other governmental role in the country. However, my position could be described as a UK based, Diaspora professional with close ties with his domicile country. In my

research the issues relating to power position or power relationships is catered for by the application of consent. All the research participants gave both written and verbal consent, which gave them the following rights;

- the right to withdraw from the research at any stage;
- the right to refuse to answer any questions they wish;
- the right to request the presence of another person during the interview;
- the right to read the transcripts of their interview;
- the right to change or withdraw anything they wish in the transcribed interview narratives;

In addition to individual consent, during the start of the project, I requested and secured official permission to conduct my research in Somaliland. The Director General in the Ministry of Education wrote a note to the Director of Department of Curriculum and Training confirming the ministerial approval of my research.

3. Safety: there are two dimensions of this aspect of research i.e. the physical safety and psychological safety of both the researcher and the participants of the research. The physical risk can arise from the unknown intentions arising from two strangers meeting in an isolated area or the environmental hazards that can occur in the meeting venue. The psychological risk can occur when issues raised affect the feelings and values of the interacting individuals. This means that the need to be aware of such risks and measures and strategies in place to minimise the risks. For this purpose most of the data for this research were collected in secluded public places i.e. Ministry of Education offices, inside universities campuses and within schools. However, there are few schedules which were conducted in the evenings in either people's homes or my rented hotel due to convenience or time factors. Other measures to minimise risks included the precautions of interacting parties leaving their details with someone, carrying a mobile phone for emergency contacts, ensuring that the environment was safe, comfortable and conducive, care to ensure that people were comfortable with recordings, and by making it clear to the participants that their involvement was completely voluntary and that they could withdraw from the interview at any time.

4 Confidentiality: Confidentiality is of vital importance to every research study. This is particularly so when the research participants are limited in number and issues raised could be identified easily with them. It could be also so due to the sensitive nature of

information to be gathered and the potential depth of the information collected. Routine steps I took to ensure confidentiality included: (a) limiting the number of people who hear any audiotapes of the interviews; (b) use of pseudonyms for the participants and locations in any written materials produced as a result of the research; (c) safe storage and ultimately safe destruction of all audio tapes and transcripts acquired during the research; (d) keeping the privacy of the participants and representing their views honestly

In summary as a primary researcher, I have concerned my self in addressing ethically human subject issues in my research. The ethical issues that I paid special attention included the issues of identity, confidentiality, potential harm, access to the interviews, informed consent and seeking institutional approvals. In addition to these ethical issues I am also concerned with how my study contributes to enhancing quality education therefore I have to avoid over-identification with my research subjects so as not to loss the critical perspective on the knowledge that I aim to advance.

4.9.3.2: Chapter summary

This chapter has examined the methodological and theoretical perspectives that relates to the research question. It first explored the nature of policy making processes and the role of research, the relationships between educational research and educational policy. I then located my research within the research paradigm of constructionist position. Then my focus moved to discussions of CDA which is located within the frameworks of the qualitative constructionist research position. The main point that I made in this discussion was that CDA is the most appropriate methodology for researching educational policy and change in 'new times' because of it is concern with ideology, power, language and discourse. These principles of discourse analysis are critical in deconstructing education policy texts and because my research question involves an analytical understanding of how external sources inform and impact on Somaliland's education and teacher education policy transformation I found CDA useful in examining the three education reform policy documents and the interviews data that I collected in my research field work. I now present chapter five which utilises principles of qualitative interpretive approach, particularly those of CDA to analyse the three education policy texts that relate to the context of my research (Somaliland)

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0: POLICY TEXT DATA ANALYSIS

5.0: Introduction

Chapter four presented the nature of the policy making process, the role of research in education policy making, critical discourse analysis as my methodological stance for investigating this policy-oriented research and policy texts and interviews as the principal sources of research data. In the methodology chapter, I have also highlighted the different kinds of critical discourse analysis and in particular, I have specified and stated my position of adopting the CDA approach advocated by Fairclough (1989, 1993, 1995 2001, and 2003). Fairclough's theory of discourse and understanding of policy draws on Foucauldian theory of discourses as the conjunction of power and knowledge (Foucault 1972) and raises questions of how power and ideologies are exercised through the policy process and policy documents.

In this chapter, using the above methodological framework, I will provide: (1) an analytical understanding of how external sources impact and inform Somaliland's national education and teacher education policy development process and (2) critical examination of the discourses of teacher professionalisation evident in three contemporary Somaliland education policy documents. These policy documents are:

i. The Somaliland National Education Policy Paper (SLNEP, MOE 2005);
ii. The Somaliland National Teacher Education Policy Paper (SLNTEP,MOE 2006) and;
iii. The Somaliland National Education Sector Strategic Plan 2007-2011(MOE 2007).

What is distinctive in the selection of these three documents is that; (a) they represent recent government and INGOs initiatives to the reform education system and teacher education; (b) they have constitutional status, thus have statutory authority, and (c) they represent the main vehicles for increasing government and non-state education providers' control of education.

Overview analysis and deconstruction of the three policy documents reviewed suggest that the current educational reforms are focused on changes in the following aspects of education and teacher education;

1. changing the philosophy and the ideology of education (both the political and educational ideologies of education). These reform measures aim to change and 'correct' the previous national, political, economic, societal and individual function of previous education system. The resulting new discourse of education is thus presented as corrective reform;
2. systematic and structural reforms aimed at improving the quality, efficiency, accountability, relevance, access and equity in education. These measures include decentralisation initiatives, new managerial practices, partnership and collaboration creation and gender mainstreaming in education. They also relate changes in the enabling structures that support education and teacher education;
3. changes in curriculum i.e. content and organisation of what is taught at all the compulsory levels of education;
4. re-conceptualisation of teacher education and teacher professionalism. Aspects of teacher education in which changes are sought include governance, funding, quality assurance system, the selection criteria, curriculum, training and teachers' professional development programmes.

All the above aspects of the reforms cannot be covered in this thesis. The particular focus of my thesis is to critically examine how external sources inform and impact on Somaliland's education and teacher education transformation and thereafter draw out how the current educational reform policy texts construct future teachers' professionalism and identities and the extent to which they reflect a response to global economic pressures. However, it is also equally difficult to explore teacher education policies and deconstruct the discourses of teachers' identities and professionalism contained in these policy documents without referring to the wider discourse perspectives that inform the educational reforms in the local context.

Therefore in order to understand the above phenomena, I found it necessary to explore the wider context in which teacher education policies are located because the discourse of teacher professionalisation is embedded within wider reforms in education and schools which all have direct implications for teacher education and teacher professionalism. Hargreaves (1994) observes that the two phenomena of education reforms and teacher education are closely linked, but research rarely considers them together. This thesis avoids this limitation. In order to strike a balance between the two positions, my analysis of the Somaliland's contemporary education policy documents, will divide the multiple

and competing discourses that underline the policy reform texts into threefold typologies. This are: (1) the new discourse of education presented as corrective reforms (2) the core systematic and structural policy reforms in the policy texts and (3) the combined impacts of the new discourse of education, systematic and structural changes on teacher education and teacher professionalism. I will use these three categorisations of the reforms as a framework for organising the analysis of the three policy texts which I have identified at the beginning of this chapter.

5.1.0: Methodological difficulties

I must confess the use of CDA to deconstruct and analyse education policy documents dealing with the current context of Somaliland education has been a challenge. First, the context of study (Somaliland) presents varied actors whose discourse orientation in education provision sometimes converges and other times present conflicting views. For example, the participation of donor agencies in education provision has led to the introduction of goals, processes, outcomes and infrastructures, which emphasise the discourses of quality, equality, access, control, audit and accountability aimed at checking value for the money which they provide. Traditionally, although these discourses existed before in the local context, they did not gain much prominence as tools for control and regulation.

Secondly, both my informal discussions and subsequent interviews with the MOE personnel, suggest that Somaliland has extensively used external consultancies to develop and write the above referenced educational policy documents. For example, although local educationalists and other local policy actors participated in the development of the three policy documents, the actual people who constituted, controlled and finally wrote were expatriates. These external consultants were mainly white professionals who work for the International Non-Governmental Organisations. They also included some Kenyan and Ugandan professionals who were hired for their expertise.

These two factors identified above combined can present difficulties in analysing the documents in terms of their local representation. For example, the writers' choice of language use can affect the representation, valuing and identification of the real context. Fairclough (2001) calls the interactional analysis of the text, which includes the text itself, the inter-discursive analyses and the linguistic analyses within the documents as the heart

of the analysis of the policy texts. This strong positioning of language use in policy documents helps researchers not only to deconstruct the thematic perspectives of contemporary education policy documents in the study context, but also theorise power relations between the various stakeholders of education.

I now go on to provide brief introductions to the three policy papers that I intend to analyse here.

5.2.0: Introduction of the Somaliland's contemporary education policy texts

For understanding the educational policies and practices in the Somaliland context, I found the Somaliland National Education Policy Paper (2005), the National Teacher Education Policy Paper (2006) and the Somaliland Strategic Education Development Plan 2007-2011 (MOE 2007) most useful. These documents are apparently directed at the wider public as well as teachers and international non-governmental organisations that support education. Most current education provisions and guidelines are based on these three live documents. However, of the three policy papers examined, the Somaliland National Education Policy Paper, which is the first of the three reform policy papers, contains most of the changes that are to result from the current education reforms. The paper consists of four main sections and sub-sections. The first section highlights the purpose of developing the new Somaliland education policy. The second section details all the levels of the education system from pre-primary, primary, secondary education, tertiary education, non formal education and teacher education in terms of their current status, objectives, the new policy directives that the government is committed to and what the government will do to achieve the new strategic policies. The final part of the policy paper covers the implementation framework of the national education policy paper in terms of the systematic and structural policy reforms that will support and enable the new education. The implementation measures identified include the strengthening of the government's planning capacity, introduction of school mapping exercises, development of institutional and regulatory frameworks, partnership and collaboration practices, decentralisation initiatives and new managerial practices of supervision, quality assurance and funding procedures.

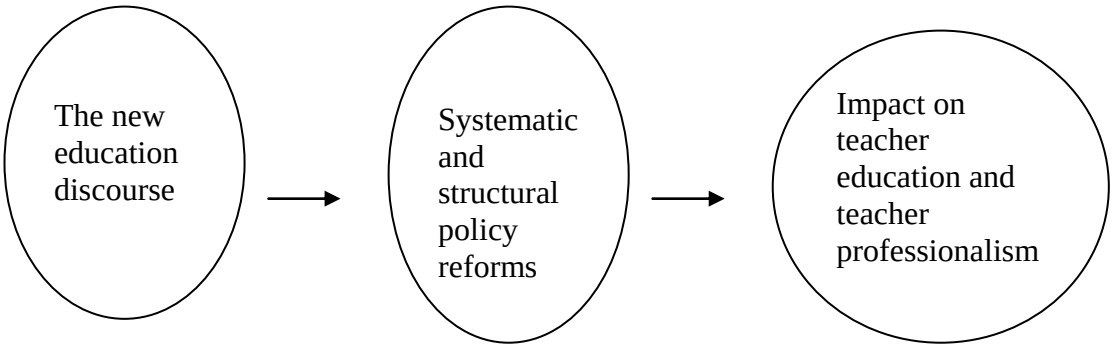
The second education reform policy paper entitled The National Teacher Education Policy paper (MOE 2006) was specifically drawn to harmonise teacher education and teacher professionalism with the new economic discourse of education. The content and the

representation of policy texts in this document share similar features and are closely related to the national education policy paper. The paper consists of five sections. The first section highlights the relationship between the national goals, mission, values and vision of education and the objectives of current teacher education. The assumptions made for the re-conceptualisation of teacher education and teacher professionalism in this section are presented as modernisation strategies that can respond to the needs and the aspirations of the Somalilanders. The needs and aspiration which are identified in this paper are mainly transferred from the national education policy paper (2005). The second section provides analysis of teacher education and teacher professionalism in relation to the various levels of education from early childhood level to higher education institutions; the third section deals with the future management and financing of teacher education; the fourth section deals with the legal and regulatory framework of teacher education and final part covers the framework for implementing Somaliland's national teacher education policy.

The third policy paper is titled as: The Education Sector Strategic Development Plan 2007-2011 mainly covers implementation strategies of the policies contained in the previously highlighted two policy documents. This includes the time scale schedules for achieving the identified policies, focus budget analysis of the costs involved and identification of the money resources that will be used for the strategic policies implementation.

All the three reform policy papers described above were commissioned by the current ruling, "UDUB" government to address the major challenges facing education in Somaliland. The resulting policies lay out the nature of the education problems and the government plans to address them. In chapter two, I described in detail how these documents were developed by the government in partnership with INGOs that support the government's education reform agenda. I have also highlighted their purposes and their institutional context. Rather than repeating this process, in this chapter, I aim to draw the policy substances that are contained in these documents. In the following section, I now draw the three typology of (1) the new discourse of education presented as the corrective reforms (2) the systematic and structural policy reforms and (3) the impacts of the new discourse of education and its associated systematic and structural changes on teacher education and teacher professionalism.

Figure 5a: *Diagrammatic representation of the 3 typologies that constitute the education reforms*



5.3.0: Typology one: Corrective reforms: presentation of new political and educational ideologies

Using the two concepts of *modality* and *evaluation* Fairclough (2003) argue that what people commit themselves to in policy texts is an important part of how they identify themselves and how they texture the identities of others. However, to critically understand these matters is complex and calls for critical awareness of language use, close examination of both the ideological and the representational effects of the policy texts and close scrutiny of how ideological assumptions presented in policy texts (both explicit and implicit) are linked to or are part of new power practices within the contexts of social events, social practices and social structures in education. By adopting this methodological position in my analysis, I aim to generate a deeper understanding of the discourses that are promoted within the policy texts, their relationship with globalisation of educational policies and their local contextual visibility.

The Somaliland National Education Policy (SLNEP, MOE, 2005) starts with a statement of recognition which states that education is recognised as the most necessary tool for national development. This governmental belief is followed by the following statement of appeal:

…As such, the government believes that it needs the support of parents, teachers, communities, religious leaders, private sector, and development partners (a phrase frequently used by the government to refer to the INGOs participating in education reforms) (SLNEP, MOE, 2005:3)

The National Education Sector Strategic Plan 2007-2011 (MOE, 2007) expresses a similar appeal:

Students, teachers, parents, the diaspora and development partners should join forces in supporting the governments efforts to spur the country's economic growth through

education (Minister for Education- introducing the education sector strategic plan 2007-2011(MOE, 2007)

In these two quotations the policy texts provide persuasive account of national solidarity. The audience that the texts target are diverse and inclusive (e.g. from students to the overseas diaspora community) and the citizens are persuaded and recruited to participate in national development and progress of the nation. The third paragraph of the Somaliland's Education Policy paper (2005) further emphasis the purpose of the recent reforms:

The development of Somaliland national education policy is designed to contribute to the country's development efforts for variety of reasons. First, the pivotal role of education in the socio-economic development process of every country is universally acknowledged. Second, education and adequate training provide the conditions for the emergence of expertise and technology that underlie sustainable national development. Third, nations develop and advance to the extent to which their educational programmes are relevant (SLNEP, MOE: 2005:3)

In the next paragraph the policy texts define relevant education "***as that in which the content and methods are related and respond to the needs and aspiration of the society"***. The next two paragraphs further clarify the nature of this desired relevant education and what the aspiration and the vision of Somalilanders are respectively:

The government recognises the need for an education system that will provide the human resources required to match the economic growth of Somaliland in the next two decades and enable the country to realise its national vision (SLNEP, MOE 2005:3)

The vision of Somaliland is one of expanding the economy characterised by growth…the vision is also one of an economy in alignment with developments in an age dominated by advanced scientific knowledge and information technology (SLNEP, MOE 2005:3).

In these two quotations the policy texts draw two key phrases of 'the nation' and 'the national vision'. These two phrases are highly ideological and primarily relate to progress and self reliance through relevant knowledge that emphasises science and technology. The next paragraph of SLNEP further stresses the importance of science and technology in education by stating that:

In the 21st century appropriate technology is the key to increased socio-economic progress, sustainable development and self reliance. The paragraph concludes with authoritative statement declaring that ***education in Somaliland should enable all Somalilanders to acquire scientific knowledge to enable them function in an era of rapid scientific development…(SLNEP, MOE 2005:3).***

The next three pages (4, 5 and 6) mainly use combined numbering and bulleting system to highlight in detail the national goals of Somaliland "Republic", the future vision of

education and the national goals of education. In the beginning a bolded statement states that the vision of Somaliland education is derived from the broad national goals of the "Republic" that are ***aimed to build a strong and self reliant economy through the acquisition of and application of scientific, technical and managerial knowledge and skills (SLNEP, MOE 2005:5).*** This is followed by a sub-section that highlights the new vision of education in which the state is obliged to provide guidelines in respect to manpower planning and skills development. The focus of the vision of education is dominated by links that relate state education provision with national productivity and economic competitiveness, employment and learners' appreciation, respect and the dignity of labour as evidenced by the following point:

The national goal of education in Somaliland will be to promote within society the acquisition and application of relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary to fulfil its potential for development in a continuously changing world (SLNEP, MOE 2005:6).

Here the notion of continuously changing world is created to warn that there are risks associated if the government fails to show action. The government's potential inaction signifies that Somaliland cannot face the challenges of the new times. The ideational meaning of the text "*a continuously changing world"* also creates the imperative of the need for improvement and modernisation of practices. This puts pressure on those who are directly involved in teaching and learning processes e.g. teachers and those who are involved in other enabling structures that support the education system. This could include a wide range of specialised departments and institutions e.g. teacher training institutions, inspectorate, examination, personal departments and so on. The drive for change in this process could present conflicts both in terms of individuals responding to changes in working behaviour and power relationships and in terms of reform resources.

The next section of the Somaliland Education Policy paper (2005) covers reform details of all levels of education i.e. from early childhood to higher education in terms of their current status, objectives, future government policy directives and implementation strategies for achieving such policies. Exploring how policy texts construct the preferred public discourse on all these levels of education suggest that learners are guided to focus on education that leads them to employment. For example, in the primary education level the policy texts first provide a descriptive structure of primary education (year 1-8) in two lines and then proceed to define basic education as: ***Education which provides knowledge and skills needed by every citizenship of the country to be able to live "righteously" and***

work productively (SLNEP, MOE 2005:13). In the next sub- sectors of education i.e. secondary education, tertiary education and higher education, this basic assumption of the economic discourse of education is continuously repeated by declarative statements that claim to equip learners with appropriate knowledge and skills to enable them achieve their potential. This potentiality is constantly linked to appropriate knowledge, skills, employment, productivity and contributing to the national economic development. The focus seems to be the practical training and work experience of the learners. There is also high incidence and frequent mentioning of the future needs of employers in the business and the industrial sector. These observations indicate that the trends which the re-designed education system is to respond are largely economic rather than social. Here productivity and growth are largely determined by the rate of technical and accumulation of relevant knowledge.

Generally, any one who reads the above policy text extracts is likely to be mentally jostled by the following thoughts. Is this ***recognition*** and ***belief*** of the economic role of education new to Somaliland, what was it like before, did the other stakeholders of education not involve or support the governments' provision of education before?

Critical deconstruction of the policy statements that linked other countries development to the extent which their education is relevant and the subsequent definition of what relevant education is can provide insights to the answers of the above questions. In the sense that first, the above policy texts implicitly identify national economic failure and this failure is attributed to the education system and the reason why the education system is failing the national development is because of its irrelevancy in both in terms of its content and method of delivery. Therefore the assumptions made on other countries economic development makes the change of education orientation as inevitable if Somaliland is to achieve similar economic development. The ideological function of these texts can be said to be similar to those of the advertisement industry which aim to create inclinations in the minds of consumers so that they can be initiated to buy the advertised products or services.

Secondly, the above policy texts provide a representation of particular desired view of the world in the sense that the nature of the documents produced by governments is more likely to share the government intensions. Policies and ideologies are linked. Educational policies can be read off the ideologies of the politicians and others involved in policy making process. Education is one of the social policies that politicians and political parties

can use to convince the electorate about their desired political-development agenda which they think are good for the nation. Therefore one can argue that there is a strong link and relationship between political ideologies and educational ideologies. The Somaliland National Education Policy paper (2005) can be seen in the context of above observation, specifically, policy texts that highlight the purpose, mission and vision of developing the new Somaliland's education policy. These policy texts are seen as working ideologically to present the consumption of the economic function of education as the most desirable value assumption (Fairclough 2003). This is evidenced by the fact that the key theme running through the reforms in education has an economic competitiveness as its central function. The occurrence and the dominance of this discourse in education is also further supported and exemplified by the observed educational strategies that are aimed to produce a better skilled workforce and the explicit links created by the policy texts between schooling and economic productivity.

Thirdly, the use and the exemplification of other countries development in order to justify education changes at home as well as the features of the new discourse of education promoted by the policy texts suggest that the authors of these policy texts have been interacting and are been informed and influenced by others. The fact that as a researcher, I am aware of the role of INGOs in the production process of the reform policy papers in terms of providing financial resources, knowledge, skills and expertise further supports and evidences the above interaction occurring. However, the significant point is not to verify whether such interaction has occurred or not but to show how these interactions have facilitated the process of policy borrowing, lesson drawing and policy learning. In the literature review chapter, I have used Rose's (1991, 1993) conception of lesson drawing to describe how national policy actors can explore other countries policies and practices in order to enhance their policy decision making in the policy making process. I have also explored how the mechanism of lesson drawing and policy transfer could lead to copying, adaptation, hybrids, synthesis and aspiration models of policy transfer. In this case the Somaliland's education policy reform texts show theoretical connections with the literature review phenomena of globalisation of educational policies. The fact that neo-liberal economic policy in education is the central discourse in the policy reforms demonstrate that policy learning has occurred as a result of national-global interaction.

The linguistic analysis of the Somaliland National Education Policy (2005) also shows that the new economic discourse of education is achieved through the stylistic use of language.

The stylistic linguistic features utilised to create and promote both ideological and social effects of the texts include appropriate vocabularies that provide representation of desired discourses (ways of representing), genres (ways of acting) and styles (ways of being) (Fairclough 2003:26). Similarly, the policy texts greatly utilise the use of verb expressions such as *make, support, ensure, continue, develop, ask, encourage, legislate, consider, provide, introduce, enable.* In most circumstances the policy texts examined used these verbs to show the government's commitment and obligations. These verb expressions also achieved the objective of identifying the government role and position in the reforms. The verb expressions in the policy texts such as *want, propose, intend, believe, recognise, and expect* contribute to the readers' mental cognition process in identifying the active role of the policy texts authors. In this case the above verbs presented the government as the dominant actor in the policy development process and thus construct a picture of providing government which is dynamic and committed to the needs and the aspirations of its people. The following extracts demonstrate this finding:

The government will encourage the establishment of technical and professional institutions as a way of meeting the mid level human resource needs (SLNEP:24)…The government will actively expand the learning opportunities…the government will put in place measures designed to improve the relevant TVET (SLNEP:25)…the government will continuously seek to put in place strategies for improving teaching and learning process (SLNEP:26)…the government will also take steps to enhance the quality and relevance of teacher education…the government will set up national education resource centre…the government will set up the necessary legislation to guide the participation of the private sector…(SLNEP:39)…the government will create a specific teacher education unit (SLNTEP:19)…the government will increase the budget dedicated to teacher education and will secure additional funding from the development partners…extracts from SLNEP 2005 & SLTEP 2006

This makes the government actively engaged in its mission of modernising education by setting targets and creating strategies, by facilitating collaboration and partnership between different participants, by involving people in consultation and planning, by monitoring standards and intervening in failures, and by creating the enabling structures and organisational networks necessary for the support and the improvement of learning and teaching practices at various levels of education. These government actions can be seen as assimilating the role of senior managers in a private corporate organisation, who are committed, collaborative, strategic planners, target setters, encouragers and facilitators of others dedications and monitor the evaluation processes. Managers that can assert their authorities where necessary to maintain quality assurance. This apparent governmental role has the tendency to change peoples' behaviour and values in accordance with the

perception of quality in education that the government believes is the desired practice that can create a self reliant economy or enterprise culture.

As shown in the above exemplifications the third linguistic feature that policy texts used to create both ideological and social effects is the use of prepositions and pronouns such as *we, us, will, should*, and combination of either of these words or the combination of the *word government* with the word *will.* These words express the government's intended actions, opinions and future actions, strategies, initiatives, consultation and legislation and through the use of these words the need for the reforms is expressed with urgency, and with governmental obligation and commitment. The collective pronoun ***"we"*** in the policy texts is used to signify the strong active role of the government i.e. …"***we in the Ministry of Education now intend to use the plan (Education Sector Strategic Plan 2007-2011) to guide our work***. In some cases the use of the pronoun ***"we"*** is used to achieve and signify the inclusiveness and the *consensus* of other stakeholders in agreeing the government's reform policies. This creates an inclination that there is close collaboration going on among all the stakeholders in education to promote the implementation of the new policies. This includes the acceptance of neo-liberal enterprise education ideology which views the purpose of education as increasing human capital, views pupils and students as raw materials to be processed, views parents as supporters of the government position, views teachers as anti-business and industry therefore there is need to manage them; views business sector as good partner and appropriate curriculum as vocational practical skill training. In this way policy texts legitimate and provide representation of the desirability of education to equip the Somaliland's children with skills and dispositions necessary for economic development and global competition.

5.3.1: Government legitimating of enterprise oriented educational ideology

Somaliland's dominant enterprise education ideology which was observed in the previous extracts from the policy texts can be argued to have been informed by neo-liberal political ideologies. Usually, the emphasis of this approach is on competitiveness in market environments both nationally and internationally. This makes education primarily concerned with developing people to be good and efficient workers. Therefore there is likelihood that education is constructed on the basis of the question of what will it help to achieve economically as the key factor in deciding what should be taught. There is considerable emphasis on core skills, communication, information technology and literacy.

New technology and new approaches to teaching and learning are valued both as more efficient and more effective tools than traditional approaches, and for their development of important skills in students. Within this context, expenditure on education by the state is seen as an investment in human capital, progress and modernisation where it is assumed that education is causally related to economic growth. Thus, the primary goal of education is to enable individual learners to acquire the skills and abilities for them to perform more effectively, hence more productively, within a changing global market. Furlong (1992) and Codd (2005) observe that education in Britain, North America, Australia and New Zealand have significantly moved towards this neo-liberal policy ideology. In pursuit of these goals, education in these countries has been transformed to become both more responsive locally to market forces and more accountable centrally for measurable outcomes. Furlong (1992) argues that neo-liberal education provision is based on the technical-rational ideology which combines utilitarian values with an interest in applying rationalistic scientific principles.

Under the influence of utilitarianism, and in a society where the labour market assumes a particular economic hegemony, technical rationalists define the aims of education in terms of what is useful; therefore education aims to prepare children for the world of work. The implication of this thought to the initial teacher education is that it should be narrowly functional, emphasizing only on what will be professionally useful for teachers. As a consequence, the problem for education is seen as how to develop the most effective means to achieve given ends. Very often, in teacher education this has meant an emphasis on task analysis, skill training and scientifically based testing. According to this ideology, the view of teacher professionalism is that it should construct teachers as efficient workers, which implies that there is a common framework for all the learners and their teachers. According to Popkewitz (1994) this philosophical position flattens the reality and obscures the struggles which fashion and shape our world and teacher education because teachers are assigned to deliver an education that is increasingly defined by a political process over which the individual teacher has little control.

5.3.2: The rationale for enterprise oriented education in Somaliland context

The political party in power (UDUB) is dominated by Somaliland Diaspora individuals who decided to return to their domicile country after a long time in the UK. The relationship between Somaliland and the United Kingdom dates back to early 18th century

when the British shipping industry recruited seamen from the costal towns of Somaliland. As a result of these early interactions and adventures of Somalilanders, the UK costal towns (e.g. Cardiff and Liverpool) accommodated immigrant settlers from Somaliland. Recently, since 1990 due to the civil war in Somalia this immigrant community has expanded in number. I reflect upon this immigration factor because a percentage of Somalilanders have experienced education in the UK and a proportion of Diaspora-educated individuals have returned to Somaliland and are now actively involved in the education re-construction process. For example, people who have established the current local universities in Somaliland have a Diaspora experience background. It is through this humane, low level of global- national- mobility that ideas and policies that aligned education more closely with its economic function have been diffused to Somaliland. Through the contribution of both human and capital resources the Somaliland Diaspora Community has influenced both the structural and ideological transformation of the education system. This discursive shift in the education debate towards an economic function was also promoted by the INGO participating in the education reforms. These two combined forces of Diaspora and INGOs influence have placed economic competitiveness at the centre of the political and education agenda. In essence, the new discourse of education, for the first time, opened up education to business values, interests and principles, methods of management and funding. One resulting feature of this has been the mushrooming of private schools and other private institutions of higher education because of the favourable policies attracting the private sector to invest in education sector. This economic policy dimension in education can be understood as an aspect of not only the current government's relationship to more global and economic forces, but also the ability of other stakeholders in education to influence change.

However, to argue that education reforms in Somaliland are purely based on the economic discourse is inaccurate. Although the economic discourse can be said to constitute as the dominant ideological thought as the previous sections of this chapter have demonstrated, More often than not most public education provides varied combinations of progressive, enterprise, social and traditional educational ideologies. The degree of one ideological category dominating the rest is usually determined by the prevailing current political ideology that presents the dominant political power of the national state. In the case of Somaliland, I previously exemplified and argued that education reforms are mainly embedded in economic matters. However, this does not mean that the social and the

personal function of the education system are none existent. In the following section, I demonstrate the progressive and the social discourses of the new education system.

5.4.0: The promotion of the progressive educational ideology

As much as the economic rationalism has implications for education and teacher education in Somaliland as described in the previous section, similarly, the social discourses embedded in the education texts have also some implications for education and teacher education. In this section, I will first present data evidencing the social values underlying the Somaliland education policy papers and will then provide a brief reflection on its manifestation in the local context.

The first incidence that shows that the SLNEP: MOE 2005 policy text's concern with the discourses of social values in education occurs on page 4, where the policy texts use bullet points to identify and state the aims of ***fostering of human rights, freedom, social justice and national unity as the 4th national goal of the "Republic" of Somaliland***. The 9th and the final bullet point of this sub-section of the policy texts also state that the broader national goals of the "Republic" also includes ***the promotion of within the society a sense of responsibility for peace and improvement of human relations at the community, national and international levels (SLNEP 2005:5)***. The next section of the policy text titled as the Somaliland's vision on education has the following explicit assumption about the future social role of education:

…to promote the national consciousness and unity in the minds of the children at an early age and enhancement of a spirit of patriotism for Somaliland as well as a desire for its sustained integration, stability and prosperity….(SLNEP 2005:5)

In the next paragraph of the same page, the policy text argues for inclusion and equality of opportunities in education:

Education must open the doors of opportunity and growth to all, irrespective of gender, religion or region…the system will foster the qualities of civil awareness, competence in social roles and sense of responsibility in relationships with others.. SLNEP 2005:5.

On the next page the national goals of education are stated in a mixed numeric and bullet point style and the following extract shows the intrinsic desired social values of education:

National goals of education will be to promote within the society a sense of responsibility for peace and improved relations at the individual, family, community national and international levels…to promote within the society values of loyalty, self reliance,

tolerance, cooperation, diligence, openness, inquiry, critical thought, honesty, justice, farness and peace (SLNEP MOE 2005:6)

The above policy texts thus relate education to the concepts social cohesion and integration. In these extracts the explicit assumptions made by the policy texts are that education can be a key social tool to solve social problems. This pragmatic social problem solving approach of education therefore needs an appropriate curriculum for schools that will enable citizens to develop skills that are beneficial in negotiation, cooperation, integration and common good of the society. The ideology which is explicit in this account is that of 'nation building'. In the previous section I demonstrated how policy texts were promoting the economic discourse, while in this part I highlighted how the same policy texts were also promoting the ideology of 'nation building'. Thus in this context it is worth noting to reflect on how texts can perform differentiated functions simultaneously.

Further reading across the contemporary education policy documents also indicates overtones; emphasis and high frequency use of other words that evidence urgent need for education to serve the role of building a cohesive society. These words include**,** *citizenship, collective responsibility, socially oriented, education for the development of society, shared beliefs, common goals, state control, shared value, identify, inclusion and education for all.* Particularly, it is worth noting the frequency and emphasis attached to the word 'society' in the policy texts. In this sense both the broader national goals of the republic and the national educational goals make the social development and social cohesion functions of education as the second most dominant discourse in the reform policy texts.

The social mobility discourse is also expressed in policy texts in terms of inclusion, access and participatory strategies. In this case, the policy statements that relate to ***equality*** such as ***equity*** in education, ***social justice*** and ***redistribution of justice*** are interpreted as promoting a ***social mobility discourse***. Similarly, affirmative actions that focus disadvantaged groups such as pastoralist pupils, pupils with special needs and girls' education in particular are seen as serving the discourse of social mobility. For example, in this respect, the Somaliland's Education Policy paper (2005) states that:

The government of Somaliland is committed to special measures to increase access and participation of disadvantaged groups i.e. pastoralists, pupils with special needs and girls' education…. (SLNEP,MOE: 7)

One group that the policy reforms specifically target to improve their participation and retention in education and teacher education is the female pupils. A whole page of the SNEP titled ***girls' education*** is dedicated to establishing enabling policy devices that are considered to be promoting access and participation of girls in education and subsequently in teacher education. These intervention measures include the adoption and commitment to free primary education for all and creation of other specific enabling policies that could provide girls' with friendly and conducive learning environments in schools. The intervention strategies also include affirmative actions such as favourable selection of girls for scholarships and admission to colleges, removing of curriculum and text books gender biased knowledge and stereo types and overcoming of the discriminations perpetuated by patriarchal social practices through sustained advocacy at all levels i.e. at home, community, school and work places (MOE, 2005, MOE 2006).

The adoption and the emphasis of social role of education in Somaliland context is historically located and informed. It represents the learnt lessons. Previous education provisions failed to hold the fabrics of the society together. Somaliland can be described as a transitional society recovering from the effects of a civil war. Therefore it is rational to argue that education that emphasises and supports values of tolerance and social cohesion offers a sound base for reconstructing the education system. According to the policy texts the government believes that public education constructed under this ideology will directly contribute to the maintenance of social democracy through building communities of literate and informed citizens. There is some evidence that curriculum reforms in Somaliland schools have achieved this objective because unlike neighbouring Somalia, where civil war still rages Somaliland has achieved peace, internal stability, a democratic system of parliamentary government, an independent judiciary and strong private sector (Schellekens 2004, EC Somalia Unit)

5.4.1: Implications for teacher education and teacher professionalism

This type of education ideology is usually informed by social democratic political ideology. According to this imperative the focus of education is to achieve a balanced status of personal development and social cooperation. This ideological thought is close to Marxist, feminist and other conflict models views and beliefs in the sense that all these models emphasise *equality* of the education provision. But, what is distinctive about social re-constructionist thought is that its starting point is political. It's committed to achieving

equality and justice in society at large and teachers are seen as the key change agents in that process. This concern with equality can be expressed both in terms of support for particular educational policies, i.e. special needs, equal opportunities and mixed ability grouping.

Social re-constructionist claims that education can be a force for positive social change by creating an improved individual who is to be critical to address prevailing social norms and help change them for better. Social re-constructionists favour a focus on subject discipline, autonomous learning, but with strong guidance from the teachers who exercise a degree of professional autonomy in determining what and how to teach. Therefore in pursuing these policies teachers must come to see themselves as transformative intellectuals. Transforming the consciousness of children and enabling them to develop critical thinking skills. Methods of teaching and learning which question how knowledge is produced and distributed are encouraged. The task of initial teacher education is seen to develop students as transformative intellectuals by giving them critical education that can help them develop the pedagogical skills necessary for promoting critical thinking among their pupils (Hill 1989 referenced by Furlong 1992).

5.5.0: The promotion of traditionalist educational ideology in policy texts

The population of Somaliland is considered to be 99.9 % Muslim. The influence of Islam throughout Somaliland is profound and faith plays a major role in every day life. Somalilanders also have their own traditional culture and heritage. But for centuries this has been modified by religion and now religion, culture and heritage are so interwoven together that they can represent a single identity to any one who is not familiar with the local socio-cultural-religious context. Religious schools known as Madrasas are as common as state schools. These faith schools are usually run by charities and parent associations that mainly get sponsorships from Muslim countries. Religious schools also enjoy a lot of autonomy from the secular state control**.**

The Somaliland's National Education Policy (2005) shows some expressions of educational conservativeness:

The education system of Somaliland must be based on the values and principles of Somaliland, the state religion, Islam and the need for all individuals to realise their potential in life within the context of Islam… (SLNEP, MOE 2005: 5)

In the above extract, the education system is linked to the traditional values, culture, heritage and religion. This conservative ideological thought can also be seen as re-assurance from the secular state that the new education system will not contradict the Islamic values and principles. This re-assurance is important in two aspects. (1) First the recent replacement of Somali and Arabic languages by English as the medium of curriculum instruction in schools and colleges coupled with the presence of many INGOs from western countries in education reconstruction can give the impression that Somaliland has lost it is close ideological attachment with the Arab league and the Muslim countries. Secondly, these texts are specifically addressed to the religious sector who is often sceptic in policies from the western countries.

The broader national goals of the republic also state that:

The government is committed to promote the diffusion and practice of genuine Islamic principles and values (SLNEP, MOE2005: 3)

Similarly, the Somaliland's national vision of education envisions education as a social tool which contributes to:

The development of a society committed to the preservation and enrichment of the cultural values and traditions based on genuine Islamic principle (SLNEP, MOE 2005:5)

The extract also shows the extent to which the traditional Somali culture and heritage are been influenced by religion and the state's role in assuring compliance. Repetition of the same above ideological conservativeness is also used in one of the bullet points of the national goals of education to express government's obligation:

To promote a society made up of individuals with enriched moral, social and intellectual skills and attitudes necessary for the growth and survival of the individual and of Somaliland (SLNEP, MOE 2005:6)

This type of conservative education ideology is usually informed by neo-conservatism political ideology. This line of thinking stretches back to the philosophical thought of Plato. The emphasis on this perspective is on order, hierarchies and cultural transition. Traditionalism is rooted in a belief in the value of cultural and disciplinary heritage, of which academics are custodians. The role of schools is to transmit this heritage to the next generation who are expected to receive it passively and gratefully. Elitism is justified in terms of the inherent difficulties of achieving a good education and limited distribution of talent in society. The content of subjects is very important and learning about history,

geography and so on is important in itself and is argued to help develop the mind and personality of the learners. The influences of conservative ideology in the debates of initial teacher education can be seen in the inclusion of the teachers' role as the custodian of the great heritage of the society. In this tradition, the central aim of education is seen as the preservation of a refined cultural heritage. The curriculum is considered a repository of worthwhile activities and values into which learners need to be initiated in an orderly systematic way (Corner & Lofthouse 1990 referenced by Furlong 1992). In the words of Hillgate Group 1989 referenced by Furlong (ibid) education depends on the preservation of knowledge, skills culture and moral values and their transmission to the young. Therefore the task of initial teacher education is to develop professionals who are themselves experts in their own subject area. Such professionals also need to have the practical didactic skills necessary to induct the next generation into established bodies of knowledge.

5.5.1: The rationale for this discourse

In some ways, the education policy reforms in Somaliland present tensions between the three ideological discourses highlighted. The purpose of schooling is not only to provide the nation with a qualified workforce, but also to transmit to the new generations the cultural heritage and language as well as to strengthen the national identity. But increasing global competition intensifies the multiple aims of education and this makes education reforms ideologically and politically more important than before (Hargreaves 1994). Critical evaluation of education reforms in Somaliland shows covert or implicit agendas of conservatism. While the new economic function and social- cohesion discourses are very explicit in the policy documents the politicians are careful about the production, consumption and dissemination effects of these policy documents in relation to religion because Somaliland is a Muslim country and almost all its population practice Islam. However, this does not mean that Islam is in a contradictory position to the economic discourse of the education reforms. However, politicians are often seen as attempting to please the popular democratic voice for purely political reasons. In addition, the current politics in Somaliland is dominated by political actors who are mainly Diaspora returnees from Western Europe, but the mass of the population still hold neo- conservative principles that are rooted in the values of cultural and disciplinary heritage. The House of the Elders, the supreme legislative body in Somaliland, is dominated by neo-conservative representatives who sometimes critique the rationale for education which promotes the utility of the market over the traditional humanist education which focuses social good.

5.5.2: Summary of typology one

Understanding the government's education policy discourse in its socio-political context, and its role in the production and legitimation of the above ideological discourses through education provision is a complicated process. The three educational ideologies of enterprise education, social progressivism, and the neo-conservative traditional approach to education identified and discussed in this section, differ in orientation and approach. However, there are no distinctive and clear boundaries between them. Although one approach might be more explicit than others, in most cases, the education systems present a combination of the three phenomena.

In my policy text data analysis, through examples, mainly from the Somaliland National Education Policy paper (2005), I have demonstrated that neo-liberal views of education which emphasise the development of necessary skills for knowledge economy, employment and productivity is the central discourse in the education reforms of Somaliland. I have also demonstrated the presence of social development and neo-conservatives ideological thoughts which are imbedded in the policy texts at a marginalized level. The economic centrality of the education reforms in Somaliland context is similar to education reforms of the countries that seceded from the former USSR such as Bolivia (Contreras and Simoni 2003); Albania (Whitehead 2000), Estonia, Slovenia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Lithuania's (West and Crighton, 1999). In these countries democratisation and globalisation phenomena have replaced the previous political and educational social discourses.

In a similar circumstance, Somaliland's education reforms can be seen as a social tool in which to correct the previous communist ideologies, promote democracy and initiate national development strategy. The fact that Somalilanders were so dissatisfied with the previous education system made them receptive to absorbing of new ideas. The reform process was further facilitated by the influences, resources and the powers of the INGOs who propagated the democratisation agenda. These organisations have the tendency to influence the type of political ideology in which educational reforms are to be prioritised. The findings in this typology one can be seen in the contexts of how external sources can influence national education policies. The processes that facilitate this influence could be described as constituting notions of policy transfer, lesson drawing and policy learning through local-global interactions. And in most circumstances international agencies such as

OECD, World Bank, IMF, EU, UN and its associated agencies, corporate sector, higher education institutions, local NGOs and private consultant firms are the agents through which policies are learnt and transferred from one context to another.

In my analysis, I have adopted a multi-perspective approach in order to develop an understanding of the current educational reforms in Somaliland. In this approach, I have viewed education reforms as phenomena occurring in economic, cultural and political contexts. I believe this dimension of the reform analysis has the potential to illuminate how the educational reforms actually operate across multiple social domains. To understand both the educational and the political ideologies promoted in Somaliland's education reform texts one needs to understand both their economic and social conditions of production. Somaliland is a 'country' recovering from a civil war. Both the educational and the political reconstruction processes significantly rely on foreign aid. As a result there are many INGOs present in the country who are actively involved in both the national education policy making process as well as the strategic policy implementation.

In summary, this has section concentrated the ideological functions of the policy texts and how language works to expose these ideological effects of the written policy texts. In the next section, I now go on to consider the second typology which briefly examines both the systematic and structural policy reforms that are embedded in the education reforms. This will enable me to analyse later in the third typology how the education reforms construct future teacher education and teacher professionalism and how the previously observed new dominant economic rationale of education is linked to new power relationships and managerial practices that are perceived to be efficient, effective and provide value for money in teacher education and teacher education transformation.

5.6.0: Typology two: systematic and structural policy reforms

In this section, I will briefly examine the core of the reforms and the main elements that constitute the reforms. This includes both systematic reforms aimed to improve quality of education, efficiency, effectiveness, equity, access, accountability, partnership and collaboration, and structural reforms that relate to changes in enabling structures that support the reforms. This section will be very brief because the implications and the discursive practices of these policies and practices are mainly covered in the next third typology that draw out the impacts of the reforms on teacher education and teacher

professionalism. Therefore the discussions and the interpretations of the systematic and structural policy reforms is avoided in this second typology because this may create unnecessary repetitive data analysis that can stretch the limited space that I need to adhere to in my thesis and the fear that wider analysis of these discourses here might divert the main focus of the thesis from the teacher education transformation orientation.

5.6.1: Special role for the private sector

Contemporary education policy reforms in the Somaliland context advance a special status for the private sector to participate in education as evidenced by the following extracts from the examined policy texts:

The contribution of the private sector to the development of education in Somaliland is not in doubt (SLNEP MOE 2005: 39)

This declaration is followed by a point of recognition:

The government recognises education as a joint enterprise between itself, communities, civil society, the private sector and parents. The government will therefore put in place measures and incentives designed to encourage the relevant and active involvement of these stakeholders in the provision of education services. (SLNEP MOE 2005:6)

The next paragraph specifically targets the private sector to invest in education:

The government will take steps to recognise and facilitate the private sector investments and provide the necessary regulatory frameworks (SLNEP, MOE 2005).

Here the government is seen as encouraging the private sectors to share the cost of the provision of education with the government. The Education Sector Strategic Plan for 2007-11 estimates that $70 million USA dollars will be required in the next five years to implement the first phase of the national education policy (2005). For a country like Somaliland with minimal economic growth, this figure presents unprecedented challenges. Currently over 90% of the Ministry of Education expenditure is absorbed by teachers' salaries. This leaves little funding for the implementation of the reform projects. The policy texts recognise this limitation and argue for collaboration and partnership practices between the government, private sector and development partners (INGOs)

5.6.2: Collaboration and partnership practices

The discourses of collaboration and partnership take several forms in the education reforms i.e. (1) public-private partnership in education delivery, (2) institutional collaboration and partnership and (3) teacher professionalism collaboration and partnership practices. In this 2nd typology, I will concentrate on the first category because the other two categories will be drawn in the 3rd typology.

Widening public-private partnership is a policy priority in Somaliland's education reforms**:**

Traditionally, education has been seen as a public service provided by the government. Today, however, there is trend to treat education more as a public-private partnership. This trend has already become the norm in financing of higher education, where students and parents meet the cost of tuition and other fees MOE 2007:34

The Somaliland national education policy paper asserts that the best way for implementing the education reform policies is through partnership and collaboration with the other education stakeholders:

The SNEP's proposed policies, targets and strategies will be implemented through a partnership involving the government, local communities, parents Somalilanders in the Diaspora and development partners (INGOs and private sector)… SNEP: 38

Critical analysis of the government's position on the role of the private sector in education shows a pro-market education orientation. Both the special status constructed for the private sector and the postulated increase of education policy texts of commercial values and discourses demonstrate there are implicit assumptions that the government is making in its process of education transformation. The covert assumptions that can be inferred from the government's position are that the involvement of the private sector in education will not only subsidise the government's budget in education but will also introduce and transfer its managerial practices that are perceived to be efficient and cost effective. Similarly, the internal competition of the market model in terms of its emphasis on cost and quality of service delivery can be adopted by the government to use as a performance criterion into which it can tie its education funding system. The implication of this happening is that this process can easily facilitate the government's control and standardisation of services as well as the management of those who are involved in the service delivery in education.

However, despite the potentially desirable traits of partnership and collaboration in public education provision with the private sector, the danger is that these policies can easily conceal marketisation of education. Public-private initiatives can be read as privatisations of education through the 'back door'. This can also be seen as a strategy for the state to shrink resources available to social policies because large shares are taken up by the private sector. There is also the additional risk of a possible shift of the political and educational ideologies towards policies of marketisation. For example, in UK the ruling labour government has used private monies to re-construct and replace failing schools with 'new-look academies' which are primarily managed by the private sector. The implication of this happening is that the role of education can drift significantly towards economic functions rather than the social or the individual development function.

In order to operationalise this discourse of the market the government first recognises the pivotal role of the private sector and then is seen as making changes in the governance structures that will in future allow the private sector to participate in education. Consequently, this may eventually lead to the representatives from the private sector having an unprecedented voice in policy making procedures through advisory and intervention powers.

Traditionally the Somaliland education system had low participation of the private sector in education. Education provision was mainly a governmental agenda; as a result, there were very few private schools. In addition, both the public and the private employers gave preference to the state schools graduates' certification and qualification. But currently the situation is the reverse of the previous tradition. Private schools are seen as embodying a quality model of education. This is evidenced by their popularity among the parents. For example, in the academic year 2005/2006 there was an increase of 25% in private schools registration and for the first time there is an accredited private university (Golis) offering highly competitive degrees like architecture, business studies, geology and information and communication.

However, despite these observations of increased private schools and institutions of higher education that supplement the state provision of education due to the reductions of the previous restrictions and barriers that hindered the private sector in investing in education, the government still claims that the infrastructure that supports the private sector is still not fully developed:

The government's regulatory mechanisms for this sector (private sector) are yet to be fully developed…..the contributions of the private sector will require streamlining to ensure that the education provided conforms to the needs of national development…the Somaliland government should make the necessary legislation to guide the participation of the private sector in the provision of education in terms of the professional ability of teachers required, the quality of the curriculum offered and in terms of assessment and certification (SLNEP MOE 2005: 39)

The changing position of the government from previous exclusion of the private sector in public education provision to now more favourable terms to attract its participation constitutes a new order of discourse which is consistent with the genre of neo-liberal globalisation. Close observation of changing relationships between the Somaliland government and the private sector also indicates a desirability of creating a business agenda in education. The desire to make education the principal agent in the construction of the workforce can have greater implications in redesigning of school curriculum, methods of delivering the curriculum and the structural organisations that support education. This will imply significant changes in managerial practices, teacher education and teacher professionalism.

This private sector imperative in education created by the Somaliland education policy texts can also be seen as a way of reproducing knowledge in order to legitimate capitalism. The implications of this are that in future schools and other education institutions will have to compete resources according to performance and adherence to pre-determined quality criteria system. And because education is positioned in terms of its relationship with the economy, human actions in the management of education, teaching and learning will emphasise the efficiency and effectiveness of practices. This will make education interventions more economically embedded than socially.

The above policy orientation of public-private partnership in education delivery can be connected to the content of the policy literature analysed in the literature review chapter. These included trans-nationalisation of education policies under the thematic discourse of economic competition and the educational policy making process through which this phenomenon of globalisation of educational policies is achieved. Once again the Somaliland policy texts have demonstrated a model of policy borrowing in order to solve a national problem that has created dissatisfaction in education. In this case the national policy actors saw the transfer of this policy i.e. the involvement of the private sector in education provision as a desirable and effective way of solving local problem.

However, the caution is that, while experience of what has worked well in other countries has a unique justification for local adoption, there is also uncertainty costs involved in the transfer of such policy because of contextual differences. Therefore the critical point in the decision making process is to weigh the status quo with the risk of the policy interventions failing in the local contexts. But the fact that, in most circumstances social policy actors do not blindly copy policies effective elsewhere and make assumptions that they will work locally, makes the phenomenon of lesson drawings and policy transfer as integral parts of policy making and policy learning processes. This integration of the concepts can facilitate the development of both synthesised and new inspirational policy models rather than duplicating programmes from other countries.

5.6.3: The decentralisation policy initiative

In the past era, Somaliland had a highly centralised system of education. All the six regions of Somaliland (i.e. Awdal, Sahil, Toghdheer, Sool and Sanaag) heavily relied upon the central national education decision making mechanism of Hargeisa region. The new education reforms represent a departure from this practice:

The management of the education will be steadily decentralised. The principle of decentralisation in provision of education in Somaliland stems from heterogeneous nature of the country in terms of socio-economic formations, lifestyles and geographic variation. While overall policy-making, coordination of planning, national curriculum development, teacher education and training and national examinations will be maintained at the central level, the new system is designed to provide substantial autonomy to the regions and local communities in the planning, managing and financing of education programmes…(SLNEP, MOE 2005:34)

It is apparent from the above policy declaration that the new reforms aim to strike a balance between the vertical and the horizontal integration of the education management system. Vertical integration will allow the central government to make national policy decisions in education, i.e. the development of the national goals of education and curriculum. On the other hand the horizontal integration will make the system more responsive to the local needs and increase regional, district and community participation. Thus, this conception of public education provision has the potential to: (1) increase the accessibility of education, by making education more appealing to the people and more readily available to all; (2) improve quality of the programmes by making them more relevant to local needs; and (3) ensure that more people take responsibility for education through devolution of authority and transfer of resources to regions, districts and

communities. The decentralisation initiative is also fundamental to the government's overall education development strategy of economic development because it is seen as a tool for promoting efficiency, relevance, accountability, participation and quality in education provision.

Somaliland's policy of education decentralisation has a theoretical connection with the literature review observation that internationally, in the last two decades, there has been an intensive period of educational reform and restructuring aimed at responding to the continued pressures of economic globalisation. Examples of these reforms include the education reforms in Hong Kong (Choi 2005), Albania (Whitehead 2000), Argentina (Rhoten 2000); Bolivia, (Contreras & Simony 2003) and Finnish educational reconstruction (Rinne et al 2002) among others. What is common among these reforms is the strategic policy of decentralisation of education aimed at responding to the pressures of economic globalisation.

5.6.4: Structural reforms

In order to implement the guiding philosophy or the ideology of the new education and its goals and ambitions SLNEP (2005) states that:

Successful implementation process will depend on the evolution of strong institutions that will initiate and supervise the programmes and activities proposed by the policy (SLNEP: 31)…challenges of the implementation of SLNEP will require the creation of new institutions and strengthening of the existing ones (SNEP, MOE 2005: 32).

The policy paper identifies the existing institutions that need modernisation in the light of the new education system as the Somaliland National Examination Board, Curriculum and Training Development Centre, The Regional Education Advisory Centres, Gender Promotion Commission, Department of Basic Education, Department of Higher Education and the Department of Administration and Personnel (SLNEP, MOE 2005:32). Similarly, the policy texts advocate for the urgent creation of a new institution with the name of **Teacher Education Unit (TEU)** within the department of curriculum and training. The following extract expresses the need and urgency for this new institution:

Given the urgent need to consolidate and accelerate the development of teacher education, the government will create a specific teacher education unit, within the department of curriculum and training with a view to making it a fully fledged department of teacher education. (SLTEP: MOE 2006)

The policy texts also indicate that the new department will in the near future have the overall responsibility of inspecting, monitoring and evaluating teacher education both pre-service and in-service, in matters relating to its effectiveness of provision, capacity of management and leadership, quality standards, teacher assessment and certification.

In addition to the proposed creation of Teacher Education Unit, the policy texts also make priority the development of a National Education Resource Centre:

The government will also set up Educational Resource Centre, which will support and improve pedagogical practices to teachers, provide opportunities for professional upgrading and improvement and will serve as a base for the production of relevant education materials. SNEP MOE 2005: 30

However, given the limited resources available for institutional development and given that the functions of the above two institutions seem to greatly overlap, it is not clear why it is essential to have these two institutions instead of concentrating on just one.

5.6.5: Strengthening the capacity of MOE

In respect to the capacity building for reform implementation, the policy papers aim to strengthen the MOE's planning and analytic capacity:

To improve the governments capacity to carry out its responsibilities and to implement policies and strategies proposed, the MOE will have to revamp its planning department with both physical and human resources…the sustenance and overall success of the SLNEP programme must rely on an adequate and skilled cadre of personnel capable of undertaking critical studies and researches required for policy formulation, project designs, implementation, monitoring and evaluation (SLNEP, MOE 2005:32)

The policy texts state that these skills will be achieved through training of MOE staff both locally and internationally.

In the next paragraph the ***Somaliland education act*** is defined as the main policy instrument that will guide the legal framework of the education provision, institutional development and harmonisation of various policies with institutional development:

The act will empower the government to address the quality and relevance of education in all education sub-sectors, curriculum development and revision, raising qualifications and professionalism of teachers; and co-ordination and management of the education enterprise (SLNEP MOE 2005:32).

These implementation and operationalisation strategies contained in SLNEP paper are further detailed in the Education Sector Plan 2007-2011 from macro level to micro level

provisions at district level. The Education Sector Plan (MOE 2005) uses five key strategic goals to specify in details how the government is going to achieve policy directives contained in the reform policy papers. These categorisations are (1) enhancing the management capacity (2) strengthening and increase of educational facilities (3) improving the relevance and the quality of education (4) increasing access and equity in education (5) increasing participation of stakeholders.

5.6.6: Summary

In this brief section, using brief extracts from policy texts, I have explored both systematic and structural policy reforms that policy texts have acknowledged. In particular, I have highlighted the new role of the private sector in education re-construction, the implications that government's partnership and collaboration practices with the private sector can have for public education and structural and institutional reforms that the government intends to manage change. I now go to the third typology to draw the combined impacts of the new economic discourse of education (analysed in typology one) and its associated systematic and structural changes on teacher education and teacher professionalism.

5.7.0: Typology three: The combined impacts of the new discourse of education and the systematic and structural changes on teacher education and teacher professionalism

Policies about teacher education are regarded traditionally as national issues. National compulsory schools and teacher education are usually interlinked. To establish this relationship in my analysis, I concentrated in typology one on the analysis of the ideological struggle that has surrounded the development of the three contemporary education policy papers in the Somaliland context. In this final, third typology of the policy text data analysis, I will mainly aim to analyse how the new dominant economic discourse of education (discussed in typology one) and its associated systematic and structural strategic policies (observed in typology two) impact and construct Somaliland's future teacher education and teacher professionalism. However, examining the way the education reforms have been used to re-construct initial teacher education is a more complex matter that calls for close examination of how the new political and educational ideologies are linked to or are part of power practices. In this way, both the dominant ideology promoted and the associated systematic and structural policy reforms can

constitute and contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing of social relations of power. Fairclough (2003) sees this critical view of ideology as a modality of power. The discussions and the analysis of the later part of this section that link and relate the dominant economic discourse of education and its associated policy reforms with the emerging teacher professionalisms can be seen in this critical context of power modality.

Somaliland is a society under a political-socio-economic transformation. The fact that the new educational reforms aim to transform most of the educational aspects of the previous system suggest that education was not serving well the needs of the society either its political, economic or social functions. When a need arises in the society, schools, as part of the instruments of change, are expected to meet this change. But for schools to meet the change in the society, the educational structure must accommodate the new function. Teachers and schools' curricula are the main elements that induce changes in schools, therefore, if schools are to assume the new roles and changes that are to be realised in the society as a consequence of the new educational function then the teachers' professionalism has to change with it. It's under this imperative that Somaliland's teacher education and teacher professionalism initiatives are linked to new discourses of professional practices such as standardisation of practice, audit culture, efficiency and effectiveness, partnership and collaboration which are perceived to promote an ideology of the economic rationale.

The development of Somaliland's national teacher education policy paper (MOE 2006) immediately after the development of Somaliland national education policy paper (MOE 2005) is the first indication of the government's intention to embed the new economic discourse of education in teacher education and teacher professionalism. This paper first highlights the same vision, mission and national goals of the new education system that were observed in the SLNEP (2005) and then proceeds to highlight the objectives, management, financing, legal and regulatory frameworks of teacher education as well as the implementation strategies for achieving the new policies that were highlighted in the policy paper.

The above re-conceptualisation of teacher education suggests that the current expertise, knowledge and competences of the current teachers are unlikely to meet the new demands of the education system. Therefore it is necessary to subsume and locate teacher education and teacher professionalism with the beliefs and discourses of economic

rationalism and corporate managerialism so as to promote the development of the desired human capital theory which was observed in typology one of the policy texts analysis. For example, in observing the current status of teacher education the SLNEP (2005) makes this description:

There are gross inadequacies in number and quality characteristics of teaching force in Somaliland…there is therefore an urgent need to pay special attention to teacher education if the goals of education and the aspiration of Somaliland society are to be realised. (SLNEP MOE 2005: 29)

The National Teacher Education Policy paper (2006) also shares similar concerns with National Education Policy Paper (2005) about the current teachers' professional inadequacies. In this case, the policy reform texts employ a problem-solution approach. The government first constructs the discourse of failing teachers and then proceeds to show dedication and commitment to improve the situation by strengthening the growth of the teaching profession i.e. ***the school teachers are ill motivated…teaching force is inadequate in terms of quality and numbers…*** (SLNTEP, MOE 2006: 11 & 13)**.** After highlighting the professional inadequacies of the teachers, the government then positions itself as active, committed and engaged in rectifying the professional inadequacies of the teachers:

The government is committed to the provision of quality education by improving the quality of learning through training and retraining of teachers, and upgrading of skills of practicing teachers to make them more effective and efficient…

…teaching methodology in schools is expected to employ modern approaches that focus participation, problem solving, active inquiry and creativity…

… the government will employ two prolonged approaches to improve teacher education in the country. These are: development of pre-service teacher education and strengthening of in-service teacher education programmes (SLNEP, MOE 2005: 11)

In most of the circumstances the main reason put forward by the government to account for the need for the new teacher professionalisation is to address the question of teacher quality. This is evidenced by the problem-solution approach adopted by the policy texts in advocating changes in teachers' professionalism.

The prioritisation of teacher education's re-conceptualisation in order to achieve the wider educational reform objectives also signifies that the government recognises that teachers are the heart of the educational process, therefore great importance must be accorded to

their professionalisation and professionalism. The following extract evidences the government's recognition of the pivotal role of the teachers in the reforms:

Teachers are an important resource in the teaching and learning process. Therefore their training and development requires urgent consideration (SLNEP, MOE 2005: 20)

The pace and the urgency of the theme of modernising teacher education and teacher professionalism was de-constructed from the policy texts through the use of the principles of CDA that examined the linguistic features of the policy text i.e. vocabulary, choice of words and semiotic use of words. The vocabulary and phrases used in the policy texts that expressed the government's urgency, obligation and commitment to re-define future teacher education included use of pronouns such as "*we*" or combination of "*we"* and "*will"* to form "*we will*" or the substitution of the word *"we"* with the word *"government"* to form the phrase *" the government will".* The following table shows extracts from the data that highlight the stylistic use of the above words and phrases:

Figure 5b: showing examples of linguistic features of Somaliland's education reform policy texts

Word and phrases	**Examples from texts**
We will	We will renew, we will develop, we will invest, we will encourage, we will enable, our reforms will renew, we will create, we will provide, we will put in place, we will make necessary legislation;
The government will	The government will make necessary legislation… the government will annually allocate… the government will be committed… the government will constantly seek… the government will put in place measures… the government will actively expand…

Through the use of these words and phrases the government has created an impression of changing times in which the government is the judge of the changing times, in terms of keeping pace with changes and in terms of transforming the future vision of teacher education and teacher professionalism. But the critical question is what type solutions are attached to the governments perceived teacher inadequacies by the policy texts?

In this respect, to overcome the previously cited limitations of teacher education and teacher professionalism, the Somaliland National Teacher Education Policy (MOE 2006) has the following aims and objectives;

- ***to produce a core of dedicated professionals equipped with the skills and attitudes to inspire and foster learning and acquisition of critical thinking skills;***
- ***to improve the general knowledge among the members of teaching profession;***
- ***to strengthen the growth of teaching profession;***
- ***to prepare teachers as feature managers of learning institutions;***
- ***to equip the teachers with the theoretical and practical skills in the teaching profession;***
- ***to instil in the teacher attributes of commitment and competence;***
- ***to equip the teachers' effective communication skills;***
- ***to cultivate in the teacher the ability to develop the values, and skills of the individual child so that they grow to be useful members of the community;***
- ***to develop professional excellence in the teacher;***
- ***to instil in the teacher values of patriotism, justice and initiative***

Source: Somaliland National Teacher education policy, MOE, 2006:6

For school teachers to achieve the above skills, the Somaliland National Teacher Education Policy (MOE 2006) mandates teacher training institutions to review and improve their overall effectiveness of their provisions in terms of selections of candidates and in terms of the design and the content of their teacher education programmes as the following extract demonstrates:

The government recognises the need to improve the education of teachers by modernising teacher training institutions…there is need to reform teacher education in order to create a stronger, more effective teacher education programmes…there is need to have a common, clear vision of good teaching…in this era of global economy dominated by information and technology we need to have pragmatic approaches to the planning of, teaching and learning and curriculum development of teachers of both schools and teacher education…(SLNTEP, MOE, 2006)

The themes that run across the government's re-conceptualisation of teacher education include the need to shift the teacher education curriculum away from educational disciplines; the need to increase the role of schools in teacher education; the need for more partnership and collaborative practices among the stakeholders; the need to re-define the knowledge base requirement of the future teachers; the need to define the standards and outcomes under which the performance and the professionalism of teachers are assessed; the need for a quality assurance system for teacher education; the need to integrate information and technology in teacher education; and the need for accountability in teacher education and teacher competencies.

Critical analysis of the above themes of teacher education and the key words used in constructing the previously observed aims and the objectives of teacher education indicate that, first, the discourse of teacher education is placed within the context of managerial practices and outcomes rather than content and knowledge discovery. This assumption of the government's desire to control and shape the future direction of teacher education is further evidenced by the earlier observed strategic government policy of establishing a new Teacher Education Unit within the department of curriculum and training and the functions accorded for this new institution:

Given the urgent need to consolidate and accelerate the development of teacher education, the government will create a specific teacher education unit, within the department of curriculum and training with a view to making it a fully pledged department of teacher education.(SLTEP MOE: 2006)

In the 2nd typology of the policy text analysis, the policy texts have indicated that the above new department will in the near future have the overall responsibility of inspecting, monitoring and evaluating teacher education programmes both pre-service and in-service, in matters relating to effectiveness of provisions, capacity of management and leadership, quality standards, teacher assessment and certification. It is anticipated that under the new regulations and procedures, the teacher training institutions are expected to apply to the Teacher Education Unit to become accredited providers. The Teacher Education Unit (TEU) would then consider proposals against a published quality criterion (yet to be developed). Once the institution is accredited, then the TEU can allocate training places and funding to every accredited provider. Under this provision the teacher training institutions can retain their status until they relinquish this or the status is withdrawn because the teacher training institution fails the quality inspection. Alternatively, where the quality of provision fails the expectations, then the number of training places may be reduced and providers are re-inspected in the following year. Contrary to this, high quality provision is expected to be rewarded by allocation of additional training places and, therefore, more funding.

The policy texts link this re-conceptualisation of teacher education to a new form of teacher professionalism. This desired form of teacher professionalism can de-constructed from the ideational meaning and key words used in the above aims of teacher education. The key words and phrases which I will draw upon in my subsequent discussion give indications of the concept of school teacher professionalism that informs the new aims of teacher education. There are also other examples in the policy text that give similar

indications. For example, the objectives of Somaliland's teacher education reforms include: ***The need to instil teachers the attributes of commitment and competencies;*** This policy strategy can be linked to the future requirement of teachers to promote the development of learners' competencies in skills that are required for the future knowledge economy which is expected to be created by the new economic discourse of education. Similarly, it can also be linked to the new ideologies of teacher education in which the construction of a teacher education curriculum is defined by technical rationality. This means that the knowledge base of the teachers is re-defined according to its usefulness in classroom teaching and its suitability to produce desired outcomes of graduates rather than the exploration of knowledge.

The word "*competencies"* in teachers' professional skills and training also suggests or can be linked to the concept of "*quantification"* which in turn facilitates other concepts such as assessment, audit and judgement that determine the worthiness of an individual according to a prescribed criterion. This can lead to pre-specified and standardised learning goals to be achieved through a linear process of education in which effectiveness and efficiency emerge as the key factors in assessing quality. Within this perspective, teaching is seen as a highly controlled activity and teachers as technicians who implement curriculum guidelines according to top-down orientation. This is consistent with the new policy of shifting teacher education to schools, which also creates the notion of teaching as practical activity that can be learnt through training processes in school settings.

However, I must also acknowledge the ambiguity of the term "***competencies"*** when used in relation to the teachers' professional practice. Without attaching any connotations or assumptions the intention of this word could also simply mean teachers developing expertise in their subject knowledge and pedagogical skills of delivering this to the learners.

Similarly, the objective of teacher education that aims to prepare and make teachers the managers of learning institutions has wider implications not only for teaching and learning processes but also for the institutional development of schools. In the first instance, the notion of teachers as future managers creates a view of future desired teachers who are able to organise powerful learning environments that can facilitate teaching- learning process. Secondly it creates the notion of teachers who are able to manage classrooms and can control children for effective learning. Thirdly, it indicates that good teachers should

be involved in the strategic planning and decision making of schools and learning institutions. This extends the responsibility of the teachers from classroom activities to wider managerial practices of the school as an institution. This assumption is consistent with the broad national goals of Somaliland that aim: ***to build a strong and self-reliant economy through the acquisition and application of scientific, technical and managerial knowledge and skills*** (SLNEP, MOE: 4).

Most of the other objectives of teacher education (reference can be made to the previous extract that stated teacher education objectives) are value laden, hence they can lead to different interpretations and can give a flexible edge to those who desire to control teachers work. For example, ***the aim of "developing professional excellence in teachers"*** can be problematic to interpret because it is an open ended objective. In this case, "*excellence"* can be concerned with the measurement of teachers' performance; it can be concerned with the teachers' acquisition of specialised knowledge and competence skills. However, in most cases values such as standards, effectiveness and the worth of the individual are associated with the discourse of excellence. This position of teacher professionalism which is subject to others making judgement on the standards and the worthiness of the teachers is consistent with the economic rationale and the managerial practices of the wider reforms that characterise wider education reforms in Somaliland.

In other circumstances the policy texts explicitly define the lifelong participation, flexibility and partnership and collaboration practices required from the future teachers in their professional practice:

Future teachers are required to plan and implement their own professional development in order to improve the quality of teaching in schools through the existing SCOTT project which provides teachers with continuous updating of both their theoretical and practical knowledge… (SLNTEP, MOE, 2006)

The government also plans to promote the above new discourses of teacher professionalism through changes to the content and the design of teacher education:

The government will take steps to enhance the quality and relevance of teacher education by ensuring that the content of teacher education programmes encourage teachers to acquire a culture of life long learning (SLNEP, MOE 2005: 30)

Here the government is seen as creating the sub-discourse of life-long learning as an important aspect of teachers' professional careers. This creates the identity of teachers

who can promote their own professional development in a life-long learning perspective. The assumption given by the policy texts in exposing teachers to new opportunities is that teachers will be able to match their skills and professionalism with the dynamism of the society and knowledge economy. Implicitly, this policy of life-long learning could also mean that teachers need to regularly receive advice from experts on best practice. This implicit assumption also appears to conform to the logic of a knowledge economy, where knowledge is seen as a perishable product that constantly requires the upgrading and adaptability imperative of the teachers' professionalism.

This observed life-long learning perspective of teacher professionalism and the flexibility required from future teachers can be related to what Fairclough (2003) refers to as the neo-liberal discourse of economic change which represents globalisation as a fact and which demands adjustments and reforms to enhance efficiency and adaptability in order to compete. The life-long learning and flexibility aspect of desired teacher professionalism can also be linked to the discourse of the learning society, where economic globalisation and competition has necessitated flexibility of training and work schedules of future employees.

The policy texts examined can also be seen to be promoting and encouraging a new teacher professionalism based on collaborative culture. Future teachers are encouraged to develop professional skills that focus on complex practices of collegiality, negotiation, coordination and partnership in their professional practices with other agents also involved in education (i.e. parents, students, school administration, other teachers in the school) and more particularly to develop pro-active relationships with external agencies such as personnel in the inspectorate department who provide support to teachers through evaluation of their professionalism.

It's anticipated that the new provisions of teacher education will enhance teachers' communication, collaboration and partnership competencies. Teachers know that they can learn from each other and want to take these opportunities because they share a wider responsibility…in these changing times problems can only be solved through sharing of knowledge constructed through dialogue between all parties concerned in teaching and leaning in schools…extracts from SLNEP & SLTEP MOE 2005, 2006)

In these texts the desirable imperative of the teacher professionalism created is teachers who are able to work with other teachers in teams and other professionals involved in pupils/students learning processes; teachers who can communicate with parents and liaise

with other agencies effectively and teachers who can accept continuous appraisal by others and the increased regulation and evaluation that is associated with this practice. This aspect of teacher professionalism can be linked to the previously observed objective of teacher education which aimed to make the communication competences of teachers an essential skill of teachers' professionalism.

Finally, through the cumulative themes of the above new discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism combined, I can argue that policy texts construct and define the future professionalism and the identity of teachers as productive employees that are committed to the government's economic agenda.

5.8.0: Inter-discursive analysis of the cumulative themes across the three typologies

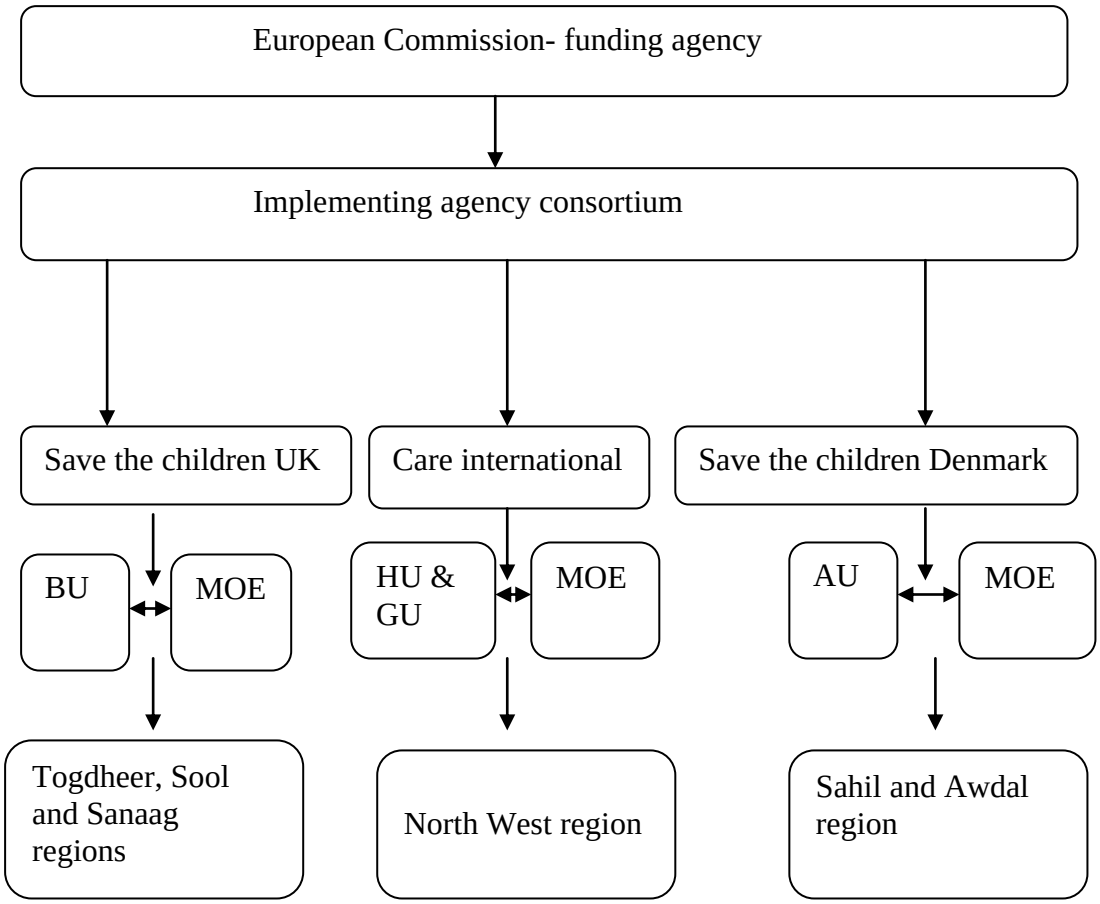
Interventions on teacher education and teacher professionalisms by Somaliland's government which were observed in the third typology of the policy text analysis raise serious questions not only about the nature of future initial teacher education and teacher professionalism but also about processes of policy making. For example, first, who has a legitimate right to be involved in defining teachers' professionalism? Second, do these new evolutionary practices of teacher professionalism constitute re-professionalisation or de-professionalisation model of teaching profession? Third, who benefits from the new way that the teachers' professional life is being organised and positioned in the policy documents?

The purpose of this final section of the chapter is to critically evaluate the above questions in relation to Somaliland's emerging new form of teacher education and teacher professionalism. A synopsis of Somaliland's education reform policy text analysis in typology one, two and three revealed that neo-liberal economic view of education has shaped and influenced views both of future teacher education and teacher professionalism. This dominance of the economic rationale was evidenced by the observed neo-liberal policies and practices that promoted strong centralised forms of control and accountability, marketisation, partnership and collaboration practices in future teacher education. Similarly, this was also evidenced by the observed discourse of teacher professionalism which constructed future teachers as employees who are committed to their self-improvement in terms of knowledge and pedagogical skill-upgrading and in terms of

developing positive attitude towards collaboration and partnership practices in their work so as to strategically orient themselves to the effectiveness of their work.

The first question of who has the legitimate right to be involved in defining teacher professionalism raises the question of the nature of the governance of teacher education. In this respect, the Somaliland National Teacher Education Policy (MOE 2006) states that the MOE has the overall responsibility for managing all aspects of the education system. The structure and the authority levels of the Ministry of Education show that teacher education falls within the ministerial authority of the Department of Curriculum and Training. In another section of the policy paper, headed as the legal and regulatory framework of teacher education, the policy paper states that the Somaliland Education Act empowers the government and MOE to address issues relating to curriculum development and revision, teacher education, qualifications and professionalism of teachers, coordination and management of education. Similarly, in the 2nd typology, I have identified and exemplified from the policy texts the proposed creation of a specific Teacher Education Unit which is expected to be responsible for all aspects of teacher education and teacher professionalism in future. The policy papers also articulated complementary roles and responsibilities for schools in terms of teacher education. However, policy texts rarely mention the roles and the responsibilities of teacher education institutions. These findings can be related to the power struggle between the various policy actors with the field of teacher education and teacher professionalism. Here the government is attempting to position teacher education institutions and teachers within its bureaucratic control. In the policy texts the future institutional function of the Teacher Education Unit and the powers of the Education Act seem to be the two enabling capacity of the government in its re-conceptualisation of teacher education and teacher professionalism. However, this active role and position of the government in teacher education is in a contradictory position with the education and teacher education reform structures that were created by the INGOs participating in education reconstruction due to the limited sovereignty and capacity of the government. The following diagram shows the power relations and aid money resources allocation.

Diagram 5c: showing Somaliland's education and teacher education transformation consortium



1. *Key BU- Burao University; HU- Hargeisa University; GU- Golis University; AU- Amoud University; MOE - ministry of education*
2. *The hierarchical structure represents level of authority*
3. *Horizon structure represents leverage in authority and partnership in policy implementation*
4. *The role of the government is signified by MOE*

The above diagram can provide a way of connecting contestations of power relationships, interactions and interdependences among the different policy actors within the education and teacher education transformation. The hierarchical positions of different policy actors represent their power position and thereby their influential power. For example, at the apex, the EC can influence policies because of it is resource power. What is significant to note in this power relationships is the position of the government (represented by MOE). Here the government is at leverage position with the local universities and both these local

actors occupy in a lower power position than the INGOs. The implications of this could be that the INGOs are in a controlling position. If the government want gain controlling influence of the teacher education institutions it has to secure the support of the INGOs. But considering that INGOs have their own interests and manifestation in remaining superior power position it is not clear how they will facilitate the government's ambition of controlling teacher education institutions. Therefore In this structure the active role of the government that was constructed in the policy papers is less visible in the implementation processes of the teacher education reforms.

However, the government's desire to control teacher education can be related to international examples of teacher education reforms in which the salient discourse underpinning the critical debates and issues surrounding reflects the question of the nature of teacher education governance. These examples of international reforms of teacher education were covered in the literature review chapter and they included Gideonese (1993), Young (1998), Codd (2005), Lewin and Stuart (2003), Anderson (2002), Robinson (2003), Demaine (1995). Many states understandably want to regulate who teaches children in schools as they are ultimately accountable to the parents and to the broader community. But the critical question is; should the state assign this task to an autonomous professional body (a self regulating professional body) or exercise more direct control through national standards, outcomes, and competences?

Somaliland's policy texts indicate and advocate for political modes of education and teacher education governance in which the state and its bureaucratic machineries are the principal arenas of policy expression. The shortcomings of this model are that the expertise of the professionals can be blocked by the politicians, it encourages the belief that regulatory processes can achieve desired outcomes and that actions at the centre can somehow yield results at the periphery and that national actions are always required for problems of multiple jurisdictions (Gideonse 1993). In my data analysis the functions of the proposed TEU within the MOE structure represented the bureaucratic machinery the government intends to achieve controlling powers. However, Gideonese' observation can makes this policy option as unattractive.

Another way of examining the active position of the government in the policy texts as well as analysing who benefits from the new way that the teachers' professional life is being organised and positioned is to draw on the phenomenon of power relationships**.** This

perspective calls for critical examination of how power relationship is structured in policy texts both explicitly and implicitly. Codd (1988) argues that policy documents can be said to constitute the official discourse of the state. Thus policies produced by the state are obvious instances in which language serves a political purpose, constructing particular meanings that work to mask social conflict. In this way, documents produce real social effects through the production and maintenance of consent (Codd 1988: 237). The methodological usefulness of CDA is that it can uncover the hidden power relationships which are disguised in language use. Basically there are two types of power relationships enacted in Somaliland's contemporary education reform policy texts. For example, one dimension of it is the power relationship between the MOE bureaucrats and INGOs personnel. This power relationship is mainly defined by the reform resources that are provided by the European Commission though INGOs. In this case, the MOE is seen as attempting or preferring to secure the funds directly from the EC by advocating for a sector wide Aid approach. The MOE also seems to be not happy about the middle agents (INGOs) as evident from the following extracts:

… currently in most cases, reform funds are managed directly by the agencies and plans and priorities are determined without adequate consultation with and direction from the ministry,…there is currently an intension on the part of the ministry and the major donors to move towards a sector-wide approach…SLESSP, 2007-2011 MOE, 2007: 19

There are other similar examples from the policy texts that express the government's dissatisfaction with the current power relationship created by aid resources:

…one intention of the strategic plan(SLESSP: MOE 2007-2011) is to provide the Ministry's directors with an opportunity to lead and take initiatives within their areas of responsibility rather than having their own plans dictated by agencies and INGOs plans… the bulk of resources and spending power lie with the agencies and INGOs… SLESSP, MOE, 2007: 36

In the next extract the government looks optimistic that in the near future all the education Aid money will be processed through the Ministry of Educations' budgetary, management and reporting systems:

...although direct bilateral aid has been constrained by the lack of recognition of Somaliland through the UN and World Bank joint need assessment process and recent efforts of the European Union countries and European Commission there is a move towards direct aid - sector wide aid approach that uses the ministerial budget and its control apparatus rather than INGOs project lead approach to aid… SLESSP: MOE, 2007:19

Apart from the resource power struggle between the government and INGOs, within the reform policy texts another salient dimension of power struggle goes on between the national government's bureaucrats and professionals within teacher education i.e. teacher educators and school teachers. To evidence this power contestation it is significant to understand how policy text language can be an instrument of power. Critical deconstructions of Somaliland's reform education policies indicate that the government intends to exercise power through dispositions, techniques and discourses rather than coercive form of power. For example, the new discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism such as evidence based professional practice, technical view of knowledge and expertise, collaboration and partnership practices, flexibility and managerial imperatives which are all based on competence models of teacher education can be said to be an instances in which discourses become instruments and objects of state power.

Similarly, the government intends to exercise power over the professionals through standardisation of teacher education and teacher professionalism evaluation procedures. Future teachers are expected to demonstrate their competencies and proficiencies in subject knowledge, pedagogical skills as well as in their managerial practices using a standardised evaluation sheets. This generic assessment of teachers' competencies by external supervisors further facilitates the government's agenda of exercising power over the professionals. This belief of 'one size fits all' has its roots in a competence based teacher education model. The problem with this position is that the control of the professional learning of student teachers through standardised evaluation system creates the notion of *training* learners rather than *educating* them. This assumption also implies a particular view of professionalism in the sense that professional autonomy has a distinctive meaning in teaching, a meaning that should not be seen as more independent and freedom of judgement by teachers.

In this way the government's control of teacher education and teacher professionalism works to maintain and re-define relations of power with teacher education institutions, teacher educators and school teachers. Thus policy documents legitimate the power of the state and contribute fundamentally to the engineering of the consent of teacher education professionals and school teachers. This is also consistent with the dominant neo-liberal ideological process that lies behind the production of reform policies which was observed in typology one of my earlier discussions.

In both categories of the above power relationships the government seem to be trying to redefine the existing power relationship illustrated in diagram 5c. This existing power relationship puts the INGOs and teacher educators in a favourable power position. The fact that INGOs are directly financing teacher education institutions and by passing the MOE's existing structures places the government in a weaker position to control teacher education. Therefore policy texts are seen as redefining this power relationship in order to create a favourable power position for the government. The authority and position of teacher educators seem to be deliberately excluded in most of the policy texts. Where teacher education institutions and teachers were mentioned in the policy texts they were represented as acting on the directions of the government or as consumers of policies. This absent role and responsibilities of teacher education institutions in the policy texts give an insight about the intentional representation of the texts in terms of the future power relationship. Contrary to this position, policy texts represent the government as the active policy agent who is exercising power over the teacher education institutions and teachers. This was demonstrated in several ways i.e. Stylistic use of language, choice of vocabulary, action verbs, use of pronouns such as "we" to indicate the strong position of the government. In overall the texture of the policy language presented the government as active and controlling.

At the beginning of this section, I have presented a second question of whether the new evolutionary practices of teacher professionalism constitute re-professionalisation or de-professionalisation model of teaching profession and a third question of who benefits from the new way that the teachers' professional life is being organised and positioned in the policy documents? I now examine these two questions. However, I will not repeat the features of the discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism examined in the 3rd typology; but will attempt to draw upon their implications on the discourse of teacher professionalism.

There are two arguments that can be drawn from the new intertwined discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism. First, if we take the consideration that teachers claim professionalism on the basis of their professional autonomy we can argue that the competence model of teacher education and its associated policies of partnership and collaboration practices reinforce the notion that the new discourses have *de-professionalisation* effects, in the sense that, they decrease individual teachers discretion of professional judgement in their practice. For example, if x teacher is being constantly told

to work in a team with other teachers and is also subject to a strong direction and guidance from external inspectors about what constitutes best professional practice in teaching (which ultimately in turn determines standards of professional practice) then these managerial practices can be said to have reduced the professional autonomy of the teacher. Here the decision about best practice in the teaching profession becomes a joint consultation with a wide range of individuals both within the schools and outside schools. This standardised practice also reinforces the notion of knowledge standardisation and quantification which further facilitates the instruments of control such as inspection, outcome determination, efficiency and effectiveness of inputs all which lead to the ultimate judgement of the professional worthiness of the individual teacher (input/output cost relationship and analysis model). In this sense the new discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism can be seen to be enhancing the managerial or the de-professionalisation practices of teachers' professional work.

Ball (1994) observes growing evidence of collaborative policies being used to serve managerial functions in UK schools, rather than as a tool for positive social relations to enhance productivity. In this way, the collaboration practices become a threat to teachers' professionalism. In this sense teachers lose their independence and professional autonomy and professional accountability meetings become threats rather than being productive and supportive. This can lead to low trust between the professional teachers and the state and ultimately can affect the moral of the teachers in service delivery due to increased workloads, stresses and alienations.

The second argument that can be drawn from the new discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism is that they constitute a new form of professionalism. This view of professionalism redefines the professional autonomy of the teachers in the sense that professional autonomy has a distinctive meaning that indicates that teachers should not see their professional autonomy as independence and freedom of judgement in their professional practice. Hargreaves (1994) states that, collaboration is a kind of meta-paradigm, for what he describes as the 'post-modern age.' According to him, it is a strategy for coping with the rapid pace of change and the acceleration of paradigm shifts, which are bound to occur in education and indeed in all areas of social life in so called 'new times. Thus teachers are encouraged to accept collaboration and partnership practices, continuous appraisal, increased regulation, accountability and transparency in their professional practices because of their merit in enhancing professional practice. It is

by drawing from this international literature that contemporary Somaliland education reforms advocate for a teacher professionalism which focuses on complex practices of collegiality, negotiation, coordination and partnership. Thus, apart from serving a financial support function, the partnership and collaboration policy directives explicit in the policy documents envisage an emphasis on the development of a collaborative professional culture in the teaching profession.

Quicke (2000) also supports the argument of new discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism having *re-professionalisation* effects rather than de-professionalisation impacts by arguing that the increased capacity of communication associated with this policy strategy enhances the potentiality to generate a shared knowledge, which is constructed through dialogue between all parties in a particular context rather than "top down". For teachers in institutions like schools and colleges, collaboration conceptualised as an articulating and integrating principle has several advantages. For example, it can provide a mechanism for moral support, it can lead to increased efficiency by eliminating duplications as activities are coordinated and shared, and it can improve efficiency by encouraging risk taking and greater diversity of teaching strategies, but most importantly, it is a mode of relating, which is consonant with the way of knowing in the times in which we live. In this sense, this form of teacher professionalism is most likely to be in the best interest of teachers. The new evolutionary practices of teacher professionalism which include shifts from individualism to collaboration in the form of teachers working together, sharing ideas and evaluating practice; intra and inter-professional relationship and collegiality; teachers negotiating with students in their learning processes and outcomes; moral, professional and contractual employer accountability expresses a model of extended professionality rather than a restricted one. Teacher professionalism conceptualised as this new model suggests can make teachers a resource for change in terms of economic, national and social prosperity.

Finally, the new model of the teacher education and teacher professionalism presented in the policy texts represents a model of *policy learning*. The adoption of a competence model of teacher education which emphasises an increased practical approach to teaching, interpreted from a technical ideological view can be seen as a way of developing systematic skills among the teacher trainees. This conceptualisation borrows heavily from the neo-liberal view of education and skill development which emphasises the development of what teachers really require in practical classroom life. This may appear a

narrow conception of education. However, viewed from other perspectives the increased practical training of teachers could be seen as a positive measure to increase the practical, technological, and personal orientation aspects of teacher education

5.9.0: Summary of the chapter

Using a variety of critical discourse analysis principles and approaches I have analysed three contemporary Somaliland education reform policy documents. In my analysis I have explored how ideology, language and power work in the policy texts. Through this methodological orientation, it was possible to trace the neo-liberal political and educational ideologies as the dominant discourses that underlie the education reforms. In addition, using evidence from the data the presence of the social mobility and conservativeness educational ideologies were also evidenced though at a marginalised level.

To manage change and implement the new economic discourse of education, practices such as public-private partnership, collaboration, partnership, decentralisation initiatives and managerial imperatives that emphasise efficiency and effectiveness in economic sense were drawn to instantiate the new education policies. Similarly, modernisation of the existing education institutions as well as creation of new ones such as the Teacher Education Unit was also prioritised to affect changes.

In addition, textual analysis of the policy data have demonstrated that the new discourse of education and its associated practices have influenced and impacted both teacher education and teacher professionalism by locating them within global neo-liberalism. This was achieved through the critical analysis of the new discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism. In the final part of the chapter I presented two arguments that question whether the new discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism enhance or weaken the teaching profession. The first argument supported the de-professionalisation hypothesis while the second argument supported the re-professionalisation hypothesis.

The final concluding remark that can be drawn from this policy text data analysis is that the emerging themes of Somaliland's education reform policies such as the economic rationale of education can be closely linked to the globalisation of education policies that were discussed in the literature review chapter. Therefore I can make an informed judgement that through trans-national networks that operate within the Somaliland context globalisation has informed and impacted upon the national policy making process**.**

CHAPTER SIX

INTERVIEW DATA ANALYSIS

6.0: Section one: introduction

Chapter five used critical discourse analysis as a methodology to demonstrate an analytical understanding of the process of education and teacher education transformation in Somaliland by conceptualising education reform policy documents as both discourses and as texts (Ball 1994:15). The three policy papers that I have examined included the National Education Policy Paper (MOE 2005), the National Teacher Education Policy (MOE 2006) and the Education Sector Strategic Education Development Plan 2007-2011 (MOE 2007). Reform aspects that I have analysed, included both the political and the educational ideologies that informed the reform process, the core of the reforms and the main elements that constituted them. In addition, I was concerned with the critical examination of how these contemporary education policies construct future teachers' professionalism and identities and the extent to which these phenomena reflect a response to global economic pressure, convergence and the internationalisation of teacher education policies.

The purpose of this chapter is to present the analysis of semi-structured interview data gathered from a sample of five key education personnel in the Ministry of Education, five senior education policy advisers, fifteen teacher educators in Amoud and Burao universities' Faculties of Education and five senior representatives of the non-governmental organisations that support education and teacher education reconstruction in Somaliland. The chapter consists of two sections. Section one mainly covers separate analysis, discussions and interpretations of the main thematic discourses generated by the interview data while section two briefly explores the relationships between these separate discourses. In the methodology chapter, I stated that the purpose of the interviews was to triangulate the data collected through the examination of the recent education and teacher education reform policy texts (documents) and through my own empirical observations in the field work. These multiple data collection methods have the potential to improve the comprehensiveness and the quality of the research because of the diversity of the data

collected as well as the increased reflexivity associated with the multiple data perspectives. The interview data collected in this research serve this function very well because the ambitions and discourses contained in the policy texts are re-examined by the main individuals who are expected to work with them. My focus has been to examine how individual speakers position themselves within their narratives; their representation of the world; how their roles influence their positions and views and how they actually prefer to convey their views and positions for consumption by others. In addition, within the narratives constructed by the interviewees, I have looked for divergent meanings, ambiguities, contradictions, structured omissions and silences in the reform processes. It is therefore, here that people express enthusiasm and aspirations to work towards the achievement of the new goals of the reforms or show differences by distancing themselves through words or other forms of physical behaviour. It is also here that the strengths and weaknesses of the implementation strategies of the proposed policies are tested in relation to the theoretical perspectives that inform the research question.

In my research, theories of policy making and policy analysis advocated by Rist (2003), Trowler (2003) Kingdon (1995), Ball (1994), Scheurich (1994), Mitchell (1984), policy transfer (Dolowitz 2000); Dolowitz and Marsh (1996); Hulme (2004, 2005), lesson drawings Rose (1991,1993), policy learning (James and Lodge 2003) were the main theoretical perspectives that were drawn in the literature review and methodology chapters. These theories were used to examine how national education and teacher education policy making processes are been influenced by external sources such as globalization and how the powerful supranational organisations facilitate the internationalization and convergence of education and teacher education policies. These same theoretical frameworks also had some methodological implications in analysing and constructing discourses within the interview narratives. Significant focus had been paid to examine how CDA as the principal methodological tool, analyses and interprets the interviewees' perceptions about the different contexts of the policy influence i.e. the context of policy production, the context of practice, the context of policy strategies and the context of policy outcomes (Ball 1994, Codd, 2005).

The framework of data sorting, reduction, synthesizing and analysing was covered in chapter four in detail. However, the following brief summary of data reduction design and coding process is drawn for the conceptual clarity of how the discourses which will be subsequently discussed in this chapter were developed:

the transcribed interview data were read several times in order to look for categories of data.

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similar issues, keywords, ideas and concepts were used to develop the formation of subcategories and categories;

↓

the categories formed were then further synthesized to form emerging themes;

↓

In each of the transcripts the key themes, generated by the interview questions, were then noted in the margins;

↓

the next step was intra- interview analysis of different sets of transcripts;

↓

key findings of each interview and its contextual proximity and relationship with the other sets of the transcripts was then sought;

↓

the list of the key themes among the whole sets of the transcripts was then developed and highlighted using different coloured pens.

↓

To facilitate easy identification and tracing of origins of discourses without revealing interviewees identities, each of the interviewees schedule was assigned to a code in the following order:

- S1, S2, S3, S4, S5: represents interviews with the key personnel in the Ministry of Education;
- P1, P2, P3, P4, P5: represents interviews with Ministry of Education policy advisers who are working outside the Ministry of Education jurisdiction, but all participated in the development of the education reform policies;
- T1, T2, T3…T15: represented the responses of teacher educators at Amoud and Burao Universities;
- N1, N2, N3, N4, N5: represents interviews with the senior non governmental organisations (NGOs) that support education reforms in Somaliland.

This inductive process has led to the developments of six interrelated discourses or themes which are: (1) constructing education as a discourse of human capital (2) the discourse of managing change; (3) the discourse of situating quality within a management discourse; (4) the discourse of the future desired teacher; (5) the discourse of the external factor in

the reforms which takes both positive and negative dimension and (6) the discourse of challenges and barriers facing the implementation of the reforms.

I now attempt to show how I have arrived at each of the above themes. This has involved the combination of two techniques, which were: (1) first, I have structured each theme into categories through the use of textual examples from the interview data collected. In most circumstances these textual samples were limited due to constraints on space, however, it is anticipated that this small sample of direct quotations will provide and give the interviewees' position on the reform process. Then, the categories formed and identified were researched for patterns that led to higher categories of theme formation. Secondly, each theme developed was then further subjected to an analysis and discussion informed by the methodological principles of CDA which focuses on language use in a similar way to Fairclough's view of language as (a) part of the society and not somehow external to it (b) as a social process (c) as a socially conditioned process. The advantage of this perspective is that the linguistic features of the contents and semantics are combined with the use of language associated with a particular social activity (genre) in order to analyse various contextual settings. Genre methodological technique examines the use of language associated with a particular social activity. I found this methodological aspect of CDA particularly useful in identifying power relations, ideological status, and interviewee's conception of knowledge, identities and local-national-global context embeddedness of their statements. The methodological tool which combined with the above strategy is that of my role as a researcher in these acts of interviewee positioning. By this I mean that the participants were not the sole contributors in the construction of the discourses but my understanding and interpretation of how they described situations and positions was also part of the process of discourse identification.

In my research, the interface and the integration of the above two strategies have made the issues raised by the research participants discursive events. Fairclough (1993) defines discursive events as instances of language use, analysed as texts and discursive social practices. In my research these discursive events (interview data) were drawn from four different groups or policy actors with different power positions within a particular social, historical, political and economic context. Therefore their perspectives on issues of policy development and policy implementations shed light upon the contestations of values, priorities, cultural definitions and power struggles in each of the successive levels of the policy in practice (i.e. contexts of influence, the context of policy production, the context

of practice, the context of policy strategies and the context of the policy outcomes (Ball 1994 Codd 2005).

One observable feature of the interview data analysis was that most of the six thematic discourses were mainly constructed by the Ministry of Education personnel, their policy advisers and teacher educators. However, the interview texts that generated these discourses are linked together by the influence of an external factor. This external factor is constituted by the influences and presence of the INGOs in both education policy formation and implementation processes as well as the influences of globalisation of educational policies. Therefore, in the analysis of the data it is argued that the phenomena of globalization have contributed and influenced how the national policy actors have constructed the reform discourses. In most of the themes the external factor represented the dominant absent voice in the co- construction of the discourses because the national policy actors' value assumptions about education and teacher professionalism had an international policy perspective. In the final part of the chapter, the quotations given by MOE personnel, policy advisers, teacher educators and representatives of the INGOs that had international agenda of education or teacher education are used to explain and demonstrate how phenomena of policy transfer, lesson drawing and policy learning impacts on the national policy making process.

6.1: Interviewee's construction and identification of the discourses

These are presented in terms of the 6 discourses which were earlier mentioned in the chapter.

6.1.1: Constructing education as a discourse of human capital

In this thesis, the Ministry of Education's key personnel, policy advisers and teacher educators in Amoud and Burao Universities' Faculties of Education were asked in the same way what they desired as the most important thing that education in Somaliland was to achieve. The second and third options of their preferred educational outcomes were also probed during the interview process. The following textual examples demonstrate the way in which interviewees positioned themselves to construct education as a discourse of human capital:

A senior MOE personnel within the department of curriculum and training under which the portfolio of teacher education currently falls made this point:

S2: *We want our schools and universities to produce students and professionals who can compete with the now highly competitive job markets.*

A similar view was reflected in the words of another senior MOE personnel within the department of planning:

S3: The world is starting to be much more demanding in terms of performance and we are now more concerned about getting value for money than it was before. We want our education system to produce graduates who have the necessary knowledge and skills that are relevant to our economic development. In this country our economic strength lies in the tapping of our natural resources. I believe there is sufficient oil in our country. But who will tell you that the resources are actually there and produce them. No one will ever tell you that unless you develop your own.

Researcher: What do you consider to be the second and third preferred outcomes of Somaliland education?

S3: The production of peaceful and democratic citizens is also very important targets for us.

Another senior MOE personnel within the department of schools felt strongly that the first priority of education should be the production of higher skills that are relevant to the sectors that are the backbones of the nation's economy:

S5: *Our national economy is near stagnation because there are no people with the right and competent skills. If you examine the livestock sector, agriculture, industries, marine fisheries, tourism, these are sectors with greater potentialities but because of lack of expertise all of them are under performing.*

R; why do you think this is the case?

S5: Because we are not investing in the right education and courses that are relevant to them.

A Head of a private higher education institution who recently returned from Canada after long Diaspora experience expresses his future vision of education in the following statement:

P5: Our main vision is to produce a well educated labour force which have a high level of skills necessary for our economic development that is why we recently changed the curriculum of our schools and reviewed our vocational and tertiary institutions skills training. But this does not mean that we are neglecting other areas, we still want to have all rounded graduates who have the necessary skills to promote social justice and good moral behaviour.

It is interesting to note how P5 combined knowledge matters with skills training and subsequently to economic development. In the first part of the text the imperative created

is that the purpose of education and schools is for people to acquire skills through training and then seek employment, thereby contributing to the national gross product (NGP). The second thought signified by the word "*but*" represents the subordinate function of education which includes social and personal development. The position of P5 is consistent with many international literatures of education policy globalisation and more certainly those advocated by OECD which promotes the discourse of human capital theory. Therefore the acceptance of human capital theory in Somaliland's education policy arena as a mechanism of improving quality in education suggests that the views of the national policy actors are being influenced by global perspectives of education which have strong links with a neo-liberal view of education.

Among the key MOE personnel and policy advisers the most common rationale advanced for education outcome and achievement was the economic discourse. For example, 4 out of the 5 key MOE personnel responded that the most important thing they wanted the education system to achieve was the production of human capital for economic growth. The responses from the education policy advisers were also similar to the answers given by the MOE personnel, in the sense that all the five interviewed expressed the opinion that the first priority of education should be the production of the knowledge and skills that are necessary for the national economic competitiveness. Through out the interview process the keywords and phrases that occurred most frequently within the MOE and policy advisers texts in relation to the economic function of education included: tendencies of educational changes to be framed in economic terms 21 times in 10 interviews; increasing criticism of the current education and teacher education to contribute to the economic discourse 14 times in 10 interviews; the promotion of educational change and teacher education change through increased governmental role 15 times; increased emphasis on standardization of teacher education 9 times; increased desire of accountability to education stakeholders through external audits 11 times.

When the MOE staff and policy advisers were asked what they considered to be the second and third preferred educational outcomes, students' achievements and social development discourses were their most desired options, but, with less emphasis than the discourse of human capital.

From the above position of the MOE personnel and their policy advisers the emerging picture and the description of the most desired output of education was a graduate with

modern skills that were relevant to labour productivity, thus a productive individual. The possession of these skills was presented as the principle factor in graduate output assessment. However, it was not very clear whether these skills desired were the soft skills of communication, interpersonal, teamwork, flexibility or the core skills that related to knowledge and professional qualifications or their declarations referred to both these categories. In most circumstances their references to skills were non specific. Most statements were non-categorical declaratives suggesting the skills that today's employers require. Other traits or identities of this desired graduate included a strong social function, informed by social justice, morality, fostering of national unity, statehood and good citizenship.

The limitation of this thesis is that the extent to which these desired outcomes of education have been achieved by the education system cannot be analysed. It is too early to assess the impact of the changes brought by the contemporary education policy reforms because the major reforms are yet to be fully implemented. In addition, even in future research, it will be still difficult to tell whether the reforms have achieved their objectives because it is always difficult to see education aspirations as "objective", identifiable and measurable.

Contrary to MOE personnel and policy advisors' views about the future role of education, when the same questions were asked of the teacher educators at Amoud and Burao Universities Faculties of education their responses were more critical and broader than the narrow conceptions of the economic output-based education that were advanced by the senior MOE personnel and their policy advisers. The following textual examples indicates this:

T1: *There are many outcomes that we desire our educational system to produce. It's difficult to have any of these outcomes without the other. For example, we need students who are committed to scholarly work, lifelong learning and personal growth through critical reflection and self evaluation. It's only when students develop these skills that they can impact in other outcomes, for example, contribution to economic growth and social development as well as their own self development.*

Another teacher educator expresses the following similar view:

T2: We want our education system to be responsive to the various needs of our children. For me good achievement is to produce graduates who are competent and capable of making good choices that positively affect their life's and ultimately can contribute to the wider social and economic development.

As the above texts indicate, teacher educators were more likely to link educational outcomes with students' learning and educational process, while the MOE personnel and

their policy advisers were more likely to link good educational achievement with an 'end product' in terms of producing their perceived types of desired graduates. Despite these conceptual differences between the two categories of research participants, there were indications of a considerable pressure in education of all levels to improve its performance in terms of economic, social and individual function.

It is apparent from the above arguments that re-contextualisation of "quality" in Somaliland's education reforms have created two contesting positions. The first position which is held by the MOE and policy advisors sees quality education in terms of its ability to contribute to a man power requirement that is necessary for global economic competition. The second position held by the teacher educators does not deny the economic function of education but, rather, questions the assumption that public education provision can be based entirely on the principle of direct skills training in order to meet the needs of employers. This latter perspective takes a stance which focuses balanced cognitive, emotional and physical development of the learners in order to make informed decisions in life.

In the next part of this first discourse of constructing education as a discourse of human capital I examine the perception of the interviewees in terms of what they thought to change in the education system.

6.1.1.1: Interviewees' perception of what ought to change in the education system

The second interview question of the research inquiry asked the key MOE personnel and policy advisers what aspects of the education system they wanted to change during the education reform process that started in 2005. Their responses to this question were diverse, reflecting the wider scope of the educational reforms initiated during this period. Some of the responses that highlighted aspects of education change included:

S1*: To reform our curriculum in schools was one of our main priorities; our curriculum was very old and has been in use without updating for over thirty years. When the world is changing and technology is evolving, its important that our curriculum and what we teach our young people reflect today's world, it has to be up to-date with current advances in technology. Modernising our curriculum was a matter of high importance and long over due*.

S4: To say the fact, in 2005 our education system was at crossroads and its lowest level. You see nothing has changed with the education system we shared with Somalia. Our schools and candidates were failing our economy, society and themselves. If things continued the way they were, we could never have faced the new challenges of the 21st century. In order to address these issues we have introduced measures to improve the education access, equity, relevance and quality at all levels of education.

S2: We have realised that the world was quickly changing. In order to cope up with it, we had a holistic review of the most aspects of our education system including curriculum, teacher education, policy making process, administrative and organisational structure, financing, budgeting and evaluation procedures.

S3: Reforming teacher education was our number one priority. The system was mainly theoretically oriented. It lacked the development of necessary competencies for teachers that are needed for today's schools. We wanted to change how teachers were trained, what type of training they received and positively impact on their practical classroom skills.

In the above extract, the view expressed by S3 constructs and locates the future teacher education and teacher professionalism within the competence model. The discursive significance of this model is that it advocates evidence-based practice in teaching and teacher education. It also calls for a standard mode of knowledge delivery. This pedagogical standardisation in turn can facilitate instruments of control such as audit and inspection because aspects of the teaching profession are now assumed to be measurable and quantifiable. The danger with this quality improvement strategy is that managers can reduce quality education assessment to check-list indicators that can be exploited to manage and discipline professionals. The second significance of this happening is that it can create a power shift from the professionals to the government bureaucrats.

Most of the policy advisors stated that change was necessary in teacher education. The following extracts show examples of why they thought change was necessary:

P3: During the reform process we wanted to reconstitute teacher education system because the system was not producing the type of teachers we wanted…

P4: We wanted to change the pedagogical preparation of the pre-service teachers, their subject training, their relationship with the community and other professionals.

P2: We wanted to raise the standards for initial teacher education in Somaliland by increasing their level of performance.

P1: Modernising teaching and learning process in our schools was certainly in our mind. There was need to review this aspect of our education system because it was not serving any good purposes.

Out of the 10 interviews with the MOE personnel and their policy advisers' changes in teacher education and the curriculum of schools occurred most. There were 7 instances where the interviewees have identified teacher education as an aspect of the education reforms and 6 instances of curriculum and school changes. Other aspects of the changes identified included changing the philosophy and the ideology of education provision, changing the equity and access of the education system, the budgeting and financing system, changing the decision and policy making system, changing the educational evaluation and monitoring system and changing the organisational infrastructure of the education system.

Since all the above education reforms have some implications for the perceived quality of education and teacher education, my initial plan was to probe further each of the interviewee's responses to the above question which involved the interviewee's identification of the aspects of the education system they wanted to change with prompts which sought *why* they wanted changes to occur and *how* they intended to achieve these changes. However, because good numbers of the interviewees have already incorporated their answers to these prompts to the previous question, due to limitation of space and time and the fact that this thesis focuses on teacher education transformation only the responses that generated data that either directly related to teacher education reform or informed policies that pursued quality education and teacher education were further investigated. It is both here and in the previous responses that the sub-discourses of quality and improvement surfaced within the context of education as a discourse of human capital as evidenced by the following interview data.

A senior officer within the department of curriculum and training under which the portfolio of teacher education currently falls describes why he believes education and teacher education reforms have to occur:

S2: B*ecause we wanted to improve the quality and relevance of our education by developing good policies and by making our goals of education reflect the aspirations of our nation*.

Here S2 demonstrates that there was something wrong with the previous philosophical and ideological orientation of the education system. This also signifies new political ideologies because educational and political ideologies are related. This relationship is explained both in the literature review and chapter five. S2 was further prompted about how the government is going to achieve the above policy goals:

S2: We have already updated and improved the quality of the content and methods of delivery of what is taught in our primary and secondary schools and we are continuously reflecting upon them as things continue to develop. We are also in the middle of improving structures that support the new reforms and we are optimistic things will be better in near future.

Here S2 makes reference to the recently completed primary and secondary schools' curriculum reforms. The issue of the curriculum changes was further evidenced by my own observation of high production of new text books in primary and secondary schools that were to replace the old curriculum. UNESCO and UNICEF mainly contributed to the publication, transportation and distribution of these text books. But, when I further prompted how the methods of delivery were improved S2 stated that:

S2: *The European Union has funded the SCOTT project. All our local universities are receiving funding to improve the professional development of our teachers through seminars, workshops and residential training during the school holidays.*

The underlying assumption here is that through re-training of teachers an alternative pedagogy can be sought. This part of the interview text can be tied to the earlier views expressed by S3 who constructed and located the future teacher education and teacher professionalism within the competence model and skills development. Therefore the policy of re-training teachers can be seen in this context. This aim of re-conceptualising teacher education and teacher professionalism is confirmed by the next interviewee who is a senior MOE staff within the Department of Personnel:

S1: We wanted to align teacher education policy and training programs with the national development priorities.

R: How are you going to achieve this?

S1: By increasing emphasis on skills development. There is need for teacher education programmes to be relevant to today's globalised knowledge economy. We want to emphasize the practical training of the teachers so that they can produce graduates that employers can employ.

Another senior MOE personnel within the Department of Schools believes that quality graduates can only result from high quality teachers:

S5: *We wanted to improve the quality of the teachers so that we can have quality graduates that are useful.*

R: How are you going to achieve this?

S5: By changing the way we train teachers and how we evaluate them.

Another senior MOE staff member within the department of Non Formal Education believed that teachers' professionalism can be enhanced through collaboration and partnership with other colleagues and agencies.

S4: We wanted our teacher education programme to produce teachers that demonstrate and promote partnership with the community, other professional colleagues, parents, other agencies and learners themselves.

R: How are you going to achieve this?

S4: By changing how we train the new teachers as well as re-training the old teachers in the schools.

A Head of a private higher education institution who recently returned from Canada after long Diaspora experience who is also an independent policy consultant for the Ministry of Education establishes a co-relationship between teacher education re-conceptualisation and school curriculum changes:

P5: We wanted to raise the standards for initial teacher education in Somaliland by increasing their level of performance.
R: How are you going to raise the standards?

P5: Because we have reformed most of the curriculum in secondary schools and primary education in the same way we want to change the subject knowledge and the understandings of the teachers who are going to deliver this curriculum. We want our students to be taught according to our new national guidelines so that we produce the right candidates for our economy and society.

Another policy adviser who runs a private education consultancy company but is mainly contracted by the government to review social policies expressed the following opinion as to why teacher education reforms are to take place:

P4: We wanted to promote teacher education programme that help candidates to develop transferable skills…
His conception of the development of transferable skills can be seen as a strategy to respond to uncertainties and changes in global markets, labour, technology and social practices.

Another policy adviser expresses dissatisfaction with the previous teacher education system and proposes that the solution to the problem lies in the development of critical thinking skills rather than knowledge transmission:

P3: Overall we wanted to re- orient teacher professionalism from knowledge transmission to critical thinking and skills development. Both our previous education and teacher education were failure. The graduates they produced were only consumers of knowledge and not knowledge and skill innovators. It is shame our engineers, scientists, social scientists, economists none of them were beneficial to our society and the national economy. We import Match boxes from abroad; we import pain killers from abroad, name any thing used in this country and check the label. It is an imported item. Why should we

keep on investing on graduates that are not productive? For change to happen we must change how teaching and learning occurs in our schools.

His co-relating of education products and commodity production signifies that there is greater need and desire for education and teacher education to be responsive to the needs of the industrial and business sector.

The reform reasons advanced by the MOE and their policy advisers in this set of second questions shares a similar orientation with their previous representations of what they desired as the most important thing that education in Somaliland was to achieve. In both contexts there was increased emphasis on the knowledge economy and the need to develop the right skills among the graduates for the knowledge economy. This is evidenced by the several statements raised by the MOE and policy advisers who have attempted to link teacher education reforms with the discourse of quality and improvement in skills development. The quality and improvement discourses constructed by the MOE personnel were also consistent with the content of the literature review's theoretical perspectives relating to the education and teacher education reforms of the countries that have oriented their education systems to the market. However, apart from a few respondents most of the interviewees were short of specific recommendations relating to how this desired quality in teacher education will be achieved. The vocabularies mostly used by the participants to define how the changes in teacher education will be achieved by the new policies seemed mainly rhetorical. They included words like *modernising*, *transforming*, *training*, *raising standards*, *in-servicing* etc. A key term used by most of the interviewees to justify changes was the term "*modernisation*". This is a very slippery and contested term. In most of the contexts the semiotic meaning created by the use of this word was the need for improvement and this need seemed to be originating from a deep education and teacher failures.

6.1.1.2: International influences

The third sets of interview questions were also more specific to teacher education reforms and they involved MOE personnel and policy advisers describing the impact of global influences on their teacher education policies and practices. Aspects of teacher education which the interviewees thought to have filtered in to the new teacher education that had some international or global perspectives included partnership and collaboration, emphasis on quality, outcome orientation, competencies and skill development, external audits and

accountability and standardization features. Their responses were consistent with the discourses contained in the contemporary education reform policy papers that were covered in the previous chapter.

6.1.2.3: Summary

Critical examination of the interviews analysed indicated that the main principle that underlined the education and teacher education reforms was the need to improve the quality of education and this quality was defined according to the economic needs of the nation. Most of the interviewees talked about how global economic competition and the need for new skills have informed their policy decision making. The discourses of human capital as the core of the reforms was evidenced by the fact that there was consensus among the MOE personnel and policy advisers on the need to raise the national standards of education and teacher education in order to develop necessary skills for the economy. The discourse of human capital has also led to re-contextualisation of quality in education, in the sense that quality education was assessed in terms of its national economic contribution. Teacher educators also acknowledged the need for improved standards in education and teacher education. However, they differed over the best options or strategies that can lead to the desired increased standards. These differences were mainly due to their different perceptions of what constitutes quality and how best to achieve this increased quality.

Overall the key issues, words, ideas and concepts that were expressed by the research participants which contributed to the development of the discourse of human capital in education and the sub-discourse of quality and improvement included (1) the desired education outcomes (2) the construction of the notion of quality and improvement in relation to increases in education efficiency, accountability, relevancy and skills development; (3) emphasis on national productivity; (4) focus on economic growth and national economic competitiveness; (5) competence model of teacher education which emphasised evidence based practice in teaching and teacher education (6) quality-re-contextualisation in education (7) the identities of the future desired graduates (8) curriculum orientation; (9) management and organisational style of education, and (10) future knowledge economy.

Intervention measures identified by the national policy actors as improving quality in education included making the goals of education reflect the aspiration of the nation; grounding education and training in relevant theoretical debates that address the unique problems of Somaliland; promotion of policy dialogue and inclusiveness; decentralising functions, partnership creation and collaborative practices; widening participation, access and equity; increased coordination between the INGOs and MOE work and practices; coordination and harmonisation of the national education policy, teacher education policy and the national education development plan.

I now go on to explore the second discourse of managing change.

6.1.2: The discourse of managing change

The analyses of the previous economic discourse of education have highlighted radical changes in Somaliland's education system. The changes introduced included policy making processes, administrative, organisational structures, financing, budgeting, evaluation procedures, curriculum and teacher education reforms. When the MOE personnel and their policy advisers were asked what they considered as important strategies for managing changes in these large scale educational reforms their responses generated 17 factors or implementation strategies that they thought could positively aid the implementation process of the education reforms. These aiding factors included: (1) the creation of a common vision and serious commitment from all the stakeholders (2) the development of good policies; (3) allocation of more resources to teacher education; (4) enhancing organisational style; (5) cultural and behaviour change; (6) making connections i.e. macro, meso and micro of the reforms (7) securing community support for the reforms; (8) managing turbulence during the transition period; (9) developing leadership for the change; (10) capacity building to schools and institutions; (11) building a mechanism of quality assurance for teaching as a profession; (12) building up an adequate qualified and stable teaching force in all levels of education; (13) improving teachers living conditions and status. (14) re-structuring of teacher education and creation of Teacher Education Unit (15) modernization of the process and infrastructure for in-servicing teachers (16) establishing of a new management information system that can be used to monitor the performance of the new education (17) decentralizing the process of education provision to regional and district levels. These seventeen strategies were the most ranked measures for

ensuring the success of the reforms. The following extracts and analysis show how interviews developed the above strategies of managing change:

The following quotations show how implementation strategies are understood as being people centred.

S1: *I think there needs to be a serious commitment from all the education stakeholders. If there is no commitment and people just give lip services, then changes will never occur. We believe that decentralising functions is our key strategy in enhancing commitment and participation.*

S5: *We must secure teachers', schools' and communities' support for the reforms. I believe their understanding and motivation is crucial to the reforms. We must educate and tell the people the direction we are going and why we believe that we have to follow this route. If we fail to take them on board, then who is going to do the implementation of the changes? I know naturally it's difficult to change human behaviour, but, I believe if the local leaders provide a good understanding of the rationale for the change and create wide awareness then they will secure good local participation.*

P5: Combining so many strategies is the key to the success of the reforms. We want to make connections of all the things that matters from grassroots to national level, secure local commitments and participation and manage the initial transition period very well.

S3: reforms will succeed only if there is continuous political commitment. We are making sure that the government provides enough commitment and resources for the reform implementations.

In the above quotations S1, S5, P5 and S3 highlight different ingredients of managing change. For new policies to be transformed into implementation strategies at practice level they must be converted into human actions. What is common in the above four extracts is the centrality of human action. Education reforms and innovations usually require people to change practices, attitudes and behaviour. The change of practice and attitudes in turn re-defines the existing relationships and roles of practitioners and their managers or those whom the practitioners are accountable to. For example, in the context of Somaliland's teacher education and teacher professionalism the new reforms have the potential to shift power relationship to the domain of the managers. Therefore teachers' commitment and support for the reforms will depend on both their individual and group judgement of the new innovations. On the other hand, political commitment will also depend on the desire by the politicians to achieve certain objectives. In the context of Somaliland this political desire was earlier identified as that of increasing the quality of education in order to be economically competitive. The politicians' desire to control professionals so as to determine the direction of changes could also be a possible motivating factor.

It is naturally expected that changes can raise emotions and can create conflicts because of increased demand, resource distributions, new power relationships and different view points about the best practices of implementation. If not properly handled conflict can lower decision making, reduce performance and lead to dissatisfaction among the change agents. Therefore innovative solutions are necessary for MOE and other educational organizations to cope with the proposed changes**.** In order to address this issue the INGOs can invest in conflict management so as to enhance teamwork for the reforms' implementation.

In the next two quotations national policy actors highlight the significance of adequate resources in implementing new policies:

S2: For these changes to happen there must be adequate resources available to the people who want to affect changes. I think the current resources available to the education sector limits the ability of the people, if human beings do not have incentives to work then their productivity falls. You see there is no point of telling people to do this and that, …change behaviours and practices, and when whey tell you where is the means to do the work you have no answer for them, it makes both your life and their life difficult. Sustainable good quality education will only depend on the government's ability to create sound macroeconomic policies that can enhance the development of the local economy. I suspect the implementation process will be an uphill task unless the economy changes for the better. We can not rely on the INGOs financial support in the long run.

S4: *For comprehensive educational changes to take place there must be a better coordination between the MOE and the donor INGOs. All the resources available to education should be put together and then we must all move from point "A" then to "B" then to "C". Otherwise if everybody operates in (his) own way we will certainly loose the recovery strategy.*

In Somaliland the resource factor of the education reforms is a problematic issue. Economic resources are provided and controlled by the INGOs. The national bureaucrats contest this practice and advocate for direct funding. In the above texts the national policy actors portray inadequate funding as a factor that hinders the implementation of the new education policies. They also show concern about how the current available resources are mobilised to affect change. These contestations of the control of resources can be related to the criticality of capital in determining both social practices and power relationships. Bourdieu (1991) used the concept of capital in its various forms to explain struggles and manoeuvres between various policy actors in the policy making processes. According to him access to one form of capital can facilitate, access to other forms of capital. In this case the desire by the government's bureaucrats to control economic resources can be seen

in the context of intending to lead and control the direction of the change, raise their status and power to control professions and so on.

The next three quotations highlight strategies for re-innovating the existing education infrastructure, creation of new institutions and development of personnel whose prime concern is improvement and innovations in education:

P1: Implementing the Somaliland's new educational policies will require the creation of new institutions as well as the strengthening of the existing ones. For the past three years we have been busy in building the necessary educational infrastructure for the reforms to take place. We have so far created and reinvented most of the specialized organisations. For example, we have recently finalised the establishment of an autonomous higher education department, a lot of effort and resources has gone to modernise the Somaliland national examination system, the inspectorate department, the curriculum and training development centre, the regional education advisories, the gender promotion commission and the department of administration and personnel to manage the changes.

P2: One good lesson we have learnt is to use data for monitoring and evaluation systems as well as for decision making purposes. We have prioritised enhancing the professional skills of the administrative personnel from our headquarters, regional to district level. UNICEF has in the past collected information on behalf of the MOE from the schools. We have now finalised the capacity building at all levels in a partnership with UNICEF. We are now confident in using and collecting data for decision making purposes. Significant training has been done and now schools are able to collect data and can send it easily to us. In the long run this intervention will reduce the costs and logistics of our operation.

P4: I personally believe that building capacity of the MOE, educational institutions and schools is priority number one for these educational reforms to be achieved. To bring about the sort of large scale reform needed in the quality of teaching and learning requires a considerable capacity building effort and not just a matter of training few people. There is a need to create a critical mass of change champions across the public administration and education system.

The above implementation strategies postulated by P1, P2 and P3 are essential for the achievement of the education reform goals. For example, reform policies need to concentrate the improvement of the quality of leadership in all educational institutions, particularly teacher education institutions, and school leadership because of their direct impact on the quality of teaching and learning. However, what is worth mentioning is the point raised by P2. The practice of collecting data in teaching and learning processes in order to make future decisions gives a technical impression about education. It also indicates that knowledge and methods of delivery can be somehow codified and standardised. This standardisation will in turn facilitate the monitoring and evaluation of the processes of teaching and learning. Equally it will also facilitate the management of the professionals involved in the process. The articulation of change presented by P2 can also

be approximated and related to the observed education discourses in the literature review that promoted neo-liberal views of education.

However, in most cases when further prompts were used to identify the most important strategy for managing change there was almost a consensus among the interviewees about the role of the teachers for actual changes to occur in schools and society as exemplified by the following quotations.

S1*: For the reforms to translate to a meaningful change on the ground teachers must be given the leading role... you see if you fail to take them on board they can really present challenge when you tell them to adapt to the new innovations*.

Paradoxically, this education bureaucrat acknowledges and is aware of the resource power (knowledge power) that teachers have at their disposal. This resource power could be used to subvert national education policies if teachers consider them as undesirable in terms of their own or their learners' interests.

In the next three quotations policy advisors P4 and P2 and education personnel S4 further acknowledges the pivotal role of the teachers:

P4: *I believe the provision of quality education depends on the quality of the teachers. You can have the best education policies in the world, but if you do not have high quality teachers to implement changes in schools and classrooms you are just fooling your self.*

P2: O*ur strategies are to produce professional teachers with good knowledge and pedagogical skills that can cope with the educational goals of today society*.

S4: *For this country to realise social, economic, and political development the professional culture of the teachers must change. I know it's very difficult to change the behaviours of the people. But perhaps when you involve their knowledge, beliefs and attitudes in the process their motivation to change improves. Because reforming the professional culture of the teachers has been our number one priority we consulted teachers and teacher organisations and universities about what they thought was necessary to be included in the teacher education policies and programs*.

In the next two quotations S2 and S3 state what they have done to improve teacher education and teacher professionalism:

S2: *The new role of the teacher is the most prominent feature in the new reforms. For example, when we ratified the Somaliland national education policy paper, we immediately imparked on the development of the national teacher education policy paper, this document represents a comprehensive policy frame work for our teacher education development*.

S3: *In our educational reforms, we have included both pre-service and in-service training of teachers so as to affect educational changes. We have evaluated the existing teachers' knowledge base and found a real gap between modern teaching profession and our traditional way of teacher education. The problem in Somaliland is that the majority of the teachers are almost approaching their retirement age. The training provisions since we have re-gained our independence have been very limited because of limited capacity of production and resource constraints…you see most of these teachers have undergone the traditional teacher training programmes in Somalia which were purely academic in orientation and resulted didactic approaches to teaching and learning processes. Central to our new teacher education policy is to produce modern teachers who can promote creativity, innovation and critical thinking skills among the learners.*

But, when the interviewees were prompted why they considered teacher education to be the main instrument of change their responses included**:**

S1*: Our aims are clear, we want to prepare teachers as future managers of learning institutions, we want to enhance the professional base for the teachers and equip them with professional skills that will give them confidence as they execute their roles. We want to produce teachers that can produce people who can lead and develop our society.*

P1: Changing the education system and curriculum is futile without changing teachers knowledge and skills, its this in mind that we are really focused in improving the quality of the teachers both those in the field and those in the training currently.

There are three substantive points in these quotations. First, both MOE staff and policy advisors acknowledge the pivotal role of the teachers to affect change. Secondly, these policy actors have made both explicit and implicit assumptions that question current teachers' professionalism. Particular views to be observed here are those presented by P2 and S4. The question is on what basis or view of professionalism are these bureaucrats judging teachers' professionalism and are teachers' views of professionalism similar to that held by MOE personnel. I do not intend to go into details of these comparative views because the next discourse of future desired teachers examines this aspect. The third significant question that can be deconstructed from the text is that do the measures highlighted by MOE staff address the root causes of poor quality in teaching? Poor quality of teachers in Somaliland is mainly caused by poor remuneration and unconducive employment conditions. The MOE policy texts are silent on these issues. Once again I do not intend to go into details of this, because the last discourse of challenges and barriers further investigates these issues.

6.1.2.1: Summary

Comments from the MOE personnel and policy advisers about managing change shows a high level of awareness and understanding of the key principles in education reform implementation, particularly reforms relating to teacher education transformation. But, the implications of the positions of other policy actors outside the government (i.e. INGOs) can present a context specific challenge for the national policy makers. The first challenge is that the INGOs as the main funders of the teacher education reforms are also in a leadership position. Therefore a good collaborative working relationship between the MOE and INGOs is essential for the reform implementation. Secondly to be successful, reform implementation requires complementary long term agreements between the government and funding agencies. Therefore national policy actors must be certain of the duration of INGOs commitment to the reform process.

Two main limitations observed in the implementation strategies of the MOE and policy advisers is that they seem to ignore the dynamism of the reform process and present the implementation strategies as a linear top-down model. There is need for them to conceptualise the implementation process not as a mechanistic separate stage of the policy process but as a continuous reflection of the process of decision making and policy making process. Secondly, since there are issues of power and resource contestations that can change both the official and the social relationships in Somaliland's education and teacher education reconstruction it is not easy to determine whether the implementation strategies stated by different actors are means of serving individual or group interests or are honest conceptions of how they believed that change could be managed.

6.1.3: The discourse of the future desired teacher

All the four categories of research participants i.e. (MOE personnel, policy advisers, teacher educators and INGOs representatives) have contributed to the identification of this discourse of future desired teacher. The evidence that led to the formation of this discourse come from the interview inquiry that focused on the MOE personnel's and policy advisers' vision of teachers they had in mind during the teacher education policy development and their views of what constitutes an ideal teacher. In a slightly different version teacher educators were asked what vision of teacher professionalism underlines their teacher training programmes and what their views on an ideal teacher was. Through their

description of the nature of their educational support and through their role in teacher education policy formation and implementation the representatives of the INGOs have also contributed concepts, ideas and keywords that led to the conceptualization of the discourse of the future desired teacher.

The transcribed interview data were subjected to the principles of discourse analysis, in particular, Fairclough's framework of policy text analysis which was discussed in the methodology chapter. This focused on linguistic analysis of texts, the representational and ideological effects of the texts and the relationship between discourses and other elements of social processes, constituting policy texts as both discursive practices and as discourse related problems. In my research, the operationalisation of the above methodology has led to the development of 13 sub-categories of textual data that related teacher professionalism and teacher identity.

Table 6a: showing categories of expressions that described future teachers professionalism

Categories of expressions that described future teachers professionalism	Examples of evidence from the data
adaptability	S1, S3, S5, P5, P2, T9,T6, N5, N3
good subject knowledge	S5, P2, P1, T8, T15, S3, T2, T3, T9
dynamism and lifelong learning	S2, S4, S5, P2, P5, T5, T7, T13, N1
collaboration practice	S1, S2, S4, S5, P4, P5, T3, T1, N1,
collegiality	T1, T4, T15, S3
Wider accountability	S1, S2, S3, S5, P1, P2, N1
leadership skills	S2, S4, P1, P5, P3, T1, T6
managerial ability	S5, S2, S4, T11, P3
technical practitioner	T15, N1, N5, S1, S3,N1,
critical educator	T1, T3, T4, T5, T7, T12, T15, S3, S4, N2
efficient instructor	S5, S3, N1, N4,
autonomous in their decision	T5, T8, T15
flexibility	S1, S5, S3, T15, P4, T9, N1,

These sub-categories were combined to create the discourse of future desired teacher.

I now present how different policy actors constructed the above dimensions of teacher professionalism.

6.1.3.1: MOE personnel and policy advisers' views

In the previous two discourses of human capital theory and managing change, MOE personnel and policy advisors expressed similar views to discursively construct education reforms. Similarly, in this discourse of future desired teacher the views of these two national policy actors were similar. Therefore I combined their views rather than analysing them separately. The following are some of the data generated when these policy actors were asked their opinion about what they considered to be a modern professional teacher.

S5: Our stakeholders in education need efficient teachers who can produce graduates who have the necessary skills in all the sectors of our economy. In order to perform this function we expect teachers to demonstrate knowledge and understanding and practical skills in all the areas of the schools curriculum. Linking the development of the new teacher education curriculum competencies with schools subjects learning is one of our main principle reforms in teacher education.

S1: *Our vision was to create excellent teachers who were committed to work in a competitive and changing world. Professionalism, diligence, openness, gender equity, cooperation, flexibility, accountability and use of technologies are the main guidelines for our future teachers.*

S2: Our objective is to have active teachers who are engaged with current educational issues, understand the national education goals and priorities and contribute to the process of curriculum development and school improvement as a whole.

S4: *A modern professional teacher manages and controls classes and provides a leadership that contributes to the whole school development.*

P2: *we require teachers who have a good subject knowledge base for understanding the requirements of the national curriculum and can design a suitable method of delivery to every child.*

MOE personnel and policy advisers have made specific reference to some of the key competencies they thought all teachers should possess. The ability to have competence in the subject knowledge; competence in planning; competence in classroom management; the ability to make effective use of ICT; the ability to work in close collaboration with other colleagues, parents and wider community; the ability to participate in the development of the school; the ability to communicate and report effectively; the ability to locate professional actions in their social, political and community context and the ability to manage change were the main characteristics used to refer to the ideal future teachers. The MOE personnel and policy advisers were very clear that teacher education both pre-

service and in-service should become more responsive to the teachers' needs in relation to the above competencies. The discourse of teacher professionalisation emerging from their answers suggests that teachers need to be re-professionalised in order to develop the above skills and the competence-based teacher education model was presented as the best chance of equipping future teachers with the above desired skills.

But analysing the network of the social process involved in the re-definition of teacher professionalism by the national policy actors is a complex matter because it involves ideological beliefs and values of education which itself is informed by certain political ideologies. In addition, teachers' professional knowledge, autonomy, power relationship, identity and status are also affected by the proposed changes. In these observations the representatives of the government seem to be creating two sub-discourses at the same time. The first is that of increasing the central control of teacher education and teacher professionalism and the second is that of promoting collaboration and partnership within the teaching profession.

6.1.3.2: Teacher educators' views

When the teacher educators were asked the vision of teacher professionalism underpinning their teacher education programmes the following textual data were generated:

T5: *I believe that modern professional teachers have to be autonomous learners who can engage in reflective practice, assesses their own development needs, engage in research and can help to develop new knowledge through critical inquiry.*

T7: *The future professional teachers should be self reflexive teachers who learn from the reflections of their teaching experiences. I believe this is the only way teachers can cope up with the ever changing context of teaching and learning in modern societies.*

T8: We aim to produce teachers who have well grounded subject knowledge and the pedagogical techniques of delivering it.

T12: Our objectives are to produce critical educators who can develop the children's critical thinking skills rather than transmit outdated knowledge that may not be necessary in our today's society.

T2: *our teacher education programmes are designed to create professional teacher who are able to provide a stimulating learning environment to all learners.*

T15 *A modern professional teacher has to have the knowledge and learning strategies that are relevant to each of his or her pupils. Different learners require different teaching styles and all their needs must be catered for by the teacher… we train teachers to use child centred methods of teaching*

Teacher educators' views seem to be based on a reflective practitioner model of teacher professionalism. They stressed that teachers should have high levels of knowledge and skills, the discretionary power to use their professional judgment in curriculum delivery and act as a change agent. Teacher educators were more likely to involve learners and learning process in the definition of their professional teacher. In addition, teachers' knowledge of the social context of the learning; skills of teaching and learning; students' needs and the social and personal purposes of education were the other themes that emerged in their responses. Some teacher educators mentioned the future teacher as a facilitator and as an agent of change. Others emphasized the role of the future teacher as effective instructor and moral guide. Overall, teacher educators wanted to produce someone who knew his or her subject could teach it effectively and who was someone who related well with children. Their responses were consistent with the aims and objectives of the new teacher education policies contained in the documents analysed in the previous chapter.

In order to establish the differences between the new teacher education policies and previous policies the respondent's answers to the previous question was tied to interview inquiry which sought the MOE personnel's view about the aspects of teacher education they wanted to change during the reform process. Teacher educators were also asked if they had made any changes to aspects of teacher education programmes since 2005. In both cases changes in teacher education was identified as evidenced by the following textual examples:

S1: *We wanted to change the admission criteria of the new entrants to teaching profession so that we can improve the quality of the entrants.*
S3: *Many changes were sought, but the main focus was to change the traditional way in which teachers delivered curriculum to learners.*

R: How

S3: *We wanted to promote student centred teaching and learning process by changing the pedagogical training of the teachers. The new policies now mandate teacher training institutions to produce such teachers.*

P4: Most countries are now changing the traditional way of teacher training. We wanted to increase and improve the practical aspects of teacher education so that teachers are more able to solve problems in schools.

S3: We wanted to sharpen the knowledge and skills of the teachers so that they are in a position to tackle the problems that awaits them in schools and society.

S2: We wanted to focus teachers' training, knowledge and skills to the production of learners that can improve the socio-economic well being of Somaliland.

Despite these changes mentioned and sought by the MOE personnel and policy advisers most of the teacher educators argued that there were no significant changes to the way teachers previously received teacher education before 2005 apart from the re-structuring of the traditional teaching practice aspect. Now student trainees spend more time in schools to do their teaching practice and are required to at least spend time with three different school settings. However, teacher educators have acknowledged that there were other aspects of teacher education that were under review in relation to the new teacher education policies and considering the short period since the national policy papers were enacted it was not possible to implement much of the reforms.

The arguments presented by MOE personnel and the policy advisors in this discourse are in a contradictory position with the views presented by teacher educators. The analysed textual data indicate that there are contestations between the two models of teacher education and teacher professionalism i.e. the 'competence' model and the 'reflexive practitioner' model. The competence model can be de-constructed from the language used by the MOE personnel and policy advisors in terms of vocabulary used and in terms of the semiotic meaning and assumptions created by the styles and genre of the texts. For example the key words and phrases used by MOE and policy advisors to refer to teachers included, *efficient teachers… teachers who can produce graduates with necessary skills… we expect teachers to demonstrate… our vision is to create excellent teachers committed to work… provide leadership, manages and controls.* Both the representational aspects of these texts and the changes sought by MOE actors indicate and predispose teachers to the competence model. The main contention of adopting this model is that it mainly, relies on external managerial practices to ensure quality of practices in teaching and learning.

Contrary to the urgency and the enthusiasm presented by MOE and policy advisors to transform teacher education and teacher professionalism teacher educators seem to be unconvinced about the desirability of the new discourses presented by MOE personnel and policy advisors. Their belief in the reflexive model of teacher education and teacher professionalism is strong hence they are reluctant to accept the new proposals.

The significance of these two positions is that they both provide examples of policy transfer and policy learning.

6.1.3.3: International non-governmental organizations' views

In describing the nature of educational support they provided and through their views of the ideal professional teacher, INGOs representatives have contributed to the construction of the discourse of future desired teacher in the following ways.

NI: Our external guidance has helped Somaliland develop good teacher educational policies.

R: Can you specify these guidelines?

N1: For example, we have secured external consultancies and trainers to some of the local universities in pedagogical training. Our goals are to build the professional competencies of the teachers in Somaliland. One field we have really impacted upon is transformation of the rigid unfriendly way of teaching students. We have involved in both pre-service and in-service training of teachers to promote the student- centered pedagogy, the modernization of teaching practice and many other aspects of teacher education.

R: What is your view of the future professional teacher?

N1: In my opinion the modernization of teacher professionalism should be based on the development of competencies for example, the ability to work with knowledge in relation to the subject matter, pedagogical skills, ability to work with others, , ability to work with the society, ability to use technology all these should be placed in the context of lifelong learning, flexibility, efficiency and accountability

The INGOs participating in teacher education transformations in Somaliland promoted the student centred pedagogy as the quality and effective way of teaching and learning. The assumptions made by the INGOs in this particular representation can be located within the wider policies of the INGOs which promote democratisation and human capital theory as the following quotation suggests.

Citizens who have been exposed to learning styles which require the questioning of assumptions, empirical styles of studying and exploration of alternatives are seen as likely to have more chance of participating fruitfully in a pluralistic political process than those who have not (ODA, 1994 referenced by Tabulawa 2003)

In the interview text it is also important to note that the educational and pedagogical values of the student-centred learning are explicit assumptions while the policy agenda of democratisation is included in the social event (teaching and learning) as a salient discourse. However, in policy analysis what is salient in policy texts are also as important as what is made explicit. Tabuwala (2003) argues that teaching and learning are social events that have cognitive, philosophical, ideological and educational terms. Pedagogy is therefore not value neutral and in essence its efficacy lies in its political and ideological nature because in reality it constitutes a world view intended to develop a preferred kind of

society and people. For example, teacher centered pedagogy and learner centered pedagogy represent the teacher and the learner in different epistemological and power positions. In the learner centred pedagogy, the learners participate and co-construct knowledge with the teacher while in the teacher centred pedagogy the learner is relegated to the passive role of listening and receiving knowledge because power and knowledge are central to the teacher.

The assumptions and the emphasis on the competence model of teacher education and skills development by the senior MOE personnel, policy advisers and INGOs in the research context can also be seen as deeply ideological, in the sense that they provide representation of neo-liberal political ideologies and capitalism that values and promotes human capital theory. Central to this world view is the desire to access power both in its economic and political sense. Therefore the behaviour presented by the MOE personnel in the above textual data can be seen in this context.

6.1.3.4: Summary

The analysis of the research data that related to this discourse of future desired teachers have demonstrated two contrasting views. The first view was that of the competence model of teacher education and teacher professionalism which was presented by the MOE staff, policy advisers and some INGOs. The second model was that of a reflexive practitioner. This view was mainly presented by teacher educators. The possible explanation that can be inferred from these two different positions is that each position of the future desired teacher professionalism serves the interests of the respective policy actor advancing it. For example, the competence model of teacher education can facilitate the MOE's desire to control teacher education and teacher professionalism. Similarly the reflexive model of teacher education and teacher professionalism desired by teacher educators can also allow teacher education institutions to excise greater autonomy in their fields of work. Section two of this chapter which covers inter-discursive analysis of the six themes provides further discussions and analysis of these two view points of the future desired teacher.

In the next discourse, I examine how different groups of research participants thought that quality could be assured in teacher education and teacher professionalism. The significance of this is that it connects further explanations and interpretations to the various positions presented by different actors in the previous discourse of the future desired teacher.

6.1.4: The discourse of situating quality within a management discourse

The fourth discourse which situated quality and improvement within a management discourse was constructed mainly by the MOE personnel and their policy advisers. Evidence of interviewees constructing quality and improvement practices within a management discourse was evident in interviewee's responses to interview schedule items which related to quality assurance measures in teacher education programmes and the implications that the new teacher education policies had for teacher training institutions.

In total the responses from the Ministry of Education personnel, policy advisers and teacher educators have generated 25 issues, keywords, ideas and concepts that contributed to the development of the discourse of situating quality within a management discourse. These categories included (1) value for money and value adding (2) adoption of quality assurance measures (3) politicisation of teacher education (4) increased governmental control (5) consumer orientation (6) accountability (7) collaboration with industry and business sector (8) emphasis on outcomes (9) inspections and external audits (10) reduced autonomy (11) collaboration and collegiality (12) restructuring the national teacher education system (13) accreditations (14) regulations (15) funding (16) trainees allocations (17) teacher certification (18) emphasis in effectiveness, efficiency and economy in delivery of teacher training (19) management initiatives (20) accountability (21) competitiveness (22) standardisation (23) performance indicators (24) parental choice; (25) transparency.

The following textual examples indicate how interviews expressed the above key words and concepts.

A senior MOE person believes that an external quality assurance body will have a positive impact on quality:

S1: C*urrently we heavily rely on the universities self assessment on quality guarantee. But we need an external agency where all the education stakeholders are represented to guarantee quality. That includes the business, industrial, education, parents and other government ministries representatives. All these organisations were represented in the teacher education policy development. Equally I believe they must also have a say in the quality assurance and the evaluation systems.*

The above perceived importance of the external agency and the desired inclusiveness of quality guarantee representation was also reflected in the views of another senior MOE person who puts across the following point:

S2: A*s at the moment, I can say that our quality assurance system is very poor. We only rely on the universities certification of students' teachers passing exams and being awarded to teaching degrees. But in the near future when the new teacher education policies are implemented the situation will be different because universities are expected to change many aspects of their teacher education programmes. So in future the quality of monitoring measures will be more inclusive than it is today because many stakeholders want to know in detail what these universities are offering to award qualified teacher status*.

Another senior officer from the MOE is unsure how quality is currently accounted for but acknowledges that after the reform implementations teacher education institutions will be more accountable:

S3: I am not sure how quality of teacher education programmes are assured in our current system, but in future we will restructure the national teacher education programmes so that the new structured management supports and accounts for quality provisions.

R: What will the restructuring process include?

S3: We are currently working on the modalities of establishing the department of Teacher Education Unit (TEU) which will oversee the quality of teacher education both in pre-service and in-service. Soon the Ministry of Education will publish new guidelines to all teacher education providers. This document will specify the criteria for quality assurance in teacher education provision.

MOE advisers were more critical of the current quality assurance policies as the following quotations indicate:

P3: In our present system the universities produce teachers and evaluate their products. However, I personally believe that you can't be a judge of your own actions. For other stakeholders to trust their quality there must be an external and independent quality assurance agency. In Somaliland the resources are scarce; therefore the few resources must be utilized for the best practice. The teacher education programmes are not currently producing the right candidates therefore they are not value for money.

R: But you don't provide most of the resources. It's the INGOs that provide them.

P3: It doesn't matter who provides them, so long as these resources are allocated to the name of Somaliland, we have the responsibility to ensure that they are used for the better.

A further view from MOE person was that quality needs to be well managed by the Ministry of Education:

S5: We will train good leadership in schools because we want them to participate in teacher education programmes as well as manage quality education in our schools.

A similar view is expressed by another policy adviser:

P5*: We need teacher education and teaching in schools to be well administered and managed. Currently neither teacher education nor schools teaching presents good quality model. According to our current teacher education policy there will be a strong emphasis on teacher education and school teachers' evaluation. There will be contractual obligation to deliver good quality education that represent good value for money*.

R: but how can they deliver good quality teaching when their remuneration is so low.

P5: They share the same circumstance with the rest of the government's civil servants. So the problem is not specific to them.

R: Do you think that other sectors deliver good quality?

P5; I can say that they are more organised, focused and relatively more efficient and productive.

P5 is very critical of teachers' poor work. According to him poor remuneration is not a justification for their poor performance. The value assumption that can be deconstructed from his position is that teachers need to be constantly managed and audited if the quality of education is to improve. This managerial and audit definition of quality is contrary to the professionals and practitioners discourse of quality which was presented by teacher educators in the earlier discourse of future desired teacher. In the previous discourse teacher educators captured the irreducibility of "*quality"* in teaching and learning processes to indicators that can me measured thereby advocating the reflexive model of teacher education and teacher professionalism.

There were three themes that underlined most of the MOE personnel's and policy advisers' responses to interview inquiry that related to this discourse of situating quality within a management discourse. These were: (1) quality provisions expressed as an *objective* (2) quality provisions expressed as an *outcomes* and, (3) quality provisions expressed as *value adding*. Their notion of quality corresponded to three definitions of quality i.e. quality as an *excellence* (Harvey and Knight 1996 referenced by Lomas, 2002); quality as *value for money* (Harvey and Knight ibid) and quality expressed as *fitness of purpose* (Rowley 1996 referenced by Lomas ibid). Central to these conceptions of quality are accountability and service fulfilment of customers' needs in service delivery.

Critical analysis of the MOE respondents' declarations suggests that the future direction of quality policy in teacher education emphasise outcomes, quantitative assessments and the external scrutiny of their products. These measures were to be operationalised in the form of annual institutional profiling, which will involve both external quality assurance visits and self assessment portfolios. According to MOE personnel in future teacher education institutions will be required to submit quality audit reports and any institution found deficient will be required to submit improvement strategies and both funding and accreditation may be forfeited if improvement is not evident in their improvement strategy.

In contrast to this management discourse of control and predictability, when teacher educators were asked how quality was assured in their teacher training programmes they talked about quality assurance in teaching and learning as being uncertain, transient and inter-relational. In this way they presented another notion of quality as transformative (Harvey and Knight 1996). Transformation involves a change in form from one state to another. This transformation in education often involves cognitive transcendence with the provider doing something with the learner, rather than just doing something for the customer as evident from the following teacher educators' responses.

T1: *We establish positive learning environment for each candidate. We make sure that all the candidates turn their knowledge and experiences to something valuable in their future professional life.*

R: But specifically how do you evaluate quality in your teacher education programmes?

T1: *Each lecturer designs his or her own course which student trainees have to undergo for certain specified time duration. Then, the lecturer set examinations for the candidates and there is specific pass mark which the candidates must attain for them to pass. The quality of these programmes and student passes are also monitored by the faculty of education management board and the university's senate.*

Interview data analysis of teacher educators' statements reveals that there is a high consonance among the teacher educators about their understanding of teacher professionalism and quality assurance measures they adopted because certain key elements of a definition of professionalism consistently occurred. These included: the responsibility to think about children's interests; the need to develop trusting working relationship with a range of colleagues, the moral and social responsibility of the teacher; being able to prioritise and act on their own decisions when making demands and continuing to learn about the job and subjects being taught. The model of teacher professionalism expressed by teacher educators is consistent with Goodson and Hargreaves (1996) referenced by Hall and Schulz (2003) view of postmodern teacher professionalism in contemporary developed society. These assumptions include:

1. the opportunity and responsibility to exercise discretionary judgment;
2. the opportunities and expectations to engage with the moral and social purposes and values of what is taught;
3. commitment to working in collaborative culture with colleagues;
4. occupational heteronomy;
5. commitment to care for students;

6. a self directed search for continuous learning relating to ones own expertise and standards of practice rather than compliance with the enervating obligations of endless change demanded by others;
7. the creation and recognition of high task complexity in teaching;

However, although teacher educators resisted the imposition of certain types of policy change they expressed the need to adopt quality guarantee measures that were more relevant to the teaching and learning environment rather than the managerial quality assurance measures copied from the managerial practices of the private non-education sector. In their generic model of future quality assurance they argued that the future model must focus on transformation of learners, enhancing them through adding value to their capability and ultimately empowering them; they have also called for dynamic collaboration based on dialogue around the student learning rather than managerial practices in order to enrich the learning experiences for students. Thus central to their teacher education model is a quality system that derives improvement from staff-student interface governed by a hybrid model of academic-practitioner professionalism that embraces openness, dialogue and transparency.

Closer scrutiny of the teacher educators' positions indicate mistrust and misunderstanding directed towards the MOE development of measures aimed to guarantee quality in teacher education and teacher professionalism. In their response they showed a lack of commitment to promote quality in teacher education and teacher profession as defined by the MOE personnel's managerial discourse thus leading to surface compliance and policy reflection and diversion strategies. This tension between the MOE personnel and teacher educators relating to the professionalisation agenda of teaching and teacher education can be related to Croll et al (2004) conception of teacher educators as either partners in the education policy making process, implementers of change, as resistors to change or as policy makers in practice. In the context of Somaliland, teacher educators presented a combination of the last two models as both resistors and policy makers in practice.

But it is very important to mention that the teacher educators were not resisting change. In fact, modernisation and transformation of teacher education was their greatest ambition. However, the fact that they did not support the modernisation and transformation implementation strategies advocated by the senior MOE personnel and their policy advisers suggest that teacher educators either do not believe that the new interventions will

constitute better and more effective practice or there is personal motivation in terms of preserving their professional ego, status and power that was previously experienced by them.

The bigger picture emerging in the two comparative views of quality assurance measures in teacher education and teacher professionalism by the MOE personnel and teacher educators can present a significant challenge in the implementation of the new teacher education policies. This is so because there are two competing definitions of teacher professionalism within the national policy level and the university context. In the first instance at macro-level, the policy actors believe that quality in teacher education and teacher professionalism can only be guaranteed through the managerial discourse, while at the meso-level teacher educators believe and construct quality on the basis of professional trust and increased reflexivity. It is by comparing these two policy actors' views that the sub-category of politicisation of teacher education surfaced in this thesis. Goodson and Hargreaves (1996) referenced by Hall and Schulz (2003) define profesionalisation as the social and political project or mission designed to enhance the interest of an occupational group, whereas professionalism is defined as something which defines and articulates the quality and character of peoples' actions within a group.

6.1.4.1: Summary

In this discourse the MOE staff and policy advisers have presented quality and quality assurance measures that were consistent with the managerial and competence model of teacher education and teacher professionalism. Their views argued that quality and quality measures in teacher education and teacher professionalisms can be objectified, quantified, standardised and subsequently managed or controlled through external checks rather than relying on universities self assessment method.

Contrary to this, teacher educators' views of quality assurance measures were also consistent with the reflexive practitioner model of teacher education and teacher professionalism. Teacher educators disputed that quality in teaching and learning can be standardised and measured in an objective way. They rather presented quality as transformative phenomenon and called for increased trust and mutual understanding among the stakeholders in order to enhance quality in education and teacher education.

These two different positions of quality assurance systems presented by local policy actors are consistent with the content of the literature review of this thesis. In the literature I have observed how globalisation of education policy has impacted upon teacher education and teacher professionalism and how these processes have resulted to contestations of governance in teacher education and teacher professionalism globally. The underlying theme in these discussions was what constitutes quality in education and teacher education and the best way to guarantee such quality. Therefore the representations of Somaliland's policy actors can be seen in this context. Particularly they can be related to how lesson drawing, policy transfer and policy learning have informed the national policy making system because there seems to be a greater similarity between somalilanders position and the wider global neoliberal policies in education in the developed countries. Section two of this chapter that covers inter-discursive analysis of the six themes draws further discussions and interpretation of these phenomena.

6.1.5: The discourse of the external factor in the reforms

The fifth discourse constituted by the external factor was more amorphous in terms of its formation. This was partly because all the four categories of the research participants (i.e. MOE personnel, policy advisers, teacher educators and INGOs representatives) jointly contributed to the formation of this thematic perspective. The contribution from these four categories of research participants has generated three parallel categories that were eventually merged to form this broad discourse of the external factor. The three imperatives under which this phenomenon was constructed included (a) the INGOs' role in the reforms and their relationship with the Ministry of Education and teacher training institutions (b) the MOE personnel and policy advisers' responses about the roles of the INGO's in the education and teacher education reform process and their perceptions of the influences of internationalisation of teacher education policies and practices and (c) teacher educators views about the external influences of teacher education policies and practice, their relationship with the INGOs and the Ministry of Education

The interview schedules that focused this aspect of the research included INGOs' representatives describing the nature of education support their organisations provided to Somaliland's public education provision; their mode of operation and assistance; their role in teacher education policy development and implementation and generally their relationship with the Ministry of Education and teacher training institutions. In a similar

way, the interview schedules that focused on this aspect of the research enquiry included MOE personnel identifying the sources of the resources for the reforms; specifying the type of resources secured and defining their relationship with INGOs that support the education sector. The final part of this enquiry explored the relationship the teacher educators had with INGOs and the Ministry of Education, their collaboration and partnership ventures with overseas institutions and other countries and the influences this had on their professional practices.

The combined responses from the four categories of the research participants has led to the formation of 21 categories which eventually led to the formation of the discourse of the external factor in the reform process. These categories included (1) source of knowledge (2) consultancies inputs (3) expertise and skills (4) financial resources (5) logistics support (6) international relations (7) scholarships and job opportunities (8) modernisation of traditional practices (9) globalisation practices as form of policy learning, policy transfer and lessons drawing (10) aid dependence (11) contradictory education purposes (12) conflict of interest (13) conflict of values (14) power relations (15) social relations (16) reduced national ownership (17) local alienation (18) undermining sovereignty (19) hidden agenda and conspiracy theories (20) inappropriate policy transfers and coercion practices (21) disregard to local expertise and consultancy work.

The analysis of data relating to this discourse of the external factor is divided in to three parts. The first part covers the views of the INGOs representatives, the second part covers views of the MOE personnel and policy advisors and the final part covers the views of teacher educators. I now draw extracts from the interview data to contextualise and analyse the views of the INGOs.

6.1.5.1: The INGOs as the external factor

The following textual examples highlight some of the narratives constructed when the INGOs' representatives were asked to describe the nature of education support their organisations provided to Somaliland's public education provision.

An international staff member who works for Danish Save the Children alliance states the following:

N3: *We do some educational projects that are aimed to improve access to quality and relevant education to children. We also do the role of advocating and promoting children's rights* and *girl's education*.

R: Can you specifically name some of your educational projects?

N3: Our major areas of involvement and achievement includes capacity building for the Ministry of Education, support with curriculum development, supply of educational materials, equipments, furniture, teacher training, support for children recreation and advocacy and community mobilization.

R: How do you work with the Ministry of Education?

N3: *Yes, we work closely with the Ministry of Education, they are aware of what we are doing.*

R: Are all your operations projects oriented or in some areas you finance the Ministry of Education to fund their priorities.

N3: *No currently we do all the projects ourselves but we do co-ordinate and work in close cooperation with teacher education institutions as well as the Ministry of Education*.

R: So what could you consider as your organisation's main contribution to education system in Somaliland.

N3: *A lot, I can't highlight them all, but we significantly achieved a lot in widening access to basic education*.

R: You talked about teacher training. What role does your organisation do in this specific area?

N3: *We organize seminars and workshops for primary teachers' to improve their pedagogical skills. We are a member of the SCOTT project consortium and in the past and at the present we provide teacher training programmes to the teachers in Awdal and Sahil regions in partnership with Amoud University*.

A similar operational feature was also expressed by another executive officer in UNICEF:

N2: *We were among the first international organisation to start projects in Somaliland after the collapse of the previous government. Our support to education system in Somaliland includes production of text books to primary schools, teacher training, mentoring, school buildings and renovations, water and sanitation programmes. We also help the MOE in information and data collection system.*

R: Do you do any direct budget support to the MOE?

N2: Currently no.

R: How can you describe you relationship with the MOE?

N2: Very good. We work in partnership with them in many areas.

R: Do you feel that perhaps you undermine the operational capacity, goal setting and the priorities of the Ministry of Education?

N2: Not at all we all work towards the same direction.

R: How are your projects related to the national education policy?

N2: We were part of the development of the Somaliland's education policy reform. We have made significant contribution in terms of resources, ideas and logistics. Therefore our projects can't be contradictory to what we have been part of.

R: Why is it not possible that your organisation directly supports the MOE budget in the reform process rather than the small piecemeal projects?

N2: I believe time will come when we shall be doing that. However, currently because of many reasons it is not possible to do that.

R; Can you tell me some of the reasons?

N2: Yes, you know that the government's procedures are not yet fully developed. When a country collapses it takes many years for its structure and procedures to attract direct budgetary support from the international community.

There are three issues that can be deconstructed from the above contextual, interactional and organisation of external aid which are presented by N3 and N2. These issues are: (1) economic power (2) global networking and (3) global form of discourse control. The first issue is that economic power seems to be central to the operational nature of the INGOs. Despite their aid orientation, international agencies are large-scale operations with considerable financial resources. Some actors within this field enjoy good remuneration, status and prestige. The reluctance of INGOs to provide direct governmental funding to Somaliland should be seen both in the context of the weak governmental structure as well the desire to maintain self interest. Secondly the economic power they have over governments facilitates both context and global form of discourse control. By this, I mean that the INGOs can use their economic power to influence the interaction, interrelationship and the networking processes that determine national policy priorities. For example, through their institutional power resource, INGOs have enacted the neo-liberal ideology of education as a discourse of human capital in Somaliland.

At the time of the interviews 3 out of the 5 INGOs interviewed were involved in the running and financing of teacher education programmes in partnership with local Universities under the European Commission funded SCOTT and STEPS projects. The other 2 organisations were mainly running projects under the informal education sector. These included vocational and technical training projects, alternative basic education projects (ABE's). Except for one organisation, all the others have acknowledged that they were involved in some level of education infrastructure building and MOE and educational institution capacity building. They have also acknowledged that they were mainly independent in their operations. However, they were legally required to register with the

Ministry of Planning. Almost all of their projects were educational and their relationship with the MOE was coordinated by the Director of General within the Ministry of Education. Political fragility, lack of sovereignty, poor educational infrastructure, corruption and nepotism in project implementation, weak government procedures in auditing expenditure, and differences in prioritisation of the immediate areas of support were some of the reasons the INGOs officers have advanced for their independent operational style.

R: Why is it not possible that your organisation directly supports the MOE budget in the reform process rather than working along side the government?

N5: We are waiting the dust to settle well first. (later clarified to mean political instability) and there is also strict financial accountability required by the European Commission who provide most of the finances. Our capacity building projects aim to fill this gap and in future when the MOE has the necessary infrastructure in place we will support the government to take over the projects that we run

6.1.5.2: MOE personnel, policy advisers and the external factor

Most of the MOE personnel have acknowledged that the education reform process and, more specifically, teacher education reforms were mainly financed by the INGOs. They described their resource provisions as including financial, knowledge, skills, logistical, networking and so on. However, in most of the scenarios they were quick to point out how the INGOs have dominated the reform process through the power of their resource provision and therefore their ideas dominated the reform process. These findings are consistent with the behaviour and position of the INGOs which was early presented by the representatives of the INGOs (N2 and N3). Therefore these research findings can be used to explain how economic power can facilitate or can be tied to relations of domination. This explanation of relationships between economic power and ideological domination has also a Marxist tradition of power as a binary relationship phenomenon.

…it's a fact we couldn't have done without them (referring to INGOs) because our national resources are limited. It was a good opportunity because unlike external loans the reform aid package was free and we were not required to pay back. (Officer from the department of finance)

The key INGOs identified by MOE personnel as shaping the education and teacher education reforms were UNICEF, UNESCO, Centre for British Teachers (CFBT), African Education Trust, Save the Children Fund (UK), Save the Children (Denmark) and Care

International. When the senior education personnel were asked why the INGOs were not providing direct budget support to the Ministry of Education operations the narratives they provided included the following:

S1*: These people (probably referring to the donors and Ingo) think that every African is a corrupt; therefore I think they prefer to do their own way.*

S2: I think their assumption is that we have a weak government structure, policies and practices and we cannot account for the money if directly given to us. In same way we also have so many questions about their operations. For example, most of these INGOs operate from their Nairobi Headquarters in Kenya. You can see an officer coming with an aeroplane to deliver a seminar and going back the next day. The resources which they actually use to deliver services are minimal compared to their administration, salary and other logistic costs involved in the projects.

S3: I don't know why. But whatever reasons they have is not a justification for them to come and disorganise us. Yes I agree that in many cases they are doing good jobs. For example, they had a great impact in teacher training and many other fields. But you see if things are not coordinated well they don't add up in the long run. We want them to work closely with us otherwise their operation becomes divisive processes and can distort our reform process.

S3: *In one way I think it's political. You know Somaliland has reinstated its independence from greater Somalia about seventeen years ago. Since then we have established a democratic, stable and peaceful nation. But despite all these the international community has failed to recognise our achievements by recognizing our sovereignty. They want us to be part of the chaos and mayhem in southern part of Somalia. The political union has failed but still they want to stick us together.*

It the above extracts MOE personnel S1, S2 and S3 present a discourse of "*doubt"* to the reasons given by INGOs to by pass the Ministry of Education's state structures in their provision of reform resources. The counter-argument they present is that rather than INGOs perception of corruption, weak structures and poor capacity, it is either political or self interest factors that contribute to the INGOs preferred independent operation. In this way they constructed a counter-blame discourse that resources have been misused through unnecessary flights between Nairobi and projects areas and that their autonomy in operation has the possibility of disorganising MOE operations. However, it is apparent from the text that MOE personnel are caught between two unfavourable positions. First, they need these resources because they can't do without them. Secondly, these resources come with a cost because the governmental role assumed by other external actors puts them in an inferior position in terms of economic power, status and prestige.

When the MOE personnel were asked to specifically comment on the donor agencies approaches and involvements in teacher education policies and practices, their responses included both negative and positive assertions.

S3: *This is the point of contention with the international non governmental organizations supporting of teacher education programmes. We, the Ministry of Education, our priority is to expand the current existing capacity as well as open a new teacher training colleges. Their views are to increase the quality of the already existing teachers by providing professional development courses. They are also advising as to improve the current working conditions of the existing teachers in order to improve the retention rate. The SCOTT project funded by the European Union and run by the consortium of the INGOs in partnership with the universities is mainly oriented to address the professional development of the teachers. The STEPS project run by CFBT and African education trust and few self sponsoring candidates are the only opportunities for new young teachers to replace the old teachers.*

In the above extract the unequal power relationship between national bureaucrats and INGOs which is created by resource control factor comes to the surface. The views expressed by S3 in the above quotation suggest that MOE policy actors are acting on the instructions of the INGOs despite their disagreement with the prioritisation of the policy action. This is evidenced by the fact that despite their views on expanding pre-service teacher education programmes, the policy that is adopted focuses the improvement of the quality of the existing teachers. There are other similar examples in the data where MOE staffs have demonstrated dissatisfaction with the nature of the INGOs operation:

S4: *Sometimes we differ with the INGOs what they consider as the priority for the current situation. There also some social and cultural issues that we understand better than their expatriates. It is important that their educational intervention programmes that influence our national education policy development should consider the wider socio-cultural context of Somaliland. Their understanding of what they think about educational and social rebuilding of Somaliland is very limited.*

P2: Foreign interventions are always problematic. They can be coercive and disorganising. We have all the reasons to be sceptical. Look what has happened in Kenya when the World Bank and the IMF have mandated the structural adjustment programmes in 1990s. The poor people were cut off from education.

P4*: There is a danger of potential collapse and alienations of the local expertise in the long run if the INGOs do not value our local expertise and consultancy. Already the creation of Somaliland Consultancy Forum is an indication of response to the domination of foreign consultants. We need to balance local talent and foreign assistances.*

However, there are other circumstances where the Ministry of Education personnel and policy advisors saw the involvement of INGOs and wider globalisation policies and practices in teacher education as offering a positive opportunity. Their positive description

of the external factor constituted by the presence of the INGOs and globalisation included the possibility of it acting as an inspiration model of policy learning and policy transfer. In this respect the national policy actors argued that there are good chances that international epistemic communities might provide the knowledge base which can act as a trigger for policy learning and policy transfer that might enable the local education policy makers to look and go beyond the traditional academic norms and values, thus enhancing the national education policy making process. There were also aspects of current policies and practices that their modernisation and improvements were attributed to the influences of the external factor. In this respect a common practice that most of the interviews referenced was the development of the child centred pedagogy which has replaced the traditional teacher centred approach.

S2: *Yes, I believe that we have not been doing things in isolation. For example, in constructing our current teacher education system we have used modern new approaches to affect changes of the traditional ways of training teachers. The INGOs has been remarkable in this field both by providing new training and sponsoring teachers abroad to attend seminars and workshops.*

The positive opportunities cited were not only in the field of teacher education but also in the development of education infrastructure that improved quality and efficiency in education:

S3: *Our previous system of education had many short comings; you see everything was centred to the functions of the Ministry of Education. The system had no adequate monitoring and checking system. It was taking every one's view of what was going well. But in our new system we have learnt to differentiate functions and as much as possible provided autonomy to the various infrastructures within the Ministry of Education. For example we have learnt a lot from Kenya in setting specialized agencies, e.g. the national examination systems. Mr X who is a Kenyan national now heads the national examination section and we benefit from his experiences and understanding of what works very well and that's why we are doing very well.*

When the MOE personnel were prompted to specify the opportunities they had to learn from other countries their responses created a possible menu from which policies could be borrowed to influence local national decision-making. These included: attending seminars and workshops, receiving overseas scholarships; interacting with INGO's external consultants; Diaspora communities; education journals and publications; internet; and external aid and bilateral relations. However, respondents described the current opportunities of the above chances occurring as minimal and advocated the international community to invest more in these opportunities as a form of an education aid to

Somaliland. Should such opportunities arise the interviewees' specified United Kingdom, Kenya, Australia, and USA as their first priority places to visit so as to learn from them.

A third domain where MOE personnel believed that INGOs and other countries have positively influenced was in the higher education institutions.

S3*: Yes we have learnt significantly from them. Our universities are still very young they work in partnership with Kenyan universities. Most of our universities lecturers in education go for seminars, refresher courses to Kenyan universities. Their lecturers also often visit our universities, give lectures, training and capacity building programmes for education institutions.*

When prompted why Kenya and other countries mentioned above were inspirational to their education reforms the interviewees' reasons mainly related to good diplomatic relationships, good quality education, approximate location, increased networking with the international donors as most of their Head Offices are located in Nairobi Kenya. Other countries were also desired for their international reputation in education.

6.1.5.3: Teacher educators and the external factor

Majority of the teacher educators were very positive about the INGOs financial, knowledge and expertise contribution to teacher education programmes as the following textual examples indicate:

T12: Our local universities are more or less like community organisations. The government's financial support is minimal. We mainly rely on grants from INGOs Diaspora communities financial contributions...

T1: Financial contributions inform of grants and students scholarship awards from the INGOs are the main sources of our finance.

T2: Our relationship with INGOs is very good.

T3: We benefit external aid from the INGOs in many ways. In fact our existence mainly depends on them. Sometimes we get postgraduate scholarships for our undergraduate students who do exceptionally good performance. We send these candidates to overseas to do their studies and when they complete their studies they come back and work with us.

T4: SCOTT project funded by the European Commission is our main source of income to our faculty of education.

T6: Apart from the financial accountability they (referring to the INGOs) rarely interfere what we are doing.

T8: There are so many ways we benefit from the external aid. Some organisations actually send overseas lecturers to work with us for certain period of time and they pay for all their

costs. Others provide workshops and conference which are facilitated by experts from other countries and organisations.

T8's point of view is confirmed by my own observation and participation in the Strengthening Teacher Education Project's (STEP) curriculum review seminar that was held Amoud University at the time of my field work. There was a diversity of consultants, both external and local contributing to the review project.

A majority of the teacher educators were very positive about the INGOs role both in terms of contributing directly to teacher education programmes as well as enhancing their own professional development. For example, in total 8, teacher educators described their relationship and resource contribution from the INGOs as being good. Similarly, about half of the teacher educators interviewed stated that they had received some kind of professional opportunities in their current portfolios which were sponsored by the INGOs. These opportunities were either in the form of conferences, seminars or postgraduate courses both locally and overseas. Most of the overseas conferences they attended were in Kenyan universities. Those who had this kind of opportunity stated that their experience really influenced their professional practice. Those who had not had similar opportunities described the internet, education journals and published books as a way of enhancing their professional development but rather preferred attending international networks, exchanges and conferences should the opportunity arise. However, in most circumstances the local universities' limited resources were identified as the main barrier to creating good staff development programmes. One of the major opportunities of internationalization is its ability to open new possibilities through increased global mobility for networking and comparative international work. These predispositions have the potentiality to increase the critical imagination of national policy actors as well as facilitate the transfer and borrowing of good policies.

Despite the above acknowledgement of INGOs contributions to teacher education, most of the teacher educators were of the opinion that there is a need to increase the external assistance to teacher training organisations so that the capacity and the quality of production can be improved.

Contrary to the above views, the teacher educators were less optimistic about the role of MOE in teacher education. 9 of them described the MOE and faculties of education relationship as poor. Teacher educators saw the MOE as a corrupt and inefficient

institution that had no capacity to positively influence teacher education programmes in their universities and preferred more autonomy rather than going under the control of the MOE as desired by the Ministry of Education personnel and their policy advisers. When teacher educators were prompted about the proposed Teacher Education Unit that will significantly increase the governmental control of teacher education institutions most of them were dismissive and described it as a potential white elephant. Rather, most of them preferred the current self assessment portfolios and exams to ensure the quality of their teacher education programmes.

6.1.5.4: Summary

This discourse explored the influences of INGOs in Somaliland's education reforms. Data analysis presented both positive and negative opportunities. The positive opportunities included the chances of Somaliland's national policy making processes benefiting from the global knowledge, financial resources and increased global networking. These positive opportunities can act as a trigger for lesson drawing, policy transfer and policy learning. On the other hand data analysis has also demonstrated challenges in INGOs involvement in education reconstruction. For example, the national policy actors accused INGOs of disorganising their policy priorities, excess power and dominance, inefficient use of resources, reducing national reform ownership and generally preferring their independent operations because of vested personal and organisational interest.

6.1.6: The discourse of challenges and barriers in reforms implementation

So far I have examined the construction of five discourses that operated in the interview data that I have collected and transcribed. These were the discourse of education as human capital, the discourse of managing change, the discourse of future desired teacher, the discourse of situating quality within a management discourse and the discourse of the external factor in the reforms. The final and the sixth discourse that I deconstructed from the interviews texts was that of challenges and barriers facing the implementation of the reforms. All the four categories of the research participants i.e. the MOE personnel, policy advisers, teacher educators and representatives of the INGOs have contributed to the formation of this discourse. In the first three categories, the interview questionnaires exploring this theme of the research were similar. The interviewees were asked the main challenges they anticipated in the implementation of the new education policies. The

inquiry then focused down specifically on the barriers facing the implementation of the new teacher education policies and the general problems faced by teachers in Somaliland. In a slightly different version, the INGOs representatives contributed to this discourse of challenges and barriers facing reform implementation through the interview inquiry that explored the nature of educational support their organizations provides to Somaliland, their roles in teacher education policy development and policy implementation. However, I would like also to point out here that throughout the constructions of the previous five discourses of the reforms, research interviewees have constantly drawn the issue of challenges and barriers facing the implementation of the reforms. Therefore as much as possible I will avoid repeating the limitations that have already been highlighted.

The responses from the MOE personnel, policy advisers, teacher educators and INGOs representatives have led to the formation of 15 categories which eventually led to the conceptualization of the theme of the challenges and barriers. These 15 categories included (1) the creation of a shared vision (2) weak capacity of the Ministry of Education (3) capacity inadequacy of teacher training institutions (4) gender mainstreaming in teacher education (5) capacity in adequacy of schools (6) current teachers' incapability's (7) poor or lack of knowledge and expertise (8) inadequate financial resources (9) poor economy (10) unpredictable external assistances (11) socio-cultural constraining factors (12) political fragility (13) overcoming individual and institutional resistance and societies hegemonic practises (14) INGOs self interest in independent operation (15) lack of responsibility, dedication and commitment on the part of the teachers, learners and parents which can undermines attempts to change and improve

Teacher educators were more likely to cite the weak capacity of the MOE as the main obstacle in the implementation of the new policies as the following quotations suggests:

T3: *For any one to have hope in the improvement of the education, changes must first occur in the structure and the capacity of the Ministry of Education.*

T8: We need new talents in the top structure of the Ministry of Education to affect meaningful changes.

T13: House keeping must start from the top…

T5: Every NGO that comes to this country claims to be building the capacity of the MOE, when wills this capacity be realized…

Out of the 15 teacher educators interviewed 13 of them cited and made reference to the weak capacity and structure of the Ministry of Education. Similarly, teacher educators

were also aware of their own institutional limitations in terms of qualified workforce, capacity, and resources as factors hindering the improvement of their own teacher education programmes. The MOE personnel themselves have acknowledged their own ministerial incapacity as a barrier but, rather, attributed it to the lack of resources to regenerate the Ministry of Education contrary to the teacher educators' perceived corruption, inefficiency and lack of modern management strategies to promote change and innovation. The following quotations reflect some of the MOE staff and policy advisers views in relation to the contextual challenges of the reforms.

S1: We are trying our best to overcome otherwise what is a difficult circumstance. The ministerial resources to implement changes are limited. The tasks waiting for us are huge.

S1: We anticipate many challenges to realise changes in schools and society. Lack of resources, uncoordinated efforts, people and institutions resisting change are all few examples of the problems we anticipate.

S1: Our immediate problem is that our teachers do not have the right skills to affects changes. We need to thoroughly invest in their training in order to change their skills.

S5: Getting commitment and participation from all the stakeholders of education is a major challenge. Every one thinks that it's the other (man's) business…

P2: It's difficult to predict the implementation and outcomes of educational reforms because there is great uncertainty in peoples' motives and behaviours.

P4: There is one main misconception the INGOs that support us have. They are pre-occupied with the issue of basic education and education access. They are very reluctant to invest in higher skills development which can make difference to our national economic status.

In a similar circumstance to the teacher educators' views, the INGOs' responses to the anticipated challenges also focused on the identification the weak capacity of the Ministry of Education and other education specialized institutions, poor or lack of knowledge and expertise, socio-cultural constraining factors and the prevailing traditional mechanistic management and leadership strategies as the main barriers facing the implementation of the education reforms as the following textual examples indicate:

N3*: We have realised that the management capacity of the Ministry of Education was weak so we concentrated in the training of their key personnel so that they can cope up with the innovations and changes.*

N2: Tackling the poor Ministry of Education planning process is our main focus. Since the last three years we have been involved in improving and strengthening the financial planning, management structure, role training, upgrading the management skills of MOE

staff, RE0s, DEOs, Head teachers and CECs. By building good leadership we hope that the management and implementations of the reforms will be easy.

N5: The reason why we focus on teacher education support is that the current teacher quality in Somaliland is very low to adopt the new innovations. I think this is the main factor in reform implementations.

In this discourse of challenges and barriers the majority of the interviewees expressed that there were major concerns about teacher quality and teacher shortages, effective leadership and quality management from the Ministry of Education to Regional Education Officers to District Education Officers to Community Education Committees to principal leadership in schools for the effective implementation of the education reforms. However when specific prompts were used to inquire further bout the specific barriers facing in the implementations of the new teacher education policies and the general problems faced by teachers in Somaliland the following hindering factors were stated;

Table 6b: factors hindering the implementation of teacher education reforms

Factor	**Examples of evidence from the data**
Lack of adequate qualified teachers to implement new policies	S2, P1, P3, S5, N3
Low salaries, low status, heavy workloads, low morale of the teachers	S1, , P2, l3, S4
Non- conducive learning environment in schools i.e. high class sizes	S4, P3, P5,T1, T5. T8,
Lack of adequate learning resource e.g. ITC facilities	T3, S4, S2, N3,
Lack of interest by high school graduates to pursue teaching profession	S2, S4 S3 P2, P5,
In adequate capacity of pre-service teacher education	S2, T9, T8, T2, S4, P4
INGOs policies of quality emphasis rather than quantity of teachers	S2, S4, P4, P3, L3, L5
Hegemonic practices i.e. teachers and parents resisting new teaching methodologies	S1, S4, S5, P5, P3
Lack of knowledge and skills among teacher educators to transform teacher education	S1, S3, P2, P5, P4, P3, T14, T8
Poor curriculum leadership in schools	S2, S5, P4, P2
Gender main streaming problems in teacher education	S1, S2, P5 T7, T2, T1, T3

All the four categories of research participants have acknowledged that there was acute shortage of qualified teachers in Somaliland at all levels of education. This shortage was also compounded by acute gender disparity in the teaching force. Female teachers' representation in teaching career was at its lowest level as these responses indicate:

S1: E*very one in(his) right mind must ask him or herself where are the girls..*

T1: We receive a lot of pressure from the INGOs to promote girls education and training female teachers.

These views and many other similar views that concerned the low participation of women in teacher education were expressed by male interviewees. This indicates that the advocacy of INGOs in girl's education and girls rights had had an impact on society's male hegemonic views of gender roles. The pressure to mainstream gender equality in education is exemplified by a recent case where one of the local universities has received four overseas postgraduate scholarships from an international organisation. The criterion for the award was that two of the scholarships should go to female candidates and the other two to male candidates. However, there were no female candidates to qualify for their quota of allocation (two posts). The university then requested to award all the chances to male candidates but the funders were not impressed by the idea and the inequality.

When the MOE personnel were asked to identify the strategies embedded in the reform process to attract and retain good quality teachers their responses varied:

S2: *We significantly want to expand the existing capacity but we are faced with three main problems. First there is no adequate trained man power to facilitate the expansion process, secondly it is increasingly becoming difficult to attract well qualified candidates in to teaching profession, thirdly the resources we have are inadequate, uncoordinated and unreliable. But despite these challenges we are committed to get every child in Somaliland a well qualified teacher. It's their fundamental right for them to have.*

S3: *Currently the Ministry of Education gets only about 7% of the national budget which mainly goes to the salary of the teachers and monitoring services. Recently the World Bank and IMF and other international donor community have carried out a joint need assessment of all sectors, education been the main priority. They promised substantial amount of aid money. As a ministry we forwarded our priorities. And one of this has been the improvement of teachers' socio-economic status and hopefully things might be better in near future.*

S4: We would like to attract more young trainees to teaching profession in Somaliland by providing improved conditions of service, this will also attract back to teachers already trained. But for these to happen two things must happen. First, the country has to gain international recognition for its sovereignty so that it can secure and borrow more substantial and long term finance from International Monetary Fund(IMF) and World Bank, secondly the local economy must improve through greater exploitation of our own natural resources. All our sectors of the economy now lack these human resources so it's a great priority that our education systems produce these talents.

Both the MOE personnel and teacher educators interviewed had the same views about the appropriate solution to the acute teacher shortages in Somaliland. Their common strategy was to expand the existing capacity of pre-service teacher education and attract more

qualified young trainees to the teaching profession. However, the INGOs did not prioritize this policy option, rather they preferred to raise the teacher quality and professionalism of the teachers already in schools and this was the main focus of the European Commission sponsored SCOTT project. One reason that the local policy actors cited was that the majority of the existing teachers are approaching their retirement age and it was not cost effective to provide an additional training that will not be utilized for a long period of time. More so their dedication, motivation and enthusiasm for the changing profession were low. To justify their position, the MOE and teacher educators gave a comparative view of the older teachers' professionalism in schools with the relatively small number of young graduates who had recently completed their teaching career at Amoud University's STEP project. The other justification offered was that the older teachers have used the Somali language as a means of curriculum instruction in their training and when the English language was introduced as the language of instruction in all the secondary schools, upper primary schools and higher education institutions it became increasingly difficult for them to effectively deliver the curriculum.

6.1.6.1: Summary

In general the constraints and challenges identified by the interviewees in implementing the new education policies were linked to issues relating to inadequate resources, in adequate teacher quality and quantity and organizational incapacity; financial problems; problems arising from personalities and behaviour of those involved in the reform implementation and possible opposition from key groups. But above all inadequate teacher professionalism and acute teacher shortages were identified as the most challenging factors in reform implementation. Implementing the new educational reforms was also presented as complex, multifaceted and unpredictable in the sense that there were other crucial implementation factors that fell outside the MOE and teacher educator's jurisdictions. For example, a vibrant growing local economy was seen as the most critical factor in facilitating actual changes. This factor has direct impact on the development of quality pre-school provisions, the health, nutritional and cognitive growth of children, material inputs, teacher quality and the general organizational infrastructure of education. Economic well being of the society also reduces the children's labour demand thus increases their chances of attending schooling, especially female pupils who are prone to education exclusion because of scarcity of economic resources.

6.2: Section two: Inter- discursive analysis of the six themes

The previous section identified and analysed six discourses that were present within the interview data texts analysed. In this section, I aim to provide inter-discursive analysis of the six discourses identified in section one, which included the discourse of education as a human capital theory, the discourse of managing change, the discourse of future desired teacher, the discourse of situating quality within a management discourse and the discourse of challenges and barriers facing the implementation of the reforms. This will reveal some of the tensions and dilemmas that exist in the implementation of the reforms by critically examining the visibility of the reforms in relation to the local contextual circumstances. I will also draw on the theoretical perspectives of the literature review that impact on my research question. The research question seeks to understand how external sources inform and impact upon Somaliland's education and teacher education policy making processes. Therefore particular attention is paid to the roles of lesson drawing, policy transfer and policy in capturing lessons and identifying good practice.

Overall, the six discourses constructed by the MOE personnel, policy advisors, teacher educators and INGOs representatives in their interview texts link schools and teachers to national economic competitiveness, innovations and to future growth and prosperity. While reform intervention measures such as decentralization, partnership creation, collaboration, widening access and equity, increased coordination between INGOs efforts and the local national policy actors efforts; developing of good policies and policy dialogue were all acknowledged as having a major role in improving the quality of education, the majority of MOE personnel, policy advisors and teacher educators' texts considered teachers as the key factor in mobilizing schools and affecting change. Their texts constructed and positioned teachers as pivotal to the building of good quality education and so to the economic prosperity of the nation. Because reforms see teachers as critical to the future knowledge economy the research respondents argued that it was significant that more value needed to be placed on the profession and its standing in the wider community.

6.2.1: The discourse of quality and its relationship with other discourses

Critical examination of the interview data analysed indicated that the main principle that underlined the education and teacher education reforms was the need to improve the

quality of education and this quality was defined according to the economic needs of the nation. Most of the interviewees talked about how global economic competition and a need for new skills have informed their policy decision making. This discourse of quality and improvement as the core of the reforms was evidenced by the fact that there was consensus among the MOE personnel, policy advisers, teacher educators and the INGOs on the need to raise national standards of education and teacher education. However, these various policy actors differed slightly over the best options or strategies that can lead to the desired increased standards. These differences were mainly due to their different perceptions of what constitutes quality and how best to achieve increased quality. Currently, Somaliland is in a weak competitive position and there is a need for education to bridge this gap through innovations and the new skills development and teachers are seen as the main agency through which these skills could be created.

The interviewees' concerns about quality and improvement of the education system and teacher education was informed by three factors: (1) Quality informed by comparative views of other countries' education provision and teacher education, this was represented by the lessons learnt from international education and teacher education reforms; (2) Quality concerns informed by past circumstances of education and teacher education failures. This was represented through references to the limitations of the previous education system and teacher education and lessons learnt from previous mistakes made. The third factor that informed the discourse of quality and improvement was (3) Quality informed by the external factor which is represented by the positive opportunities and influences created by the INGOs that support education and teacher education in Somaliland.

In the interview data the discourse of quality and improvement was also constructed in a variety of ways which were interlinked and complementary. The imperatives or the dimensions through which the interviewees' narratives created the discourse of quality and improvements included: (a) the imperative of quality education provision which was constructed through the examination of what interviewees conceptualised as the desired education outcomes (i.e. their assessment of quality education in relation to equity, economy, social development, learners gains and achievements), (b) the imperative of professional quality discourse which was constructed through their vision of a good future teacher (i.e. quality assessed in terms of teacher professionalism). In this respect, the discourse of teacher professionalism was linked to quality in terms of learners' gains and

achievements, societal development was linked to the discourse of quality teacher; national economic competition was linked to the quality of a good teacher; national productivity was linked to the quality of teacher professionalism; the cause of current low standards in education was linked to poor quality of teachers; good quality future education was linked to the quality of teacher professionalism; past educational failures was linked to poor quality of teacher education and teacher professionalism. The above imperatives of quality construction indicate that quality is a contested phenomenon. For example, according to the MOE personnel and policy advisors quality education was mainly defined by its contribution to the nation's global economic competitiveness while teacher educators' quality education perception focused on the development of a rounded graduate.

In this case the dominant accepted quality that is likely to guide Somaliland's public education is the economic view of quality and improvement discourse which was constructed by MOE personnel, policy advisors and INGOs representatives. This type of quality is also consistent with the content of the literature review's theoretical perspectives relating to the education and teacher education reforms of countries that have oriented their education systems to the discourses of human capital and market orientation. However, most of the respondents were aware that these models as they exist in other countries might not be suitable to the local context, therefore there was need to construct their own unique model of quality education using the historical, cultural and social apparatus of the Somaliland context.

In the literature review, I have cited both the conflict (Scheurich 1994 referenced by Berkhout and Wiellemans 1999) and the equilibrium (Paulson referenced by Ginsburg et. al 1991) paradigms as explanations of the educational change-cum-reforms at national level. Within the equilibrium theory, change in education tends to be portrayed as natural movement towards higher stages of societal development or adaptations required by imbalances or societal needs. Conflict theory, in contrast, emphasizes the inherent instability of social systems and conflicts over values, resources and power that follow as a natural consequence. Both of these explanations were apparent in the interviewee's construction for the need for changes. Most of the interviewees talked about the rising of new needs in the society i.e. the need for economic empowerment, need for productive and democratic society and individuals, the need for new skills and talents and the need for innovations and creativity. Schools were assumed to be the best instruments that can facilitate the achievements of these needs. Therefore most explanations of the reforms

were for the new education system to accommodate these new functions. The conflict paradigm mainly surfaced when the interviewees referenced the reforms' resource provision, power relationships and personal interests in the reform processes. Teacher education reconstruction presented most of the conflict theory explanations because of its centrality to the wider reforms and the fact that currently it is an area that is attracting a lot of external resources.

6.2.2: The focus upon the problem

Critical analysis of all the interview texts presented in this research suggests the construction and articulation of several problems that have both social and economic dimensions. These problems are multi-perspective and they include both education and teacher education aspects as well as the enabling organisational and management structures that support them. The existence of these problems is evidenced by the discourses of failing education and teacher education. The discourses of failing education and teacher education were constructed through the respondents' citing of education and teacher education as not achieving the outcomes that were desired. However, in order to explain this failing teacher education we must first understand the root cause of the problem because studying it will shade light on the possible strategies for addressing it. During the interview process there was general consensus on the inadequacy of education and teacher education to support the new guiding philosophy or the ideology of the new education.

A majority of the MOE personnel, policy advisers and teacher educators were supportive of the new reforms' ambitions, goals and the anticipated educational outcomes in terms of economic, social and personal functions. Most of the interviewees' thoughts were linked to the previous failures of the education system and teacher education. The previous education system and teacher education was completely different from the new proposed education both in terms of ideological orientation and functional orientation in the sense that it was informed by communist ideologies. The prime purpose of the previous education was to promote the ideology of socialism by working towards the development of a common socio-economic equality in the society. Overall, unlike capitalism the prime function of education was not for employment and skills development but it was used as a tool to indoctrinate citizens in order to facilitate state control.

While the current education system still retains different versions of the above roles the primary focus of education has shifted towards an economic function. Therefore there is a need for new roles for teachers to justify the increasing demand of education by its stakeholders i.e. businesses and industrial sectors as well as other employers and society. During the interview process there were numerous citations of students leaving education without any practical skills that are necessary for the industrial and business sector. These shortcomings were attributed to the inadequacy of teacher education and subsequently teacher professionalism. However, in reality the major issues facing teacher education in Somaliland are complex in nature. Some of these issues directly relate to teacher education programmes while others are outside teacher education programmes: (1) first, the population growth of Somaliland is estimated around 4.48 % per year. There is also an increased demand for education resulting from the recent educational interventions which promoted and widened the access and equity of the education system. As a result of these two measures there is an increasing young population which is exerting a growing pressure on the educational resources and there is lack of teachers to cope with the increasing demand.

(2) Secondly, there is a great variation in the country's life conditions and educational needs between the rural and urban regions of Somaliland in terms of culture, economy and educational expectations. In most of the rural regions the new economic imperative of education and the new roles of the teachers are still new phenomena to them. This is evidenced by the interviewees observing misconceptions and mis-interpretations of the new teachers' roles. For example, when the rural school teachers introduced student-centered teaching and learning processes in classrooms and adopted the new pedagogical techniques of involving the whole class in the discussions and analysis of issues through the use questions to construct knowledge, the students and their parents saw this change of teachers' behaviour as teachers' lack of subject matter to deliver knowledge to students. The fact that the new teacher education reforms call for standardization of the curriculum, harmonization of training and the centralization of the structure that supports teacher education there is increasing complexity involved in the harmonization of provisions and needs between the urban and rural regions.

(3) Thirdly, there was wide acknowledgement among the research participants that there is a lack of skills and knowledge among the majority of the teachers in the field to cope with the educational goals of today's society. This is coupled with low salary, low status, heavy

demands upon time, heavy workloads, and lack of opportunities to improve their professional knowledge. All these factors have reduced the attractiveness of teaching as an occupation. The desire to become a teacher among the secondary school graduates is very low. In addition, currently there is a narrow path that leads to the teaching profession because only secondary school graduates can pursue pre-service teacher education and there are no possible other routes where mature candidates in other professions can switch to the teaching profession through either employment based pedagogical training or through short postgraduate training courses.

The above problems are compounded by others which directly originate from the current teacher education programmes in the local universities. The first limitation of the teacher education programmes identified by most respondents which needed urgent transformation included the theoretical academic orientation of teacher education programmes, where emphasis was mainly on the transmission of knowledge rather than skills development. There was also further critique to the current knowledge base represented by the subject training that student teachers receive from the teacher education programmes. MOE interviewees and some teacher educators argued that this knowledge base is no longer relevant for teacher trainees and schools. Since 1960, there have been few changes in what constitutes teachers' knowledge base and because now both the curriculum of schools as well as the ideological orientation of the education system has changed, it is logical to argue that there is a need to transform what constitutes the teachers' knowledge base. Besides that, almost all the teacher education text books are authored by foreign writers and heavily depend on international literature. Courses such as social foundations of education use a western oriented knowledge base which discusses curriculum development in another country.

The second limitation of the teacher education programmes identified by the interviewees was that of inadequate teaching experience (teaching practice) and poor methodological training. MOE personnel talked about university academics' preferences of what is thought as professional teacher education courses rather than the need of the teachers. This disjuncture has created a significant gap between theory and practice in teacher professionalisation, in the sense that there is minimal co-relationship between the educational courses that represent the pedagogical training of the prospective teachers and the subject training of the teachers. The teaching practice experience is supposed to bridge this gap, but fundamentally the way it is carried out is flawed. Student trainees spend

about two months in one local school; however, there is poor liaison, partnership and collaboration between teacher educators and schools where student-teachers experience their teaching practice. The school subject teachers play little role in assessing and mentoring student trainees and generally schools see themselves as receivers of student trainees rather than partners in the training process.

The third limitation of the current teacher education programmes identified by most of the interviews is that they lack the use of modern technology for teaching purposes. In the modern world, information and communication technologies bring profound changes in the society in all the domains of economic and social life. Particularly, education is evolving because knowledge has a new status and new role in the society. For example, the current education reforms in Somaliland have redefined the function of education as explained in the previous chapters and the teachers are expected to deliver this new role of education. Therefore being a teacher in the new knowledge society calls for innovative skills, increased networking and collaborations with others or collective intelligence. To achieve this challenging role the school teachers need to promote their digital competences as well as adopt the principle of lifelong learning strategy. The implication of teacher education reforms to institutions of teacher education is that they are required to create opportunities for student-teachers to learn how to use information communication and technology as well as ensuring that future teachers know how to integrate technology in the classroom teaching and learning process in a thoughtful way.

The fourth major issue with the current teacher education programmes is the lack of external quality checking measures. MOE personnel, policy advisors and even INGOs representatives have shown concern about this issue of lack of external quality check. The teacher educators themselves were inconsistent about the structure of their policies and practices that ensured quality in their teacher education programmes. Candidates passing theoretical exams mainly constituted their quality guarantee systems. However, this academic assessment has its own limitation because it is difficult to know whether candidates can translate their theoretical knowledge to competencies and skills in service delivery. There was also considerable variation and inconsistency in quality measures of the two local universities and how the qualified teacher status was achieved by the trainees.

The teacher educators' challenge is that the new teacher education reforms that call for the development of competent practitioners exert heavy pressure on teacher education

institutions that has been capacitated and characterised by decades of a hegemonic view of teacher education and teacher professionalism. It was apparent from the interview text analysis that MOE personnel, policy advisors and INGO's desired modernization of teacher education and teacher professionalism represented a departure from the traditional practices of knowledge transmission to the development of practical competencies and critical thinking skills among the potential learners. However, it is too early to categorically argue whether the teacher education institutions are supportive of the new changes. But what is involved if teacher educators are to re-formulate teacher education programmes within the parameters of the new policy is that they need to understand:

- how the concepts and competencies contained in the new teacher education policies can authentically be linked to the new purpose of education and teacher professionalism;
- how the characteristics of desired future teachers can be translated into pedagogical and curriculum training;
- how to develop appropriate forms of assessment that can reflect the new model of teacher education and desired outcomes.

These three points can provide the philosophical grounding for the future policy on teacher education.

In the previous section one, teacher educators have acknowledged their own limitations of departmental financial, infrastructural, knowledge and expertise inadequacies to enhance quality and improve teacher education programmes. Therefore for changes to be realised there must be increased capacity building in the form of facilitating increased policy learning by teacher educators from the countries that have redefined their teacher education according to the predominant competence model. For example, in the UK, where this model is in operation the initial teacher education programmes fall into three main categories, which include: (1) professional knowledge and understanding (2) professional skills and abilities and (3) professional values and personal commitment. In each of these aspects of teacher education there are further curriculum bench marks and specific features that specify the competences teachers are required to develop before they are awarded qualified teacher status. These specific features and benchmarks can not all be highlighted in this thesis but, overall, teachers are required to be competent in their subject matter, planning and management; cooperation with others and teamwork in the formation of learning environments, in motivation skills; in communication and in the analysis and assessment of learners. The most significant features resulting from the adoption of this

model are the removal of the traditional education studies courses (e.g. sociology and philosophy of education) from the teacher education curriculum, and an increased emphasis on practical training of skills and competence development.

The assumptions of the new model of teacher education are that teachers will develop the necessary competence skills for their new role. This includes the realisation of a vision of teacher professionalism desired by most research participants which involves the creation of teachers who are able to organise powerful learning environments to facilitate learning processes; teachers who can work in teams and with other professionals involved in education and pupils learning; teachers who can address the social, cultural and ethnic diversity of the learners; teachers who can link the development of the new curriculum competences with subject learning; teachers who can develop the acquisition of practical and critical thinking skills necessary for today's knowledge society. Re-professionalisation was a frequently occurring theme in the current teacher education reforms. There was an increasing inclination to adopt a model of teacher education that emphasizes the development of competencies and skills rather than knowledge transmission. This calls for significant re-structuring and re-conceptualization of all the four aspects that constitute teacher education i.e. subject training; the role of educational disciplines, pedagogical and practical training. In addition, there must be strategies for implementing the enabling structures and governance of teacher education that supports the new teacher education.

During the research process there was observable evidence of an uneasy relationship between MOE personnel and teacher educators in matters relating to quality assurance, because the MOE personnel and policy advisors were not satisfied with the unilateral autonomy of teacher educators assuring quality in teacher education programmes. The second factor that led to the contestations was the fact that their was different view of quality in education and teacher professionalism. MOE personnel and policy advisors have specified a list of policy directives which in the near future they thought will increase the regulation and control of all aspects of teacher education, the most important measure being the formation of a Teacher Education Unit (TEU) within the Department of Curriculum and Training so as to coordinate all aspects of teacher education and utilization. In addition to the contestations of the quality regulation mechanism, teacher education resource factor was also another phenomenon that led to the tense relationship between the MOE and teacher educators. This is because INGOs had close relationships with the teacher training institutions and the financial resources were allocated to teacher

training institutions by INGOs directly without passing through the MOE infrastructure, budgetary and management systems.

The fifth major issue that needs to be resolved relates to the nature, identity and status of teacher education institutions themselves. Universities in Somaliland present a variety of shifting identities. These include identities as community organizations or trusts, as private institutions, as statutory government organizations. These conflicting identities originate from the initial processes of establishing these institutions. After the collapse of the central government of Somalia in 1990 as a result of the civil war, there was mass emigration of Somalis and Somalilanders to the West (i.e. UK, America, Canada, UK Australia and Sweden). However, after Somaliland declared separate sovereignty from the rest of Somalia and achieved relative peace, stability and democracy the Diaspora community from Somaliland actively participated in the reconstruction of the nation, particularly in the revival of the educational institutions. It is under this initiative that some Diaspora Somalilanders in collaboration with the local community have established these universities. Since then, these institutions have been operating like trust organizations attracting both the INGOs and Diaspora community support and funding. Although each year the government allocates a budget from the treasury for running these institutions, still the bulk of the financial resources comes from the INGOs and Diaspora communities. But, since 2005 the government has been trying to gain significant control of these institutions although this strategy has been partly resisted by teacher training institutions and some influential Diaspora community members with the help of the INGOs that support teacher education. This scenario has resulted in some conflicting interests among the various teacher education stakeholders and it has also made the accreditation and quality assurance of the system difficult.

6.3: The covert discourses within the interview texts

Critical discourse analysis strives to make apparent the ideological investments within particular ways of using language and relations of power that underscore them. The kind of questions that must be asked of a text within a critical framework (Fairclough 1999) include whose representation; who gains and what social relations do the representations draw people in to; what is silenced and omitted; what are the ideological effects of this representations and what alternatives exist.

Faiclough's observation can be used to analyse how different policy actors positioned other actors within the policy making and policy making processes. For example when the MOE personnel and their policy advisers were asked to describe the process of teacher education policy development majority of them constructed a pluralistic, collaborative and inclusive model of the policy making process, where all the views of the various stakeholders were consulted and their views taken into consideration. In fact the majority of them have acknowledged that teachers and teacher educators were accorded the key roles in the development of the education reform policies. However, when the MOE personnel and their policy advisers were asked what aspects of the education system they wanted to change, why they wanted changes to occur, strategies for managing change, their vision of future teachers and how they thought quality in teacher education and teacher professionalism could be maintained a shift from the partnership representation of teacher educators and teachers was observed. Fairclough (2001) argues that social actors within any practice produce representations of other practices as well as representations of their own. In this way the MOE and policy advisers display different genres (diverse ways of acting). In this category of interview texts the teacher educators and teachers were represented as implementers of the new teacher education policies and as other social groups' within the lower policy strata that are to be managed. The development of the new proposed Teacher Education Unit (TEU) represented the tool through which the managerial practices of accreditation, inspection, audit, quality assurance and accountability will be achieved in both teacher development and teacher utilization.

Similarly, when the teacher educators were asked to describe the process of teacher education policy development they described it as a collaborative task among all the stakeholders. They specified that along with others in the policy making process they have contributed to the development of the national teacher education policy. But, through out in the interview process teacher educators presented a proactive resistance to the managerial model of teacher education and teacher professionalism presented by the MOE and their policy advisers thus creating a notion of a counter-policy. The notion of counter-policy is located within a conception of policy making and implementation as a continuous process, where official policy statements and associated discourses are both created and re-interpreted during implementation as a result of interplay between individuals and groups within and between system levels (Bowe at al 1992 referenced by Wallace 1998). At the heart of this policy formation and policy re-creation processes lies the interaction of human beings, which can be conflictual or harmonious depending on different actors' perspectives

and reflections on differential use of resources to achieve their desired goals according to beliefs and values which they share to a varying degree (Wallace and Hall 1994).

The way in which diverse genres and discourses are networked together constitutes an order of discourse (Fairclough 2001). From my own perspective, there could be two explanations of the shifts observed or the different genres displayed by the research participants. The first relates to Yeatmans' (cited in Crebbin 1997) view that social understandings are not made new but are partly dependent upon the values, priorities and cultural definitions of prior contestations. In this, I mean that, traditionally in the context of Somaliland, roles and positions were defined by the hierarchy and power in the sense that the top-down managerial practices were the hegemonic bureaucratic norms. So when the INGOs mediated the collaborative- partnership model of teacher education policy the MOE personnel understandings of the discourse was limited. So, during the interviews they clarified their own version of what they meant during the policy formulation process or simply the MOE personnel and policy advisers were giving their own interpretations of the contemporary education reform policies to express their political and power intentions. In this case power is conceptualised as a transformative capacity and the capability to intervene in events so as to alter courses (Giddens 1984). This conceptualisation is close to the contextual circumstance because system changing as the MOE personnel desire will imply altering the distribution and legitimation to use resources currently provided by the INGOs to develop teacher education.

In the context of Somaliland, the system change desired by the MOE and policy advisers is that the INGOs should contribute resources to the MOE budget and the MOE should manage the resources for the implementation of the reforms. This would make the Ministry of Education the ultimate authority as well as ease the facilitation of other regulatory instruments of control such as accreditation, funding, quality guarantee, inspection and accountability and standardization of practices. However, in most circumstances, the MOE personnel and their policy advisers conceal this intention for fear of being accused of material and resource desire, rather they prefer to suggest that had they had the resources they could have done things differently and urgently. There are also instances where they created pessimistic views in the sense that the involvement of the external factor in the implementation process might create dis-harmonisation of the reform policies and priorities. In this way they distance themselves of any blame should the implementation process go wrong, thus creating the discourse of blame culture as a future

strategy to escape accountability. The intended shift of power will also directly impact on the independent operation of the INGOs that support the education sector in Somaliland, because the increased dominance of the MOE will lead to diminished autonomy and scale of operation and involvement of INGOs in education and teacher education transformation. Teacher educators also seem to be preserving some personal gains in terms of professional status, authority or perhaps salaries and other remuneration in their direct dealings with INGOs which might diminish should the MOE take the upper hand.

6.4: The role of lesson drawing, policy transfer and policy learning

The comparative textual analysis of the interview texts from the MOE personnel and teacher educators' regarding the desired outcomes of the national education suggested two competing outcomes for education. Ministry of Education personnel and policy advisers' statements stressed that the critical and central role of schools and education is to play and contribute to the national economic competitiveness, through the development of necessary practical skills in all sectors of the economy.

Fairclough (2003) argues that the analysis of the relations between the authors of texts, in this case the MOE personnel and their policy advisers, the readers and the discourse discussed, in this case the discourse of education outcomes, can be achieved through the grammatical features of the text modality and evaluation. In this context, the modality was investigated in terms of what the authors of policy texts committed themselves to when they made statements (declarations). Through their declarative statements, the MOE personnel contributed to what Fairclough (2003) calls an epistemic modality and evaluation which refers to the ways in which the authors commit themselves to values and concerns of the discourses discussed. Fairclough calls this conception of commitment the author's commitment to desirability. Of particular interest to this thesis were the evaluative statements about the desirability of the MOE personnel's desired outcomes of education and their relationship with internationalization of educational policies, including the political ideologies that contributed to the development of such views about the outcomes of education. The methodological argument of modality and evaluation presupposes that the authors of texts' commitments to discourses can constitute both identification and representation. This view is supported by Fairclough (2003) who notes that the identificational meaning presupposes representational meaning. In addition, analysis of modality and evaluation involve analyses of not only *how* the authors identify

themselves but also their representation of the world and how the identity of social groups such as teachers was constructed by them.

The focus of the MOE personnel and policy advisers throughout their texts was that of telling people about the government's proposed solutions to the problem of failing education and teacher education. For example, although the interview questions sought the personal views of the MOE personnel they kept on implying what the government will do or what the government believes. Similarly, while the MOE personnel were acting as providers of information, critical analysis of their responses suggest also an element of promotion of the government position; as a senior departmental head-cum policy maker suggested:

Our strategic policies are geared towards the achievement of education that contributes to the economic competitiveness of the nation through skills development…

The MOE personnel and policy advisers desired economic outcomes of education and teacher education also had a strong ideological co-relationship with international discourses of education and teacher education policies that promoted neo- liberal views of enterprise educational ideology, increased human capital formation and promotion of quality and improvement though managerial practices. References of how the national policy actors have constructed these discourses can be made in section one of this chapter.

Through their representation and legitimating of the above world view informed by economic competitiveness, competencies and skills development and re-structuring of responsibility and authority to control teacher education and teacher professionalism, the analysis of MOE and policy advisers data has established a theoretical connection with the content of the literature review of this thesis. These theoretical perspectives covered the neo-liberal political and educational ideologies; globalization of educational policies and their impact on teacher professionalisation and professionalism; policy transfer, lessons drawing; the role of supranational organizations and their impact on national policy making process. Contextually the above views promoted by the MOE and policy advisers can be attributed to what Lendvai and Stubbs (2007) calls transnationalisation and translation of social policies. According to them, social policies have become internationalized with important-policy making arenas existing at levels beyond the nation state. These transnationalised policy models have the tendency to travel across time and

place and even become globalised through formal conditionality of international financial institutions and through the soft power of global public policy networks. Lendvai and Stubbs further state that a complex conceptual architecture has emerged under the umbrella of 'reform', constructed in the encounter with supranational bodies including the European Union, the World Bank and United Nations and its agencies, as well as in and through encounters with a range of international non state actors, including NGOs and private consultancy companies (Lendvai and Stubbs 2007:173).

In the context of Somaliland, the impact of the external factor (identified, discussed and exemplified in section one) has constituted two types of policy transfer and lesson drawing. The first deductive mode of policy borrowing mostly desired by the MOE personnel and policy advisers was similar to that identified by Dolowitz (2000) and Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) which conceptualize policy transfer as an emulation process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in one time and or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and or place. In a similar conception, Rose (1993) also referred such policy borrowing model as a copying technique. In this thesis, the Somaliland's MOE personnel and policy advisers desired the guiding philosophy, ambitions and goals, strategies, enabling structures, techniques and processes of the education and teacher education of the countries that have oriented their education towards the economic function. But, it is not clear whether this policy transfer is voluntary or coercive. However, indications are that the MOE and policy advisers' texts show greater similarity to the educational ideologies, goals, structures content of the countries that have reformed their education and teacher education towards an economic function. This further indicates that the national policy actors have been externally influenced in their policy decision making. The apparent possible external factors that have influenced the national decision making mechanisms includes the INGOs' contributions and interactions, globalization and its critical imaginations and global mobility of the influences of higher education institutions and Diaspora communities.

Unlike the MOE personnel and policy advisers, the analytical deconstruction of policy texts presented by teacher educators suggests the existence of an account of policy change process which emphasises policy mediation, dialogue, compromise and translation (Lendvai & Stabbs 2007). Teacher educators talked about having good relationships with the INGOs and learning from them. There were also instances where teacher education

institutions were actively engaged in policy learning by comparing their teacher education policies with those of other countries and universities. The menu through which teacher education institutions learned from external sources included exchange programmes, foreign consultants, foreign lecturers, internet, education journals and postgraduate study opportunities. Teacher educators used comparative study in a more careful way than the MOE personnel. They were also more aware the constraints of the local contextual circumstances in copying education models and teacher education models from the countries that are highly developed. Their position can be described as policy *learners* rather than policy *borrowers*. The theories and perspectives discussed in the literature review that concurred with the teacher educators' views included Hulme's policy learning theory (2005) and Roses' (1993) lesson drawing models of adaptation, hybridization, synthesis and inspiration.

The policy copying model presented by the MOE personnel and the policy learning model presented by the teacher educators seam the two categories of policy transfers facilitated by the external factor in the context of Somaliland. Of the two strategies the copying model is in a weaker position because it does not pay sufficient attention to the process of translation and re-contextualization involved in the realization or enactment of borrowed policies in specific national and local settings. For example, while it is possible that Somaliland's MOE personnel can be attracted by the ideology and goals of education of the countries that have redefined their education according to the economic function(i.e. Britain or Australia) to create strategies, enabling structures, processes and techniques that support such education needs huge resources, knowledge and expertise. In addition, to borrow such policies requires thorough exploration of the political, technological, economic, historical, social, cultural and linguistic infrastructure that have created such an education over long periods of time. Currently neither the economic position nor the ability of the other instruments is able to provide such function in the context of Somaliland, so the endeavours of the MOE personnel can only lead to partial transfer or inappropriate transfer. In both cases the possibility of policy failure is very high.

6.5: Chapter conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how the policy perspectives of the national policy actors can provide us with an analytical framework to connect to perspectives on international change in education and teacher education using the theoretical tools of lesson drawing,

policy transfer and policy learning. There were two possible categories that linked to Somaliland's teacher education transformation to perspectives of international change: these were (1) policy borrowing modelled as policy coping and (2) policy learning. These two positions have been demonstrated by the MOE personnel's, policy advisors and teacher educators' policy epistemic communities respectively. It is through the deconstruction and analysis of the interview texts that the relationships of local-global perspectives were explored and established. It was evident that movements of ideas and practices have occurred through diffusion processes and this diffusion process had the ability to enhance the local decision making process as evidenced by the MOE personnel, policy advisers and teacher educators texts. This chapter has also demonstrated and showed significant ways in which policy transfer can occur without policy learning as evidenced by the interview texts of MOE personnel.

The interview data analysis has also evidenced that it is also possible that policy transfer can occur within the conception of policy learning. This position was demonstrated by the relationship between the teacher educators and the external factor in the research. In the literature review Hass 1990 referenced by Hulme 2005 argued that, policy change cannot take place with out policy learning and any departure from an existing policy involves policy learning on the part of the policy makers or the penetration of political objectives and programmes by new knowledge (Hass 1990 ref by Hulme 2005). Therefore the findings of this thesis represent both an agreement as well as a departure from Hass's above point of view.

In general the interview data analyses have demonstrated that epistemic communities can use external influences to develop generic international agendas in education and teacher education. Central to this role was policy learning which is primarily about the use of knowledge to define and critically explore other policies and practices elsewhere so as to inform and refine the strategic direction of the local policy proposals. Therefore the theoretical perspectives of policy transfer and policy researches which investigate how policy transfer informs national policy making process have the potential to trigger learning and can help break policy makers' habits and their tendency to look for continuity and stability in policy.

In conclusion, the interview data analysis has demonstrated how policy transfer frameworks can provide an essential linkage which can explain policy change in education

as the product of the interaction of three inter-dependent determinants i.e.(1) policy oriented learning on the part of the significant policy actors in education, which in turn leads to: (2) refinement of the ideological basis of policy platforms and to: (3) changes in the systematic determinants of policy, such as movements in the global economy. Policy transfer is then both a rational and an ideological strategy to deal with changing circumstances. Seeking workable, tried and tested, readily available definitions and responses from other countries and from the past is the means by which policy makers put their learning into effect.

This chapter concludes that most of the data from of the research participants supported the influences of the external factor on the national education policy formation and policy implementation. This was evidenced by the positive view of the INGOs' involvement in teacher education reconstruction and the fact that there was strong evidence of international agendas in the local national policy actors' policy reform statements. In addition, the various interview texts of the four categories of research participants wove a picture of a common vision of education and teacher education transformation, which was the need to improve quality of provision. However, this common vision created contradictory implementation strategies among the policy actors. These contradictory operationaliastion strategies resulted from the nature of what constituted quality and improvement and how best to achieve this desired quality. These contradictory implementation strategies also resulted from the human nature to be relatively in a better position in terms of resources, power and status. In the context of the reforms the INGOs and its associated features seemed to be the dominant voice in the reform policy formation while the teacher educators due to the nature of their position and their good relationship with the external factor seemed to be the dominant voice in the new policies implementation strategies. The MOE and their policy advisers seem to be caught in the middle but they showed high spirit and motivation to gain the upper hand in both policy formation and policy implementation in matters relating to teacher education transformation in Somaliland.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSSION

7.0: Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to draw together the research question, the literature review, methodology, methods, data analysis, research findings and concluding remarks. The chapter also provides recommendations for future research.

This thesis is based on the research question that explored how external sources inform and impact on Somaliland's national education and teacher education policy development processes. Particular focus has been the critical examination of the discourses of teacher education and teacher professionalism evident in the contemporary reform policies. In chapter one I have stated the growing concerns of internal dissatisfaction in education and teacher professionalism in Somaliland. These concerns have led to large education and teacher educations reforms that began in 2005 and are still on going. The significance of this study is that it provides an understanding of how teacher education policies and practices in Somaliland can be improved by incorporating lesson drawing, policy transfer and policy learning in the national policy making processes so as to make informed decisions.

The literature review explored how the theoretical perspectives of policy transfer (Dolowitz and Mash 2000, Hulme, 2004, 2005), lesson drawing (Rose 1991, 1993) and policy learning (James and Lodge 2003) inform the process of national policy making processes (Philips and Oches 2004, Oches and Philip 2002, Rist (2003), Trowler (2003) Kingdon (1995), Ball (1994), Codd (1988). Although these policy analysts presented minor differences in their policy definition and analysis of policy making processes, there was significant agreement in conceptualising the process of education policy making as a complex, dynamic and multifaceted field where politics interacts with economy, culture, history, education institutions and education stakeholders.

Central to their conception of policy making process was the explicit emphasis on human interactions, power relationships, interests, resource allocations, beliefs and values to be contested by various education policy actors in any given context. The nature of policy

conception and policy analysis by the above authors were indebted to Bourdieu's (1991) concepts of social fields and habitus that examined theory of practice in social worlds; Foucault's conception of the power relationship in its capillary form of existence (Foucault 1980); Bauman and May's (2001) conception of power as enabling capacity and Fairclough's (1989, 1993, 1995, 2001 and 2003) role of power, ideology and language in analysing discourses that shape social relationships.

In examining how the national education policy making process is influenced by external sources, I have also explored in the literature review how globalisation of education policies (Vidovich, 2004, Angus 2004, Ozga and Jones 2006, Shumar, 2004, Dale 1995) spearheaded by supra-national policy actors such as OECD, IMF, World Bank, UNESCO and other supranational agencies have had major implications for other countries' education reforms. For example, in the literature review, I have demonstrated how these supranational organisation's systems of global governance have had major implications in the transformation of education and teacher education in the developed Western countries. The observed and discussed education implications in these transformations included seeing education role and its delivery system primarily in economic terms, thus emphasising on investment in people and skills development. This type of education orientation has become essential for countries wishing to participate in the global economy, thus establishing the relationship between globalisation, education and development.

Similarly, in the literature review chapter, I have examined the 'soft roles' of the higher education institutions, Diaspora communities, NGOs and social movements in the processes of policy transfer and lesson drawing. This literature on the various forms of globalisation processes, agencies and structures has demonstrated various accounts in which the national policy makers can be influenced by forces beyond their domestic contexts. These accounts of influences included coercive forms of policy transfer, policy copying, hybridization, syntheses and inspiration models. Thus the literature review has evidenced how globalisation is establishing a new economic discourse in political and social circumstances that can change powers and contexts under which nation states operate (Rosenau 1990 referenced by James and Lodge 2003). Other observed outstanding impacts of the global educational influences included governments learning from competitor states as a result of competition and decreased national policy autonomy (Cerny 1997).

I have also discussed in section 3.2.5 of the literature review how Africa has responded to both the economic and the educational challenges posed by globalisation. Robertson et al (2007) described the African response to globalisation as "new regionalism". This new regionalism in the African context can be seen in terms of increased intergovernmental collaboration which is not confined to formal associations between nation states but includes informal networks and associations between actors in civil society, universities and NGOs operating at a number of different scales. Some of the new institutions that the new African regionalism has created to facilitate increased communication and policy learning among the African countries include CFA, NEPARD, FAWE, ADEA and AVA, and AAU. These African institutions reaction to the economic and the educational globalisation has been a mixture of welcoming gestures that encouraged economic integration and collaboration with the developed world as evident from the arguments presented by Ajululu 2001, Cheru 2002, Khor 2002 (referenced by Robertson et al 2007:81). Similarly, Kenneth and Simon (2002) described the potential influence of globalisation in education, training and development in Africa as resulting to what they described as "*learning- led competitiveness*".

Critics to the efforts by supranational organisation to integrate Africa into the global economic markets and introduce neoliberal agenda in its public education have argued that the economic and education globalisation agendas of the West only reflects the hegemony of neo-liberal economic models that are disguised to simply slot Africa into global market (Simon 2003 referenced by Robertson et al 2007:180). In order to evidence this they have cited how the Structural Adjustment Programmes that were introduced to Africa by IMF and World bank in 1980's and 1990's have only led to increased poverty, increased education inequalities and increased education marketisation practices (Whitty et al 1998 referenced by Robertson et al 2007). Mazrui (1999) referenced by (Roberson et al 2007) also concurs with this negative implication and argues that globalisation has eliminated the role of education in transmitting African cultures and languages. From a functionalist perspective Mazrui points out that no country has successfully advanced scientifically without developing indigenous languages. He draws examples of Japan, Korea and Japan as countries that have trans-nationalised policies and practices transferred from the West with a remarkable success in science and technology.

The above literature review had methodological implications for my research questions. These focused upon how external sources inform and impact on Somaliland's national education and teacher education policy development process. I had to identify a methodology that was suitable to the critical analysis of policy making processes, that could identify both the explicit and implicit discourses promoted in the policy making process; that could identify the ideological connections of the discourses identified and most significantly could theorise the power, social relationships and professional identities resulting from the new policies in the context of education, teacher education and teacher professionalisms. In the methodology chapter, an interpretive constructionist method of inquiry was identified as the most appropriate position that could perform the above role. But within this approach there are various methodologies such as interpretive symbolic interractionism, interpretive phenomenology, interpretive hermeneutics, ethnography and critical theory that can all provide understanding, experiences and meanings of social relations in the social world. But social policies such as education and teacher education in a post modern era call for a deeper critical inquiry that can expose both the explicit and opaque assumptions, beliefs, attitudes ideologies, positions and powers that are disguised in contemporary language use. I was therefore attracted most by the criticality and the principles of critical discourse analysis methodology in doing such critical work. However, there are many versions and perspectives of discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1993, Tailor, 2004). This thesis has used Fairclough's (1989, 1993 1995, 2003) conception of CDA to deconstruct Somaliland's contemporary education reform policy texts.

I chose the above version of CDA because it is concerned with the role of ideology, capital resources such as political power, economic power, knowledge and skills, and use of language in constructing and representing social identities and power relationships. These phenomena are central to any national social policy making process. In addition, this perspective consolidates and integrates CDA methodology as the analysis of texts, interactions, and context (Fairclough's concept of CDA as three dimensional frameworks). The significance of this is that the social conditions of text production, consumption and interpretations are used in the analysis of the social relations resulting from the policy changes. In this way, the discursive aspects of policies are related and show the relationship between the context of influence, the context of policy text production and the context of practice.

The key policy documents examined were: (a) The Somaliland National Education Policy Paper (MOE 2005); (b) The Somaliland National Teacher Education Policy Paper (MOE 2006) and (c) The Somaliland National Education Sector Strategic Development Plan (MOE 2007). In addition, the same methodology was utilised to analyse semi-structured interview data that were collected from 5 senior MOE personnel, 5 policy advisers, 5 INGOs representatives that were supporting education and teacher reconstruction in Somaliland and 15 teacher educators in two local universities. The stakeholders of education and teacher education policies can range from students, parents, teachers, teacher associations, the national state education policy actors such as the MOE and its associated bureaucrats, the private sector and other organisations outside the government such as independent think tanks that have interests and a stake in education policies. I selected the above four categories of research participants because these categories of individuals were more likely to provide rich and relevant data, in the sense that they have participated in the recent education and teacher education reforms and are now directly involved in the implementation of reform policies. Secondly, I could not include all the other stakeholders for fear of generating large volumes of qualitative data that I could not manage well. My technique of selecting research samples is consistent with non-probabilistic purposive sampling strategy. Girden (2001) supports and defines non-probabilistic purposive sampling as a method of selecting those individuals who are most likely to provide a rich yield of research relevant data.

More discussions of how CDA has helped me to identify discourses, discuss and interpret them in this research context can be found in chapters 4, 5 and 6 of this thesis.

While CDA has been a useful methodology and method in investigating the various dimensions of this thesis, I found its application complex, challenging and demanding. The application of CDA principles of linguistic, ideological and power relation in examinining policy texts and interview data has been a complex and technical matter. This is because ideologies and power issues are usually manifested in policy texts in an opaque and silenced way. To uncover these relationships between language, ideology and power in policy texts one has to examine how modern language has been used to achieve this function. This calls for a strong socio-linguistic background in analysing discourse. While I enjoyed the new adventure of employing CDA to investigate the discursive deconstruction of Somaliland's education reforms and the ideological reconstruction of teacher education and teacher professionalism resulting from the wider education reforms I

believe there have been limitations in my use of the this combined methodology and method of CDA, therefore opening up the possibility of arriving at different findings from the same the research data. Another methodological issue that can have implications for my research findings is the use of both Somali and English in the interviews. For example, if respondent are not proficient in English language the choice and representations made by them might not accurately reflect upon what they intended to say. Similarly some accuracy of the data might be lost during the process of translating the Somali interview text scripts to English language.

In recognising this limitation in order to validate my work I have shared my research data and research outcomes with two colleagues. One of these is a South African teacher who works as a teacher in UK. The other colleague works in the NHS and is a former post graduate student from Brunel University. This second colleague also originates from Somaliland (the context of my research). Both in our formal and informal discussions I have constantly requested them to give opinions about the discourses and cumulative themes that I thought my research data indicated. Their challenges and contributions were significant in giving me the confidence that I needed to analyse and thematise my research findings. In the following part of this final chapter, I draw the summary of the main research findings and direct them towards answering my research questions.

7.1: Key findings

The research findings of this thesis can be reflected upon by first re-stating the research questions. These questions were:

Main research question: How do external sources inform and impact upon Somaliland's education and teacher education policy making processes?

The following two sub questions have also provided a focus for this study;

1) How does the mechanism of policy transfer and lesson drawing from other external sources influence upon Somaliland's national teacher education policy making process?

2) How do Somaliland's contemporary education reform policy texts construct future teacher education and teacher professionalism?

Secondly, by providing brief synopsis of the logic of the narrative that runs through out the thesis, I anticipate that the subsequent summary of the main research findings will be understood in context. This thesis has evidenced the presence of active INGOs in

Somaliland's education and teacher education reconstruction. These INGOS were active both in education and teacher education policy formation and implementation. Textual deconstruction of the national policy actors' policy texts (both interview texts and policy documents) indicated that that their views of education and teacher education reforms had similar ideological relationship with the West (i.e. similar versions of education and teacher professionalism). These findings have been used to evidence how INGOs as part of wider globalisation practices have influenced and impacted upon Somaliland's education and teacher education policy making processes despite the absence of close ideological and geographical proximity between the West and Somaliland. These findings are primarily what the research question aimed to investigate.

I now provide brief discussions and summary of the main research findings.

7.1.1: New discourses of education

Critical discourse analysis of contemporary education and teacher education reform policy papers and the interview transcripts both conceptualised as policy texts suggest that the re-construction of education, teacher education and teacher professionalism in Somaliland has been primarily influenced by an economic discourse. This is evidenced by the keywords and phrases that occurred most frequently within the MOE personnel and policy advisers' interview texts in relation to the economic function of education and the strategic policies that these national policy actors thought were to achieve and manage such education. These included tendencies of educational changes to be framed in economic terms i.e. highly competitive graduates in global job markets, emphasis on skills training, demanding good performance and accountability in education.

On the whole, the discourse analysis of the cumulative themes of the research respondent's views about the changing nature of education and teacher education has resulted and found six interrelated sub-discourses operating within the fluid boundaries of the new economic discourse of education. These were: (1) the discourse of quality and improvement; (2) the discourse of managing change; (3) the discourse of situating quality within a management discourse; (4) the discourse of the future desired teacher; (5) the discourse of the external factor in the reforms which took both positive and negative dimensions and (6) the discourse of challenges and barriers facing the implementation of the reforms. Each of these discourses was critically examined in chapter 6 (interview data analysis). However, I

would like to point out here their cumulative significance. It was clear from the interview data that the dominant quality accepted and promoted in education policies was one that improved national economics by tightening the connection between schooling, employment, productivity and trade; one that enhanced students' outcomes in employment-related skills and competences; one that attained more direct governmental control of curriculum and assessment and one that encouraged all stakeholders in education to invest and participate in national education.

The significant point is that the MOE personnel and policy advisers believed that quality education defined as a function of the economy could only be achieved through managerial practices of external assessments, standardisation of practices, introduction of quality indicators; quality assurance measures, inspection, and through legislative process of accreditation, and financial allocation procedures. The operationalisation of these policies in teacher education and teacher professionalism was found to have significant impact upon teacher education and teacher professionalisms because they touched the vary nature of teacher professionalism, power relationships and resource allocations. I shall return these findings and the contextual visibility of their implementation in the latter part of the chapter.

The findings from the education policy documents were similar to the above national policy actors' positions, in the sense that critical discourse analysis of the three education policy papers examined also evidenced the dominance of the discourse of human capital that is similar to the views held by most of the research respondents, particularly MOE staff and policy advisers. The Somaliland National Education Policy Paper (MOE 2005) which is the first of the three education reform policy papers analysed, devoted considerable space to presenting and promoting this discourse of human capital. The paper presents the need and urgency for these changes in an authoritative voice. In this way, policy texts were seen as doing ideological work because they aimed to make the need for the new dominant discourse of education and associated changes an unavoidable reality. This value system of education was expressed in an explicit way and was represented as highly desirable. For example, the following were some of the statements that expressed the critical and central role the new education system was to play in the economy.

The government recognises that there is a need for an educational system that will provide human resources required to match the economic growth…to build a strong and self reliant economy, through the acquisition and application of scientific, technological and managerial knowledge and skills is our priority… SNEP 2005: 5

The agency and the inclusiveness of the ideas contained in the reform policy papers were also achieved through the stylistic use of language. For example, there was frequent use of powerful and ambiguous words such as *we, us, will* or combinations of the words such as *we* and *will* and continuous interchange of the words *we* and *the government*. There were numerous examples of such words and phrases occurring in both the policy texts and interview transcripts: *i.e. we will provide…the government will create… (MOE, 2006:19)…the government will (MOE 2006:25)...the government will make the necessary legislation...the government is committed to… (MOE 2007:28).* Other linguistic and semiotic choices which frequently occurred in the policy texts included: *we will renew; we will develop; we will invest; we will encourage; we will enable; our reforms will renew; will provide; they will put; they will create".* Through the combination of these terms and phrases the policy texts have created an impression of "*changing times"*

Through the examination of the ideological effects, ideational and semiotic meaning of the policy statements that linked education to the economy in terms of quality perception, relevance, efficiency and effectiveness I was able to identify this new imperative shift of the economic orientation of education. Similarly, I was able to identify the strategic policies drawn to achieve this new role of education. In the two data analysis chapters (chapter 5 and 6) I have observed and identified that decentralisation, partnership and collaboration, standardisation, accountability and audit, increasing the role of the private sector and corporatisation of educational institutions were some the core practices that instantiated the new education policies. In addition to these systematic and structural reforms, the new discourse of education has resulted in changes to the curriculum i.e. contents and organization of what is taught at all levels of education including teacher education.

The desirability aspects of the above changes can be related to Fairclough's (2003) concepts of *modality* and *evaluation* assumption which state that what people commit themselves to in texts is an important part of how they identify themselves and how they texture the identities of others. In this sense the above new policies were seen as measures to improve the quality of decision making, relevance of education, efficiency and effectiveness of education provisions using the economic rationality or perspective. However, what was simultaneously silenced in the policy texts was how these new strategic implementation policies affect the equity, equality, access and the social function of education.

7.1.2: Reconstructing teacher education and teacher professionalism under the new discourse of education

The new ideological shift of education informed by the economic discourse had some major implications for teacher education and teacher professionalism in Somaliland. First, the changes have introduced the competence model of teacher education to replace the previous model which was based on an academic model of teacher education. The implications of these changes have been certain re-conceptualisations of the way teachers are professionalised and how they see their professionalism. For example, teacher education faculties have been instructed to switch from emphasis on the mastery of the subject matter to practice of teaching in their teacher education programmes. In order to implement this policy, teacher education institutions have been mandated by the new policies to reform their curriculum and training procedures so as to reflect the new policy changes. Specifically, they have been directed to start partnership programmes with schools. The argument put forward for this policy change is that it improves the relationship between theory and practice. The proposed change is anticipated to lead to the elimination of academic disciplines such as psychology, philosophy and sociology of education from teacher training programmes; the re-definition and increased technicalisation of the knowledge base of teacher education and more collaborative and partnership practices.

Secondly, there has been a policy assumption to shift teacher education governance towards the state control apparatus. Through the proposed Teacher Education Unit, the MOE personnel desired to significantly increase their governance of teacher education. In future this institution is supposed to reinforce the government's control mechanism through the development of future necessary policies, accreditations of teacher education institutions, funding procedures, quality assurance measures, inspections of performance, teacher certification and teacher assessment. The argument put forward for this policy is that definition of quality informed by economic discourse could only be achieved through managerial practices and standardisation of practices, and that these practices represent value for money because they assess quality in terms of efficiency and effectiveness. However, neo-liberal policies of governmental cost reduction objectives could not be ruled out because this ideology sees increased governmental expenditure as a leakage from the capital resources available for the capital economy.

The concept of school teacher professionalism that informed the above new discourses of teacher education was very much like western version of teacher professionalism and included:

- promoting the development of learners' competencies for the future knowledge society;
- working with other teachers in teams and other professionals involved in pupils/students' learning processes;
- linking the development of the new curriculum competencies with subject learning;
- organising powerful learning environments and facilitating learning processes;
- promoting teachers' own professional development in life-long learning perspective;
- managing the classroom and controlling the children for effective learning;
- communicating with parents and liaison with other agencies;
- involving teachers with the strategic planning, responsibility and decision making that characterise school development.

From these practices, it is believed that the new professionalism will keep pace with changes in the society, knowledge, skills and economy. Therefore the notion of teacher professionalism desired was that which is dynamic in relation to its changing functions. professional identities of collaboration, communication, increased reflexivity, accountability and efficiency in operation which were previously undervalued compared to the possession of knowledge base and expertise in defining a profession are currently gaining more emphasis and equal weight with the latter.

MOE personnel, policy advisers, and INGO's representatives presented the above changes as modernisation processes aiming to re-professionalize teachers in changing times. This argument supports the hypothesis that the neo-liberal teacher education policies have played a re-professionalisation role and the heart of the philosophy of the new professionalism is a synthetic relation between professional and institutional development (Hargreaves 1994). This new teacher professionalism can give rise to an entrepreneurial identity in which the market and issues of accountability, economy, efficiency and effectiveness shape how teachers individually and collectively construct their professional identities.

However, teacher educators who participated in this research contested the above policy orientation by the MOE personnel and their policy advisors and presented a different position. While acknowledging the economic role of education and teacher education they

saw education in a more rounded and holistic way. Their emphasis incorporated the moral, social and personal functions of education. This ideological position of education emphasises equality of education provisions and teachers are seen as not only the key change agents in that process but also are responsible for the fair distribution of a social good (i.e. education and learning). Focus on subject discipline, autonomous learning and strong guidance from the teachers informed by autonomy in decision making are some of the key features associated with this ideological position apparently favoured by the teacher educators.

Teacher educators also questioned how the managerial practices of standardisation of practices achieved through external audits could inform teaching in classrooms, a context that is indeterminate and uncertain in every aspect and in an every-day sense. They argued for increased autonomy in decision making in such a complex teaching and learning environment. They have also argued for the need to develop trusting relationships rather than the managerial practices of the external audits. Their argument is based on the judgement that the new teacher professionalism will only serve a managerial function and will have a de-professionalizing effect on teachers' work. Thus, their views create a contestation of what counts as professionalism.

In consideration of the above two contesting views I take the view that the above two positions can be combined to create a third generic model in which aspects of the managerial model suggested by MOE and policy advisers and the self-autonomous model suggested by teacher educators can be combined. The middle ground could be achieved through the combination of the new evolutionary practices (described in the previous page) with governmental policies and organisational infrastructure that supports and manages teacher education and teacher professionalism for effective and high quality teaching and learning rather than for bureaucratic controls. In this sense the new model of teacher professionalism represents a democratic and extended form. This middle ground is most likely to be in the best interest of teachers, teacher institutions, and the government, in the sense that teachers' morale, motivation and performance will benefit from the increased governmental support and commitment to the profession. On the other hand the increased teachers' productivity and commitment as this new model suggests can make teachers a resource for change in terms of economic, national and social prosperity.

More analysis of the contextual differences between Somaliland and Western developed countries where most new Somaliland's policies are borrowed or learnt from as well as the possible implications that can result from the adoption of new policies are provided in the following section that reflects upon Somaliland's process of policy making and policy learning.

7.1.3: Process of policy making and policy learning

The findings of this thesis have demonstrated the complex nature of Somaliland's national education and teacher education policy making processes from various perspectives. In particular, I consider this in terms of the plurality of different actors, the variations of capital resources used by different policy actors to influence the negotiation process and in terms of the multiplicity of other social fields affecting the development of education and teacher education policies. For example, the analysis of Somaliland's education policy making has demonstrated how the international aid agencies can gain significant control in the processes of education policy making and how aid incentives can affect the national policy making processes. In Somaliland the Aid agencies that played a significant role in the education policy making processes included UNESCO, UNICEF, Save the Children Fund (UK), Care International, Save the Children Denmark, CFBT, and African Education Trust among others.

The involvement of the above INGOs in Somaliland's education policy arena has presented both opportunities and challenges. The opportunities presented could be described as facilitating policy learning, which in turn led to discontinuity from past policies and practices. This was evidenced by discussions and analysis of the research data in both Chapter five and six that demonstrated the roles of lesson drawing, policy transfer and policy learning in Somaliland's national education policy making processes. However, before I draw upon the policies and practices that have been learnt, why they have been selected among other alternatives and what has not been learnt in the process of education and teacher education reconstruction, I would like to state that national policy making is a process that is partly shaped by lesson drawing, policy transfer and policy learning. The later part of this section highlights how policy learning contributes to the national process of policy making.

First, in chapter five, I have identified and discussed Somaliland's changing philosophy and ideology of education i.e. from a previous communist education perspective towards an education system influenced by and contributing to capitalism. Secondly, the analysis of the chapter have identified and led to the discussion of both the systematic and structural intervention measures that were instantiated to implement the above capitalist education ideology. These measures included a special role for the private sector, collaboration and partnership practices and decentralisation policy initiatives. The structural reforms also included the creation of new institutions such as the Teacher Education Unit (TEU) and modernisation of the existing education institutions and infrastructures. Thirdly, in addition to the above systematic and structural reforms, re-conceptualisation of teacher education and teacher professionalism was seen as a strategic tool for achieving the new economic discourse in education. The underlying assumption of this economic policy consideration was that by constructing education as a discourse of human capital Somaliland will eventually acquire the necessary knowledge and skills that are required for the global knowledge economy and thus will be more competitive in the global market.

In chapter six, the data analysis of the behavioural and cognitive words of the local actors, particularly MOE, policy advisors and INGOs representatives have also expressed the desire for the economic discourse of future education. Through their representation and legitimising of the above world view informed by notions of economic competitiveness, competencies and skills development and through their desire to re-structure the governance of education and teacher education, the MOE and policy advisers have established a theoretical connection with the content of the literature review of this thesis. This literature covered the neo-liberal political and educational ideologies, globalization of educational policies and their impact on education provisions, policy transfer, lesson drawing, the role of supranational organisations and their impact on the national policy making process. The deductive theoretical explanation to these influences can be described as *competitive adjustment,* which seems to be a form of self-coercive policy transfer. In this account, the state is seen as primarily attempting to boost its international competitiveness within an open global competitive economy. This trend is observed by Cerny (1997) who argues that transnational forces such as INGOs compel states to imitate successful competitors.

Central to the discussions and analysis in chapter 5 and 6 of this thesis was how the *policy learning* concept has influenced Somaliland's national education policy making process. Within this policy learning perspective the roles of the external factors in Somaliland's

national policy making were significant. For example, in analysing the discourse of the external factors in Somaliland's education reform process analysed in chapter 6, I observed that the external factors have informed and influenced the process of education and teacher education policy making. This was evidenced by the fact that most of the new discourses of education (such as marketisation, an economic view of quality in education, partnership and collaboration practices, decentralisation and audit initiatives) were presented by the national policy actors as resulting from the local-international interactions between the national education actors and external actors such as INGOs personnel's and globalisation of education practices. The national policy actors described the positive contributions of the external factors as the provision of knowledge and skills, financial resources and creating opportunities for them to network and connect to global policies and practice in education and teacher education. For example, when the national policy actors were asked to specify the menu through which they learnt from global practices, their responses created a long list that included attending seminars, workshops, receiving overseas scholarships, interacting with INGOs, external consultancies, Diaspora communities, internet, education journals, publications, external aid and bilateral relations. This demonstrated how the external sources have informed and impacted upon the development of the new discourses of education and teacher education in their contexts. Therefore, I take the position that these research findings contribute to answering my research question because they demonstrated the complex processes and origins through which the combination of encounters between the external and internal factors have informed and impacted upon Somaliland's education and teacher education national policy making process.

The above process of Somaliland's *policy learning* in order to inform the national policy making can be attributed to what Lendvai and Stubbs (2007) call *trans-nationalisation* and *translation* of social policies. According to them, social policies have become internationalized with important-policy making arenas existing at levels beyond the nation state. These trans-nationalised policy models have the tendency to travel across time and place and become globalised through formal conditionality of international financial institutions and through the soft power of global public policy networks. Lendvai and Stubbs (ibid) further state that a complex conceptual architecture has emerged under the umbrella of 'reform' constructed in the encounter with supranational bodies including the European Union, the World Bank and United Nations and its agencies, as well as in and

through encounters with a range of international non state actors, including NGOs and private consultancy companies (Lendvai and Stubbs 2007:173).

But, the paradigm of *policy learning* is a complex matter. In the literature review chapter Rose (1991, 1993), James and Lodge (2003), Philip and Ochs (2002), Dolowitz et.al (2000), Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) and Hulme (2004, 2005) have all highlighted the complex nature of lesson drawing, policy transfer and policy leaning. In their analysis of these concepts these authors have all emphasised the relationship between the *context* where desired policies occur and the *potential context to* which the policies are to be transferred. For example, they argue that policies that exist elsewhere are enacted with certain administrative, technological, economic, political, historical and national characters that are specific to that context. Therefore reforms with similar names can actually end up looking quite different because of contextual differences. Hence successful policy transfer needs to involve transfer of the enabling structures that support such policies.

I have also drawn attention in the literature review chapter section 3.1.2, to how the public policy making domain involves critical decision making (i.e. decisions of what to problematise, decisions of what information to choose, choices about options to consider, choices about options to select, choices about ends and means choices about how policy is implemented, and choices about methods of evaluation). When Somaliland's education and teacher education policy reconstruction is examined against these two complex processes of *policy leaning* and *national policy making process* the picture that emerges first suggests that policy decisions and options that imitate the policies and practices of the developed countries have been adopted with little consideration for the local context. This is evidenced by the factor that Somaliland's education and teacher education policy reconstruction primarily indicates neoliberal forces at work in education, i.e. increased marketisation and a special role for the private sector. Secondly, from the data analysis there was a strong indication that the informational or the intellectual basis for making policy decisions have been influenced by processes of policy learning from the West and this learning has been facilitated by the presence of many INGOs in the local context as well as by an active Diaspora sector.

But, considering the weak and contextual situations of Somaliland it is imperative to ask whether the versions of education policies and practices from the West are relevant to Somaliland. Unlike the developed countries Somalia and Somaliland contexts are

characterised by very poor and underdeveloped economy that mainly rely on foreign aid and Diaspora contributions. These combined dismal economies of Somalia and Somaliland are estimated to be around US $ 1.5 billion annually (UNDP 2007 and World Bank 2006) with a similarly low per capita income of about US $ 225. Other socio-economic indicators of the combined contexts of Somalia and Somaliland include poor governance, extreme poverty index of 43.3%, low GER of only 18%, literacy rate of 19.2%, high under-five mortality rate of 224 per 1000 live births, infant mortality rate of 132 per 1000 live births, acute shortage of qualified teachers, poor education equity and access and human development index of only 0.299 (UNDP 2007 and World bank 2006). Because of this low socio-economic status Somaliland has very different economic, administration, technology, and organisation, politic, social and education traditions than the West. Therefore unlike the developed economies Somaliland's education cannot support teachers' salaries and other specialised institutions that are needed to check the quality of its education. The government spends only 5% of its GNP on education and most of that is absorbed by teachers' salaries. In addition, with a human resource development index of only 0.299 it is difficult to provide the intellectual basis that is necessary to develop and implement such policies from the west. Currently the government mainly relies on external consultancies and INGOs' financial support to bridge this gap in the short term, but in the long run it is essential to have a developed local economy that can support the necessary infrastructure for the new education policies.

Secondly, Somaliland's policy learning process did not create a common strategic implementation vision among the main education and teacher education policy actors. For example, teacher educators were not happy about the proposed political governance of education and teacher education and the managerial discourses of reform implementation that were favoured by the MOE personnel and policy advisers. Similarly, MOE personnel and policy advisors were unhappy about the increased involvement of the INGOs in Somaliland's education policy making process. Therefore it can be argued that in Somaliland *policy learning* did not lead to the development of consensual knowledge among the local policy actors. This is because the four categories of education and teacher education stakeholders have displayed different positions, interests and discourse orientations. They have also tried to use different power resources at their disposal to influence and locate themselves in positions of advantage in the policy negotiation process. For example, the MOE personnel and their policy advisers advocated for a political mode of education and teacher education governance in which the state and its bureaucratic

machineries are the principal arenas of policy expression. The shortcomings of this strategy are that professional expertise can be blocked by politicians; it encourages the belief that regulatory processes can achieve desired outcomes and that actions at the centre can somehow yield results at the periphery and that national actions are always required for problems of multiple jurisdictions (Gideonse 1993).

The majority of the sample of the teacher educators interviewed expressed contradictory views to the above political mode of education and teacher education governance. This group advocated for institutional and professional modes of governance of education and teacher education i.e. increased autonomy of the professionals managing education and teacher education. The shortcomings with this strategy are that there can be a huge institutional variation in terms of capacity and status, thus leading to substantial variations in programmes and outcomes.

The fourth group actors - the international non governmental organisations (INGOs) supporting education and teacher education re-construction and, who can be described as external actors, favoured a third strategy of education and teacher education governance which is led by an independent professional body. Although this strategy sounds an ideal centre-periphery position, professional modes of governance can also present manifest interests, can be highly fractionalised with different hierarchies and status groups, and can also be unresponsive to public perceptions because of protecting professional vested interests (Gideonse 1993). In the context of Somaliland's national policy making process, these actors (INGOs) were found to be very influential and powerful in both policy making and policy implementation processes because they provided the resources and expertise that were necessary for developing and implementing education and teacher education policies and practices. They used this resource capital to access and influence the process of setting governmental agendas such as education and teacher education. Here the national government can be seen as accepting such power sharing because of the need to secure external financial resources and perhaps because such a position is driven by other perceived necessities such as the desire for international acceptance and the possibility of learning good policies and practices.

Thirdly, Somaliland process of policy learning is biased towards the West. Certainly it is apparent that the implications of neoliberal education policies in poor countries have not been sufficiently considered in the selection of policy options. In the literature review,

section 3.2.5, I demonstrated how the introduction of neoliberal education policies in low income countries such as Burkino Faso and Mexico have resulted into increased marketisation and inequalities in education provision. Other observed negative implications of the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) in these countries included reduced national sovereignty in policy making processes, erosion of national cultures, languages and identities.

Despite the above limitations it is significant to point out that this does not hinder Somaliland's policy makers drawing policy lessons, transferring policies or learning policies from the West because it lacks the economic, knowledge, technological and other organisational and infrastructure that supports such education in the West. However, it is imperative that while it can maintain the inspirational model of policy learning from the West there should be increased investment in the re-contextualisation of such policies so that they could be relevant in the local context.

In summary, it can be argued that the interactions of Somaliland local policy actors and the external factors constituting globalisation have triggered processes of policy learning in national education policy making. This was evidenced by the introduction of significant neoliberal education policies that were fed into Somaliland's national education policy making via the global networks such as INGOs that help to promote an international policy culture in education. However, because policies learnt by Somalilanders lacked serious contextualisation issues to suit to the local context it can be described as a form of '*shallow policy learning'*. In conclusion policy learning is both a strategic tool of enhancing national policy making processes as well as an integral part of *rational* national policy making processes.

7.2: Visibilities of the new policies implementation

Currently the implementations of teacher education reforms in Somaliland are in their earliest stage. In their current conception they look rather piecemeal and fragmented. In the interview text analysis, all the four categories of the new teacher education policy actors who participated in this research revealed significant challenges and constraints in the new reforms implementation. Some of the challenges identified were within their scope while others were beyond their scope. The main barriers identified by research participants included difficulties in creating a common vision among all the policy actors,

the weak capacity of the MOE, capacity inadequacy of teacher training institutions, difficulties in gender mainstreaming in teacher education, capacity inadequacy of schools, current teachers incapabilities, poor knowledge and expertise, overcoming individual and institutional resistance, lack of dedication and commitment on the part of teachers, learners and parents which undermines attempts to improve. Issues which had a direct impact in reform implementation but were outside their scope included political fragility, poor economy and unpredictable external assistance. Of these challenges the most observable at the moment is the tension between the MOE and teacher education institutions, in the sense that they presented two competing definitions of teacher professionalism. Based on these limitations, I now draw research recommendations that I believe could improve the implementation of the new reform policies.

7.3: Research recommendations

In relation to the above research findings, there are various implications that this research makes for the national education policy making system, international agencies that support the education sector, MOE leadership, teacher education institutions, head teachers and school teachers. It is my view that Somaliland education and teacher transformation will find it helpful to consider the potential merits of the following actions:

7.3.1: Policy making process and policy learning

There is a need to consider the process of education and teacher education reform implementations as part of a continuous policy making process. Currently there exists a mechanistic conception of policy implementation as a separate stage of the policy making process. In the literature review I have drawn on various theories of policy making and policy analysis processes. Some of these theories have focussed on the rational view of policy processes while others argued for less rational view of policy processes. Among all the theories examined, I found Kingdon's (1995) theory of policy making and policy analysis as the most inclusive in terms of taking into account the various perspectives of policy making processes. His theory presented policy making as a complex and continuous process where each of the various policy actors can continuously draw upon their power resources to influence policy negotiation processes. In this case policy implementation is seen as part of policy making process because policy implementers can use their own power resources to refract or re-create the initial policies.

7.3.2: Communication and coordination

The communication strategy of the new education reforms seems to be very inadequate. Therefore there must be a multifaceted communication procedure about the new vision of teacher education to all the stakeholders of the education system. In this respect, there is a need to articulate a robust communication and coordination mechanism between all the education policy actors including external actors. The government must lead this effective communication network and bring on board parents/carers, students, schools, teachers, teacher organisations, specialised education institutions and teacher education institutions.

However in order to bridge the ideological differences between the government and teacher education institutions there should be increased interaction and discussions between these two policy actors. The basis for the common understanding could be the approach which I earlier called the third generic model of providing support and good management for the competent and reflexive teacher.

7.3.3: Teacher education reforms

There are several aspects that need re-examination in this sub-sector of education. First, there is need to stimulate professional and organisational interaction between the MOE and teacher education institution. My use of CDA methodology has been a useful tool to uncover the ideological positions of the MOE personnel's and teacher educators in matters relating to knowledge construction, teacher professionalism, social identities and social relationships. There was explicit evidence from both policy texts and interview texts that there was contestation between MOE personnel and teacher educators in a wide range of issues relating to the teacher professionalisation project. These contestations were deconstructed and evidenced from the policy texts and interviews through CDA analysis that focused on the semiotic and linguistic use and ideological effects of the texts presented by the two policy actors. In this analysis I examined the lay outs, tones, expressions, and linguistic features of the texts in order to gain an understanding of the ideological positions, representation features and power contestations between these two policy agents. Improving the relationship, partnerships and collaborative working between these two key national policy actors can guarantee the long term sustainability and ownership of the reform policies. Once again the explanations and suggestions that I proved at the end of the previous communication and coordination recommendation could be also useful here.

Secondly, the new discourses in the desired competence model of teacher education such as evidence based training, standardisation of practices, technicalisation of the knowledge base, partnership and collaboration aspects and quality based on outcome issues are complex matters that need both high level professional and technical skills to develop. It is apparent that most of these practices are borrowed or are influences from high income countries that have adequate capital resources. In this respect there is need for more learning and more re-contextualisation of these aspects of teacher education in relation to the local context. All the teacher education stakeholders must invest more resources in order to provide more opportunities for learning policies that underpin the current teacher education reforms. This could include more postgraduate courses, seminars and workshops for policy learning about teacher education and the enabling structures that support it.

7.4: Research contribution

Despite the methodological limitations identified earlier, I believe that this thesis will provide an insight to the improvement of Somaliland's education and teacher education policy making processes. This thesis has demonstrated how the external sources such as INGOs and globalisation of education policies can inform and impact on the national education and teacher education policy making process. Policy perspectives of four Somaliland national education policy actors were connected to international perspectives of education and teacher education changes in order to provide an analytical understanding of how external sources influence the national policy making process. The theoretical tools of *policy making process*, *policy transfer*, *lesson drawings* and *policy learning* were used in the literature review to develop the research question that investigated how external sources inform and impact upon Somaliland education and teacher education policy making processes. All these conceptual frameworks have linked Somaliland's education and teacher education transformation to perspectives of international change. Through the deconstruction and analysis of both the education policy documents and the interview texts, the relationships of local-global perspectives were explored and established. It was evident that movements of ideas and practices have occurred through both deliberate acts of borrowing and learning, and through diffusion processes. Thus, these mechanisms have the ability to enhance the local decision making processes as evidenced by this thesis's research findings. However, the possibility of these mechanisms having the capacity to harm cannot be also ruled out because most of the desired reform aspects had a very

western version. This I mean that these policies were developed in high income countries. Contrary to this Somaliland is one of the poorest countries in the world. Therefore if these policies are not re-contextualised they could have the capacity to harm.

The thesis has also demonstrated how policy transfer can occur within the conception of policy learning. In the literature review Hass 1990 (referenced by Hulme 2005) argued that policy change cannot take place without policy learning and any departure from an existing policy involves policy learning on the part of the policy makers or the penetration of political objectives and programmes by new knowledge.

However, it is very difficult to differentiate the concepts of policy transfer and borrowing from the concept of policy learning. In general, this research has found out that the national epistemic communities can use external influences to develop generic international agendas in education and teacher education. Central to this role is the policy learning notion which is primarily about the use of knowledge to define and critically explore other policies and practices elsewhere so as to inform and refine the strategic direction of the local policy proposals (Dolowitz, et al referenced by Hulme, 2004). Therefore the theoretical perspectives of policy transfer and policy learning in policy oriented research which investigates how policy transfer informs national policy making process have the potential to trigger learning and can help break policy makers' habits and their tendency to look for continuity and stability in policy. In this way, the policy transfer framework provides an essential linkage which can explain policy change in education as the product of the interaction of three inter-dependent determinants i.e.: (1) policy oriented learning on the part of the significant policy actors within the educational state, which in turn leads to: (2) the refinement of the ideological basis of policy platforms, which in turn leads to: (3) changes in the systematic determinants of policy, such as movements in the global economy. Policy transfer is then both rational and an ideological strategy to deal with changing circumstances. Seeking workable, tried and tested, readily available definitions and responses from other countries and from the past is the means by which policy makers put their learning into effect. In summary, through local-national-global interactions Somaliland's local education and teacher education policy actors have established an ideological connection with global neoliberal ideologies of education, thus evidencing globalisation of educational policies occurring for primarily economic reasons.

Secondly, these research findings have advanced and supported the criticality of CDA in analysing modern social policies such as education and teacher education policies, where language and ideology are increasingly used to construct power relationships, social and professional identities. The analysis of these concepts is central to the theorisation of change resulting from new social policies. Through the analysis of the discursive practices, styles and shifting genres of policy texts and interviews positions, this methodological position has deconstructed meanings, experiences and understanding of both explicit and covert ideological assumptions behind the development of the new education and teacher education policies. It is through this critical ability of CDA that I demonstrated how the INGOs in the context of Somaliland have become active in political spaces once reserved as the domain of the state and its professional institutions and how these organisations (INGOs), structures and processes of globalisation have advanced the neo-liberal policies of governance and economic discourses

7.5: Conclusion

This thesis concludes that most of the policy texts examined (both written policy documents and interviews) support the influences of the external factor on national education policy formation and policy implementation. This is evidenced by the positive view of the INGOs' involvement in teacher education reconstruction and because there is strong evidence of international agendas in the local national policy actors' policy reform statements. In addition, the various texts of the four categories of research participants weave a picture of a common vision of education and teacher education transformation, which is the need to improve quality of provision. The dominant quality perception that is explicit in the education reforms is one been informed by an economic discourse as the following quotations indicate:

The government recognises the need for an education system that will provide the human resources required to match the economic growth of Somaliland in the next two decades and enable the country to realise its national vision (SLNEP, MOE 2005:3)
The vision of Somaliland is one of expanding the economy characterised by growth…the vision is also one of an economy in alignment with developments in an age dominated by advanced scientific knowledge and information technology (SLNEP, MOE 2005:3).

This thesis has acknowledged the role the Somaliland Diaspora community has played in terms of realising the above education and economic vision of Somaliland. For example, UNDP (2007) estimated the financial remittances from the Diaspora to constitute the

largest source of foreign exchange in the country, estimated at US$750 million to US 1 billion annually.

The above economic theme of Somaliland's education and teacher education reconstruction has created contradictory implementation strategies among the policy actors. These contradictory policy operationalisation strategies resulted from the very nature of what constitute quality and improvement and how best to achieve this desired quality. These contradictory implementation strategies also resulted from the nature of human beings to be in a relatively better position in terms of resources, power and status. In the context of Somaliland, the INGOs, due to their capital resources, and teacher educators, due to the nature of their position and their good relationship with the external factor, seem to be the dominant powers in the reform implementation process. The MOE and their policy advisers seem to be unhappy about their reduced role, but show high spirit and motivation to gain the upper hand in both policy formation and policy implementation in matters relating to teacher education transformation in Somaliland. As one senior MOE staff member out it:

S2: "I think their assumption is that we have a weak government structure, policies and practices and we cannot account for the money if directly given to us. In same way we also have so many questions about their operations. For example, most of these INGOs operate from their Nairobi Headquarters in Kenya. You can see an officer coming with an aeroplane to deliver a seminar and going back the next day. The resources which they actually use to deliver services are minimal compared to their administration, salary and other logistic costs involved in the projects"

Overall, using the Somaliland case this thesis has demonstrated how national policy making is partly shaped by lesson drawing, policy transfer and policy learning. This was evidenced by the infiltration of the neoliberal education policies of "*market"* into Somaliland's education policies without much contextualisation. But, considering the weak capacity of contextual situation in Somaliland in terms of poor of economy, administration, technology, organisation, political and social conditions which were described in sections 2.1.5 and section 7.1.3 of the thesis there is high possibility that this form of shallow policy learning could result negative implications. These implications could be similar to those observed in section 3.2.5 of the literature review chapter. For example, in both Mexican and Burkino Faso contexts the adoption of market-oriented policies in education have led to increased inequalities in education, increased unemployment, alienation of local cultures and languages, widespread social conflict and decreased national sovereignty. Therefore this thesis calls for increased indigenisation and contextualisation of the policies learnt by Somaliland from the West. Countries such as Korea, Japan, India and China are examples of counties that have re-contextualised the

global knowledge-based economy and as a result have made a remarkable progress in their economies and levels of development. Therefore there is potential in learning lessons from these countries.

7.6: Suggestions for further research

While it focused on teacher education transformation, this study has aimed to provide a comprehensive view of the education reforms and how these reforms impact on teacher education and professionalism. Education reforms in Somaliland are multi-perspectival. They range from ideological shifts of educational philosophy; systematic reforms aimed to improve efficiency, accountability, quality, relevance, access and structural reforms that relate to changes in enabling structures that support education and the re-conceptualisation of teacher education and teacher professionalism. All these aspects of change have implications for the quality of education and teacher education transformation. This thesis has provoked a number of aspects of the reforms that warrant specific focused research. A particular, interesting field that can directly connect to this research is the exploration of teachers' and teacher organisations' views about the current education reforms. Initially I attempted to incorporate this issue within the scope of this research. In fact, during my fieldwork 15 teachers from 3 different schools in three different major provisional town of Hargiesa, Burao and Borame were interviewed. However, I later found it difficult to manage the scope of the data and the research and after consultation with my supervisor; I decided to limit the scope of my thesis to the views of the MOE personnel, policy advisers, teacher educators and the INGOs representatives that support teacher education. This research could be conducted with the same methodological frame work in order to provide a comparative view of the school teachers with those of the teacher educators and the MOE policy actors. In such a study it would also be important to include both the older teachers' views and the younger teachers' views because of the perceived differences of their professionalism by the MOE personnel and teacher educators.

Other areas that this thesis has highlighted but that need more research in order to properly inform local policy decisions include the aspects of the INGOs using the bulk of the financial aid resources for the professional development of the existing teachers rather than rejuvenating the teaching profession by recruiting new young entrants into the teaching profession and the issue of gender mainstreaming in teaching profession because currently female teachers in primary schools only constitute 14% of the teaching force. The situation is even worse in secondary and higher education institutions.

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Appendices

Interview questionnaires schedule for: MOE personnel and NG0s representatives

Participants: Ministry of Education personnel, policy advisers and NGOs representatives.

Section one: Background information

1. Could you please tell me your name and professional background?

Section two: About the wider educational reforms ***(****MOE personnel & policy advisers only)*

2. What is the most important thing that that you want the education system in Somaliland to achieve? (*Prompts second and third options)*

3. What aspects of the education system did you wanted to change during the reform process? (*Prompts1: how did you intend to achieve these changes? Prompt 2; why?*

4. Can you identify the most important strategy for managing these large scale education reforms?

Section three (a): Resource provision for the reforms (*MOE personnel & policy advisers only)*

5 Where did you secure the resources for the reforms?

6 Can you identify the main INGOs or countries that contributed resources to the education and teacher education reforms?

7 What types of resources did they provide ?(Prompts i.e. forms of the resource provision)

8 How can you describe your working relationship with the INGOs that support the education sector?

Section three (b): NGOs personnel questionnaires version (NGOs representatives only)

1. Can you describe the nature of education support your (name of organisation) provides to the Somaliland's public education provision? (prompts types and form of the resources provided)

2. Why is it not possible to directly support the MOE budget in your resource contribution?

3. What could be the impact your organisations' (name of the organisation) external aid on the national educational education policy making?

4. Did your organisation (name) play any role in teacher education policy development?

5. What role is your organisation (name) playing now in teacher education policy implementation?

6. How can you describe your working relationship with the ministry of education?

7. What are the main challenges you anticipate in implementing the new teacher education policies?

Section four: Teacher education policy development and future professionalism
((*MOE personnel & policy advisers only)*

9 Can you briefly describe the process of teacher education policy development? *Promts: (consultation process, inclusiveness, policy actors*)

10 What aspects of teacher education did you wanted to change? *(Prompts why did you wanted to change, What influenced or inspired you most to initiate the changes)*

11 How can you describe the impact of global influences on your teacher education policies and practices?

12 What vision of teachers did you had in mind during the teacher education policy development?

13 What is your view of an ideal future teacher?

14 How is quality assured in teacher education programmes?

15 How are the new policies relating to teacher education different from the previous ones?

16 What implication did the new teacher education policies had on the teacher training institutions?

17 What is the current status of the demand and supply of primary and secondary school teachers in the country?

(Prompts: what is the best way to overcome the acute shortage of teachers in the short term & long term?)

18 What are the main problems facing teachers in Somaliland?

19 What are the main challenges you anticipate in implementing the new teacher education policies?

Interview questionnaires schedule

Faculties of education lecturers (Amoud and Burao University)

1. Could you please tell me you name and professional background? (*prompt current job with the university)*

2. In your view how can you describe the relationship between the teacher education institutions and the Ministry of Education?

3. Can you identify the main sources of finance to the faculty of education?

(Prompt1: relationship between the faculty of education and NGOs that support teacher development and utilisation)

4. In your view does the external aid influence teacher education programmes (prompt1: how?

5. In your view, what is the most important thing that you want education system in Somaliland to achieve?

6. Can you identify the three most important policy documents that guide teacher education in Somaliland?

(Promt1; how are these documents useful; prompt 2; views and comments on the process of teacher education policy paper development..

7. What implications did the new teacher education policies had for teacher training institutions?

   (Prompt 1: how did you respond to the demands of the changing context?

   Prompt 2: how can you describe the level of commitment for the new teacher education policies to be effectively implemented?

8. What vision of teacher professionalism do you have in mind in your teacher training programmes*? (Prompt: what is your view of an ideal teacher?*

9. Did you change any aspect of teacher education programmes since 20005? *(Prompt: Why)*

10. Do you have any collaborative or partnership ventures with overseas institutions in terms of research and teacher education programmes?

11. What opportunities did you had in your current portfolio to further develop your professional career? (*Prompt: conference, themes of conferences, level i.e. national, local;*

Prompt2: how did it influence your professional practice?

12. How can you describe the impact of global influences on your teacher education programmes in the university?
13. How is quality assured in your teacher training programmes?

14. What is the current status of demand and supply of primary and secondary school teachers in Somaliland? *Prompt: what is the overall capacity of the faculty of education?*

Prompt 2: what is the best way to overcome the acute shortage of teachers?

15. What are the main problems facing teachers in Somaliland?

16. What are the main challenges you anticipate in implementing the new teacher education policies?

First sample interview transcription

Transcript interview with senior education personnel S2

Section one: Background information

5. Could you please tell me your name and professional background?

Section two: About the wider educational reforms ***(****MOE personnel & policy advisers only)*

R: What is the most important thing that that you want the education system in Somaliland to achieve? (*Prompts second and third options)*

S2: We want our schools and universities to produce students and professionals who can compete with the now highly competitive job markets

R: A part from been competitive in the job market what other characteristics do you desire the graduates to have?

S2: I think the point I made is from a national point of view. People pursue education with different aims and objectives; there might be some people whose first priority is not to get employment

R: but from your own perspective a part from been competitive in the job market what other characteristics do you want graduates to have?

S2: I want them to be respectful, polite and tolerant. The memory of the late 80's civil war is still fresh in our minds as much as we desire the economic role of our education; we also want the education system to contribute to social cohesion and prevention of conflicts. But I believe that the only way we can achieve these roles is to secure the future of our young ones. After finishing so many years of education and spending the small resources of families, if our children come back to the streets we will never create the society we want. We want an education that can lead our children to employment and economic well being. What fuels crime and war is poverty. So the question is how can we eradicate poverty through education

6. What aspects of the education system did you wanted to change during the recent education reform process? (*Prompts1: why, how did you intend to achieve these changes? Prompt*

S2: We have realised that the world was quickly changing. In order to cope up with it, we had a holistic review of the most aspects of our education system including curriculum, teacher education, policy making process, administrative and organisational structure, financing, budgeting and evaluation procedures
R: the changes you mentioned cover the whole education system including the institutional structures that support it, why do you think it was necessary to do all that?

S2: we had to, because we wanted to improve the quality and relevance of our education by developing good policies and by making our goals of education reflect the aspiration of our nation

R: what do you consider to be the aspiration of the nation?

S2: to come out of this abject poverty that "improvishes" our nation through education

R: How do you think that is possible?

S2; I believe, if I am not wrong you come from UK, how do think they managed it. I believe it's through education that they developed their industries, businesses and their social well being. I don't understand why we could not. People make excuses that this is Africa and that... yes..that is rubbish, if they can we can also

R: What types of education do think is capable of doing that

S2: today no one wants a theoretical education. We want a practical education that can produce practically talented graduates; graduates that can use their skills to compete with the rest of the world, graduates that our employers and businesses need. Today, in this world no one want know whether you have a degree or nor not the basic criteria is whether one can do the job effectively and efficiently.

R: how long do you think that will take you?

S2: um, I think, if we think in that line we will never achieve anything. To me what matters is are we in the right truck, do we have the right policies and practices in place. No matter how matter how long it takes to us, I believe if we show patience, commitment and dedication we will achieve our dreams.

20 Where did you secure the resources for the reforms?

The government's financial contribution to these reforms was minimal. This is understandable because we all know the status of our economy. The bulk of the financial resources were provided by the European Union through international non governmental organisations.

R: how do intend to achieve the changes in education that you have highlighted

S2: *We have already updated and improved the quality of the content and methods of delivery of what is taught in our primary and secondary schools and we are continuously reflecting upon them as things continue to develop. We are also in the mid of improving structures that support the new reforms and we are optimistic things will be better in near future*

R (prompt): can you please say a bit more how the methods of delivery have been improved

S2: *The European Union has funded the SCOTT project. All our local universities are receiving funding to improve the professional development of our teachers through seminars, workshops and residential training during the school holidays.*

7. Can you identify the most important strategy for managing these large scale education reforms?

S2: For these changes to happen there must be adequate resources available to the people who want to affect changes. I think the current resources available to the education sector limits the ability of the people, if human beings do not have incentives to work then their productivity falls. You see there is no point of telling people to do this and that, …change behaviours and practices, and when whey tell you where is the means to do the work you have no answer for them, it makes both your life and their life difficult. Sustainable good quality education will only depend on the government's ability to create sound macroeconomic policies that can enhance the development of the local economy. I suspect the implementation process will be an uphill task unless the economy changes for the better. We can not rely on the INGOs financial support in the long run.

R: what about the roles of the teachers in the reforms?

S2: *The new role of the teachers is one the most prominent feature in the new reforms. For example, when we ratified the Somaliland national education policy paper, we immediately imparked on the development of the national teacher education policy paper, this document represents a comprehensive policy frame work for our teacher education development*

Section three: Teacher education policy development and future professionalism
((*MOE personnel & policy advisers only)*

21 Can you briefly describe the process of teacher education policy development? *(prompts: consultation process, inclusiveness, policy actors*)

Teacher modernisation was an integral part of the wider education reforms. In fact I can say that it was the core of the education reforms. There was a wide recognition that teachers in Somaliland lacked the necessary teaching skills. There have been a lot of problems in the last two decades that prevented teachers from upgrading their professionalism. In fact, because of this every year we miss our targets of the millennium education development goals. The problem is not only the quality of the teachers but also the quantity of teachers in public service. The international community is aware of this. In 2005 we submitted a proposal to European Commission for funding, specifically targeting teachers. I am happy to say that our bid was successful. However, the funding was channelled to us though the INGOs, mainly UNESCO and others. With the help of these INGOs we generated a baseline survey that included parents, students, teachers, businesses, industries, universities and other government bodies. This base line survey defined what was to be included in teacher education and the type of teaches most desired.

22 What aspects of teacher education did you wanted to change? *(Prompts why did you wanted to change, What influenced or inspired you most to initiate the changes)*

S2: *Many changes were sought, but the main focus was to change the traditional way in which teachers delivered curriculum to learners.*

23 How can you describe the impact of the INGOs and other globalisation influences on your teacher education policies and practices?

S2: *Yes, I believe that we have not been doing things in isolation. For example, in constructing our current teacher education system we have used modern new approaches to affect change of the traditional ways of training teachers. The INGOs has been remarkable in this field both in terms of providing new training and sponsoring teachers abroad to attend seminars and workshops*

24 What vision of teachers did you had in mind during the teacher education policy development

S2: Our objective was to have active teachers who are engaged with current educational issues, understand the national education goals and priorities and contribute to the process of curriculum development and school improvement as a whole.

R: how do you think such teachers are to be developed?

S: through appropriate training, I believe that you can improve the quality and the effectiveness of the teachers. Our teachers need new skills that can promote active learners that are productive.

25 How is quality assured in teacher education programmes?

S2: as at the moment, I can say that our quality assurance system is very poor. We only rely on the universities certification of students' teachers passing exams and being awarded to teaching degrees. But in the near future when the new teacher education policies are implemented the situation will be different because universities are expected to change many aspects of their teacher education programmes. In future the quality of monitoring measures will be more inclusive than it is today because many stakeholders want to know in detail what these universities are offering to award qualified teacher status

26 What implication did the new teacher education policies had on the teacher training institutions?

S2: the new teacher education policies have mandated teacher training institutions to change their selection criteria, reform their curriculum and training in order to promote child centred teaching and learning methods. In addition they have been instructed to establish more partnership and collaboration practices with schools in their teacher training programmes. The implications have been far outreaching; in near future there will be changes in the quality assurance and funding criteria systems. The new policies have proposed the creation of teacher education unit which in the near future will manage all aspects of teacher development and teacher utilisation. However, our resources to establish quickly this institution are limited and it might take time to be effective

27 What is the current status of the demand and supply of primary and secondary school teachers in the country?

S2: you can't imagine how bad the situation is. There is no school in Somaliland be it primary or the secondary that is not struggling to recruit qualified teachers. The demand is too high because of the acute shortage of teaches at all levels. The worst is secondary schools specially Sciences, Maths, and English teachers. The only institution currently producing secondary teachers is Amoud University; there supply is also very small

compared to the existing demand. The INGOs have tried their best to bridge the gap, especially in the training of female teachers, but that is just a drop in the ocean

(Prompts: what is the best way to overcome the acute shortage of teachers in the short term & long term?)

S2: *We significantly want to expand the existing capacity but we are faced with three main problems. First there is no adequate trained man power to facilitate the expansion process, secondly it is increasingly becoming difficult to attract well qualified candidates in to teaching profession, thirdly the resources we have are inadequate, uncoordinated and unreliable. But despite these challenges we are committed to get every child in Somaliland a well qualified teacher. It's their fundamental right for them to have. What we need is to significantly expand the existing capacity. However, INGOs that support us financially want to concentrate on in- servicing teachers who are already in the field. This is not a bad idea but where does today's priority lies*

R: did you raise your concerns with the INGOs?

S2: yes, but they say this is how the projects moneys are funded and allocated and they cannot change the criteria.

28 What are the main problems facing teachers in Somaliland?

S2: Poor remuneration, heavy work loads, low status, un-conducive learning environments, lack of adequate learning resources, inadequate professional development opportunities and so on.

29 What are the main challenges you anticipate in implementing the new teacher education policies?

S2: many, as I told you before our resources and capacity are limited and there is lack of qualified teachers to implement the new policies. Teacher education institutions also have got their own limitations because there is adequate shortage of personnel with the necessary expertise and knowledge to immediately change the situation. The worst is that we solely depend on external funding that is uncertain. If today the INGOs say good by then it's a dead end.

Section four: Resource provision for the reforms (*MOE personnel & policy advisers only)*

30 Can you identify the main INGOs or countries that contributed resources to the education and teacher education reforms?

The education financial aid package from the European Commission was provided through a Consortium that included many international organisations; they included UNESCO, UNICEF, CFBT, Save The Children Fund UK, African Education Trust and many others.

31 What types of resources did they provide ?(Prompts i.e. forms of the resource provision)

S: mainly financial resources and technical support. First, they funded the initial education reform consultation process. It's through this dialogue that we developed our new education initiatives. Their financial, knowledge and logistical contribution to this process was a valuable asset for us. It's through their technical support, training and capacity building that we have recovered from the post conflict transition period. A part from the financial support they have also improved the capacity of our Ministry of Education in designing, monitoring and evaluating projects. They have also improved our administration and financial standards. Each department of our ministry is now required to develop performance indicators, set targets and monitor the performance of the areas of its jurisdiction. INGOs have also contributed in improving our teacher education system, renovating schools, provision of teaching and learning resources. The only problem is that there are so many INGOs involved in this process that it's difficult to see the whole picture in a coherent way.

R: tell me a bit more in relation to the aid money how do these INGO actually position themselves in giving financial assistance to the Ministry of Education?...I mean who controls what and what are the defined responsibilities of the different groups?
S: first, they are the ones who control how this financial aid is to be used. When the Somaliland national education policy paper was passed by the parliament, there was an implementation consortium that was created which included six INGOs, MOE and local universities. There were different roles for the members of this consortium. For example, our main role was to ensure that we harmonise different actions of different players with the national education reform policies and priorities, facilitate the implementation of actions by ensuring that Regional Education Officers and other education institutions are supportive of reform actions. The INGOs took the overall coordination and management of the reform projects, in terms of financial disbursement, financial auditing and fulfilling reporting requirement to the European Commission. In general, I could say that because the bulk of the financial aid money went to SCOTT project (Strengthening Capacity of Teacher Training) the INGOs mainly worked with teacher education institutions to improve the quality of the teachers

32 How can you describe your working relationship with the INGOs that support the education sector?

S2; first, we really appreciate and acknowledge their contributions, however, we prefer if they can change their system of operation. There active role has several disadvantages; firs, it makes people feel that change is something being imposed upon them, secondly' these INGOs hire so many international staff and that makes many locals uncomfortable, specially when there are limited chances of employment in the country. And more importantly it's difficult to coordinate and see results when there are so many leading players. We now believe that our Ministry of Education has now the capacity to lead and manage all aspects of the education reforms so we are appealing all the donors to support our budget rather than providing projects themselves.

33 Why do you think that INGOs are not providing direct ministerial budget support?
S2: I think their assumption is that we have a weak government structure, policies and practices and we cannot account for the money if directly given to us. In same way we also have so many questions about their operations. For example, most of these INGOs operate from their Nairobi Headquarters in Kenya. You can see an officer coming with an aeroplane to deliver a seminar and going back the next day. The resources which they actually use to deliver services are minimal compared to their administration, salary and other logistic costs involved in the projects.

Second Sample: interview transcription

Transcription interview with policy advisor P4

1. Could you please tell me your name and professional background?

P4:

2. What is the most important thing that that you want the education system in Somaliland to achieve? (*Prompts second and third options)*

P4: I want an education system that can transform our standards of living. Education in African continent has done very little to reduce poverty, diseases and standards of living. Our priority currently, is to invest in education in order to raise our standards of living. If the knowledge and skills of our graduates cannot perform this role then there is something wrong with the education system.

3. What type of education do you think can perform this function?

P4: The problem with our education system is that everything is theoretically oriented. In our current education reforms we have attempted to change this position because in modern world only technologically driven education can perform this function. The content and curriculum of our education system now aims to create human resources that have the capabilities, knowledge and skills to compete with the rest of the world. Our curriculum in schools and colleges now pays more attention to employment needs of the industries and businesses

4. What aspects of the education system did you wanted to change during the reform process? (*Prompts1: how did you intend to achieve these changes? Prompt 2; why?*

P4: We wanted to change the pedagogical preparation of the pre-service teachers; their subject training and their relationship with the community and other professionals.

5. Why did you wanted to change the pedagogical preparation of the teachers?

P4: because we wanted to introduce teacher education programme that help candidates to develop transferable skills

6. Can you identify the most important strategy for managing these large scale education reforms?

P4: I personally believe that building capacity of the MOE, educational institutions and schools is priority number one for these educational reforms to be achieved. To bring about the sort of large scale reform needed in the quality of teaching and learning requires a considerable capacity building effort and not just a matter of training few people. There is a need to create a critical mass of change champions across the public administration and education system.

7. What about the roles of the teachers in the reforms?

P4: I believe the provision of quality education depends on the quality of the teachers. You can have the best education policies in the world, but if you do not have high quality teachers to implement changes in schools and classrooms you are just fooling your self

8. How do you plan to improve the quality of the teachers?

P4: Most countries are now changing the traditional way of teacher training. We wanted to increase and improve the practical aspects of teacher education so that teachers are more able to solve problems in schools.

9. Can you briefly describe the process of teacher education policy development?
   Promts: (consultation process, inclusiveness, policy actors)

P4: before this policy paper there was the development of the Somaliland's education policy paper, which really took a lot of time to develop because there has been changes of Ministry of Education in number of times. This policy paper defined what Somalilanders wanted from education at all levels. When we defined what we wanted from education, the next step was to review teacher education in order to get the right teachers to achieve our education goals. The process of the review was initiated by our MOE, we have also hired external consultants from Uganda to help us in the in the development of this policy paper. We first discussed many issues affecting teacher education with school teachers at district level, parent's students and businesses. After that there has been series of high level meetings between civil servants in the MOE, teacher education institutions, and other government ministries like planning, natural resources and many others. Both local and international INGOs were also involved in the final consultations. I think the whole process took about seven months.

10: What aspects of teacher education did you wanted to change? *(Prompts why did you wanted to change, What influenced or inspired you most to initiate the changes)*

P4: We wanted to change both the structure that supports teacher education system and also re-construct teacher education system. Our teachers lack the skills and knowledge to affect changes. In order to improve the quality of teacher education and teacher professionalism we wanted to change many aspects of teacher education. This included changing the theoretical academic orientation of teacher training to a model that is more practical in terms of skills application rather than knowledge transmission; providing relevant knowledge base for the teachers so that they are effective in delivering the new schools curriculum; increasing the teaching practice period; introducing teachers to modern technology in teaching so that they can network more with other professionals that are involve in education as well as provide good learning environments; we also wanted to give more roles to schools in participating teacher education. Generally we wanted to improve the quality and effectiveness of our teacher education.

11: How can you describe the impact of global influences on your teacher education policies and practices?

P4:first, international donor agencies have constantly pressurised as to provide quality basic public education to all children. But I want say that its not there pressure that we are struggling to improve the quality of education we give to our children but as our primary responsibility…yes you can say that they have contributed in this sense, because they provide the funds to train teachers…look at the SCOTT project both their financial and

knowledge input has been valuable. Teachers who are exposed to this training are now more effective and passionate in giving quality education to children.

12: what areas did you notice teachers improving their professionalism.

Traditionally teachers in Somaliland because of their training never use to involve parents, community and other educationists in their work but now for the first time parents are playing active role in the education of their children, teachers are more supportive in improving schools and other initiatives that makes schools attractive to young people.

13: What vision of teachers did you had in mind during the teacher education policy development?

P4: Teachers, who are committed, efficient and productive and have the right skills and knowledge necessary for the realisation of the development goals of the nation. Since independence very little has changed in teacher education. But now there are a lot of expectations from the teachers therefore they have to be accountable and change the traditional teaching and learning practices. We understand the situations under which they work, but things are the same for all the government workers; poor salary in difficult work environment. In order to overcome this difficult circumstance teachers should show leadership and collective responsibility to support changes. What we are struggling is the future of our children.

14: How quality is assured in current teacher education programmes?

P4; quality assurance in teacher education was a major issue in the meetings and consultation processes of the education reforms. Teacher education institutions and educators were heavily criticised for the poor quality of the teachers they produced and the mechanisms they used to check the quality of their graduates. The poor quality of teachers in our schools itself is an indicator that the system is a failure. Good teaching needs to be planned, monitored and evaluated in order to ensure accountability of responsibility. In future the proposed teacher education unit will ensure the quality of teacher education and teacher utilisation in schools

15: Where did you secure the resources for the reforms?

P4: the international community has been helpful in education reconstruction, particularly in the field of teacher training. INGOs were deeply involved in the production of education reform policy documents. They provided the necessary resources that our government could not provide. The problem is that because they provided the resources they could not allow the Ministry of Education the autonomy to implement policies. There attitude was that the Ministry of Education lacked the capacity to do things correctly, they therefore concentrated a lot of resources in building the capacity of the ministry. There was also little consistence with the operational nature of the various INGOs who were involved in the process of reconstruction

16: Can you identify the main INGOs or countries that contributed resources to the education and teacher education reforms?

P4: there are few countries that have given as direct external financial assistance to our government and Ministry of Education. For the past few years the ones I can remember

are Britain, USA, Denmark Sweden, Italy, Finland and Australia. However, the Scott project is the main education aid we have so far received from the Donor community and is mainly for improving the quality of the practicing teacher

17: What types of resources did they provide? (Prompts i.e. forms of the resource provision)

P4: Mainly financial resources.

18: What is the current status of the demand and supply of primary and secondary school teachers in the country?

P4*: the demand for teachers at all levels of education is a major issue we face; and the problem is more complicated then many people think because no one wants to make teaching as career. Nowadays people point fingers to teachers when they are passing streets because of the status they are in. there are many teachers who do manual unskilled labour during the school holidays and weakened to make ends meet.*

19: What is the best way to overcome the acute shortage of teachers in the short term & long term?)

P4: very difficult to change the situation. It has reached its worst level. The Ingo's have provided some incentives to attract teachers especially girls to teaching profession, but the drop out rates are very high. I think they have to be very careful the people they give scholarships. There is no other solution, I think we have to keep on trying to recruit more young teachers because other wise in the next five years when most of the old teachers reach their retirement age we will have no option but to close all schools. This is the reason why so many schools are now using un-qualified teachers to manage the situation. I think we should target also this group if we can train them while they are working in schools

20: What are the main problems facing teachers in Somaliland?

P4: the real problem is low salaries and I am afraid there is very little we can do about it.

8 What are the main challenges you anticipate in implementing the new teacher education policies?

P4: the main problem is lack of resources to make changes. Our economy is poor because of many factors, the Ingo's resources are also unreliable and there is also a danger of potential collapse and alienations of the local expertise in the long run if the INGOs do not value our local expertise and consultancy. Already the creation of Somaliland consultancy forum is an indication of response to the domination of foreign consultants. We need to balance local talent and foreign assistances. Thirdly, there is one main misconception the INGOs that support us have. They are pre-occupied with the issue of basic education and education access. They are very reluctant to invest in higher skills development which can make difference to our national economic status.

Third sample interview transcription

Transcript interview with INGOs representative N1

1. could you please tell me your name and professional background

2. Can you describe the nature of education support that (name of organisation) provides to the Somaliland's public education provision?

N1: our major areas of involvement and achievements include capacity building for the Ministry of Education, curriculum development, educational materials production, teacher training support, support for children recreation, advocacy and community mobilisation.

3. How do carry out these activities?

N1: We operate at different levels in different ways. In our initial phase of operation we conducted a needs assessment of the Ministry of Education and based on these findings of the assessment we initiated a training programme for the Ministry of Education officials and provided support materials.

4. There are so many INGOs that are currently claiming to be involved in projects that are designed to improve the capacity of the Ministry of Education how do you work with them?

N1: There are many departments at the Ministry of Education. Our organisation mainly concentrates on providing technical and material support to the department of curriculum and training and the department of non formal education

5. You talked about your organisation been involved in teacher education. What is the nature of your operation in this field?

N1: Our organisation is the lead implementing agency of the teacher education policy reforms. On behalf of the other organisation, we do all the overall coordination and management of the projects and directly make reports to the European Commission Specifically we also cover teacher education projects in Togdheer region. There are also other organisations involved in the implementation process that cover the other regions of Somaliland. SCOTT project is designed to cover all the implementation aspects of teacher education reforms.

6. What are the main components of this SCOTT programme?

N1: it includes four inter related projects in the field of teacher education; up grading the professional competence of serving teachers, re-addressing gender imbalances in teaching force, establishing mechanisms for effective coordination of continuous teacher development and ensuring that there is unified teacher education curriculum among the local universities.

7. how do you actually carry out teacher training programmes

N1: we don't do it ourselves. We work in collaboration with Burao University. Our aims are to strengthen the capacity of this institution as well as provide incentives to high school graduates who want to pursue teaching career in primary education. For example, for the last two years we have provided scholarships to all the female entrants to teaching in the university. The first cohort will soon graduate and we will monitor their performance. We will also help them to stay and teach in public schools.

R: Why are you only concentrating in primary school teachers while there is more demand of secondary school teachers and higher education professionals?

N1: First the institution that we have been allocated to work with currently produces only primary teachers. Secondly, the focus of the international community support to Somaliland currently focuses on quality basic education for all children. But it's possible in future if the capacity of the university improves and they want us to support them in this areas its something that we can look into

8. in which ways do you build the capacity of the university that your organisation works with

N1: first, we arrange residential professional development courses and seminars for the primary school teachers during the school holidays. This involves paying their accommodation, food and subsistence cost. Secondly, we pay the university lecturers during this period and this payment really supplement's the meagre wages that the university provides. Thirdly, there are other grants we make to the university in its running cost. More importantly, we pride technical support to the university in terms of teacher education curriculum development, administration and leadership development. We also provide professional development opportunities to lecturers in the faculty of education although this provision is currently very limited.

9: I am still interested to know more about how your organisation has contributed to teacher education curriculum:

N1: When the SCOTT teacher training programme was adopted, the implementation consortium which we are the leading agent has sponsored a teacher education curriculum development panel. This panel included indigenous educationists, representations from the four participating teacher training institutions, representatives from the Ministry of Education and external consultants. The idea was to have a common teacher education curriculum and make teacher education programmes reflect the national goals of Somaliland's primary education.

9. what were the main features of this new curriculum

N1: I cannot remember everything in it now but there are copies of it in the university. You can contact the dean he will give you a copy.

10. in overall, what do you consider to be the most important contribution that you organisations has made to teacher education in Somaliland

NI: Our external guidance has helped Somaliland develop good teacher educational policies.

R: Can you specify these guidelines?

N1: for example, we have secured external consultancies and trainers to some of the local universities in pedagogical training. Our goals are to build the professional competencies of the teachers in Somaliland. One field we have really impacted upon is transformation of the rigid and unfriendly way of teaching students. We have involved in both pre-service and in-service training of teachers to promote the student- centred pedagogy, the modernization of teaching practice and many other aspects of teacher education.

R: What is your view of the future professional teacher?

N1: In my opinion the modernization of teacher professionalism should be based on the development of competencies. For example, the ability to work with knowledge in relation to the subject matter, pedagogical skills, ability to work with others, , ability to work with the society, ability to use information and technology in education and all these should be placed in the context of lifelong learning, flexibility, efficiency and accountability

11. How can you describe your working relationship with the Ministry of Education?

N1: Our relationship is good

12. Did your organisation (name) play any role in teacher education policy development?

Yes, we have been involved from the beginning of the reforms. We were involved in the process of the Somaliland National Education Policy and the subsequent teacher education policy. Actually the INGOs played a crucial role in the governments securing of the European education aid package.

13. What are the main challenges you anticipate in implementing the new teacher education policies?

N1: My view is that so far things are remarkably good; people are showing good commitment and dedication. However, the reforms that are proposed in the policy documents require a strong and stable government. Somaliland has not yet had any international sovereignty recognition; its resources are limited, the structures of the government institutions are weak. All these factors present challenges.

14. do you think that the INGOs independent and active operation and resource control is contributing to the weak capacity of the government;

N1: I believe no. I believe that we are positively contributing to it

15. do you think that in the near future it possible to directly support the MOE budget in your resource contribution rather than operating autonomously

N1: in future every thing is possible

16. What could be the impact your organisations' (name of the organisation) external aid on the national educational education policy making?

N1: we hope that our efforts will improve and modernise many aspects of Somaliland's education system. Global issues of quality, good inspection and performance are essential for the general education system to improve. We encourage many institutions and people to adopt these practices. In addition we encourage the government to decentralise its education functions so that the locals can effectively participate in education

Fourth sample of interview transcription

Transcript interview with teacher educator 1

1. Could you please tell me your name and professional background?

"My name is…, I was first trained as a teacher at Lafoole University, Mogadishu, Somalia. I then thought several secondary schools. After the civil war I have moved to Germany, where I studded for MA and later I moved and settled Canada before returning back to Borame

2. Tell me about your current job, with the University?

T1: I am a lecturer at the department of education studies

3. How long did you work as a lecturer in this department?

T1: 3 years

4. What are the professional development opportunities in your current job?

T1: the opportunities are very minimal here. Every year about two of our young assistant lecturers receive scholarship from the donor organisations to pursue post graduate studies in Kenyan Universities. Our focus now is to give priority to the young upcoming professionals because they are the ones who will soon take over from us. This is how we are planning to create self-sustainability in the long run

5. What could you say that have been the main challenges since you took up this post**?**

T1: Most of the lecturers in the education faculty specialise subject knowledge. Our department is acutely understaffed; we are only two in this department of educational studies. So our workload is extremely heavy. The other main challenge is that in our university there are three categories of teacher education courses. Primary teacher education, diploma and graduate studies. Traditionally we had separate pedagogical and subject training. However of recently, especially in primary education, which is mainly donor funded we have been told to adopt a new curriculum that integrates subject teaching with pedagogical training. These education courses are currently taught separately. This approach is a new to us, so in addition we have to train subject lecturers to teach also methodologies as part of the subject matter. There also many other problems for example, lack of adequate teaching learning resources, especially IT facilities.

6. In your view, what is the most important thing that you want education system in Somaliland to achieve

T1: There are many outcomes that we desire our educational system to produce. It's difficult to have any of these outcomes without the other. For example, we need students who are committed to scholarly work, lifelong learning and personal growth through critical reflection and self evaluation. It's only when students develop these skills that they can impact in other outcomes, for example, contribution to economic growth and social development as well as their own self development.

7. Can you identify some of the government steering documents or policy papers that guide your teacher education programmes?

T1: I am aware that of recently there has been reforms in the education sector. In 2006 we have been consulted as a department to give our views to the national teacher education policy. For me this policy paper is inadequate because it doesn't say much detail about many important issues about teacher education.

8. Are government directives useful to your teacher education programmes?

T1: I believe it is difficult for the government policy to provide adequate prescriptive guidelines about how to train teachers. It's the faculty's responsibility to design how to professionally educate teachers.

9. Tell me more about the process of teacher education policy development?

T1: we participated in the second phase of the consultation process. The first phase gathered information from regional and district education groups. We raised the points that we thought were critical to the expanding and improving the quality of the current teacher education programmes. We expressed our opinion about the role of education, teacher education system, teacher quality, management, regulatory framework and we based our decisions the holistic needs of the children rather than the economic politics of the government.

10. What implications did the new teacher education policies had for teacher training institutions?

T1: The recommendations were that the current teacher education system was poor and irrelevant and the suggestion was that we need to improve the quality of the teacher education.

11. How did you respond to the demands of the changing context?

T1: It's too early to say that we have reacted in this way because it's only one year since the new education policy paper was introduced and only few months since the teacher education changes were adopted in the teacher education policy papers.

12. Did you change any aspect of teacher education programmes since 20005?

T1: Yes, we have changed the modalities of the teaching practice. Our trainees now spend more time in schools in teaching practice. We have also diversified the context of the schools where each of the student trainees is to gain practical experience.

13. How can you describe the level of commitment for the new teacher education policies to be effectively implemented?

T1: No one is disputing that we need to improve things. But naturally people differs perceptions of what constitutes improvement and strategies of achieving it. The questions are how are we going to improve and do we have the resources that we re need to improve things.

14. Tell me about the current teacher education programmes at Amoud University?

T1: Currently we have three programmes running at the faculty of education. The first one is a four year degree programme that trains science teachers in secondary schools. This is where we believe that there is real need there in all secondary schools. Most of the candidates in this programme are self sponsoring. The other two programmes are funded by the STEP and SCOTT projects. The step project aims to produce teachers in secondary schools and it covers all the subjects. The difference with the degree course is that trainees have to break their studies after two years and work in government schools for minimum of two years before they come back to the university to complete their degree programme. The students in this programme get incentives from the INGOs to complete their studies. The SCOTT Programme mainly focuses improving the professional development of practicing teachers and is the one that attracts most of the INGOs money.

15. What vision of teacher professionalism do you have in mind in your teacher training programmes?

T1: Our teacher education programmes are grounded on the concepts of teaching profession that focuses knowledge creation; we aim to provide teachers with studies that guide them to considering themselves as considerable professional actors; make teachers a ware that they have rights and obligations to contribute to the development of education; their task is to facilitate different learners lo learn better; teachers have a strong societal function, and this perspective is integrated into our teacher education curriculum. We expect that teachers should be autonomous learners who engage in reflective practice, who assesses their own development needs, who engage in research who help to develop new knowledge and who can innovate

16. What is your view of an ideal teacher?

T15 *A modern professional teacher has to have the knowledge and learning strategies that are relevant to each of his or her pupils. Different learners require different teaching styles and all their needs must be catered for by the teacher… we train teachers to use child centred methods of teaching*

17. How is quality assured in your teacher training programmes?

T1: *We establish positive learning environment for each candidate. We make sure that all the candidates turn their knowledge and experiences to something valuable in their future professional life.*

18. But specifically how do you evaluate quality in your teacher education programmes?

T1: *Each lecturer designs his or her own course which student trainees have to undergo for certain specified time duration. Then, the lecturer set examinations for the candidates and there is specific pass mark which the candidates must attain for them to pass. The quality of these programmes and student passes are also monitored by the faculty of education management board and the university's senate.*

19. The policy documents indicate that teacher training institutions should adopt the competence model of teacher education and focus evidence based practices in teacher education and teacher professionalism. What is your view

T1: the answer to this question depends on what competence model and evidence based practice mean. In any teacher education system it's important that teachers are competent in subject knowledge and pedagogical skills. Therefore if these concepts mean way of ensuring high quality provision across the education system they are fine and good. Teachers need to be trusted and allowed to control their own professionalism in response to local needs. However, if these concepts mean something else then they need to be clarified.

20. What is the annual overall capacity of the faculty of education?

"The capacity of the intake depends on the number of the grant scholarships offered by the education sponsoring organisation. Initial we started with scholarships of 60 students, most of them girls. but now they are gradually increasing the number and there are also more boys now benefiting from the grants. There are also few BSc students who are self sponsoring.

21. How are the candidates selected for this programme?

T1: Candidates are selected from the annual results of the Somaliland secondary school examinations by a joint board comprising officials from the ministry of education and Amoud University. Each of the six regions of Somaliland is given an equal representation according to its population

22. What is the completion success rate?

T1: The completion rate for the boys is very good, however, traditional norms of marriage preference to careers still holds girls back.

23. Could you please describe the financial status of your department?

The budget of the university is centralised. There is no departmental or faculty allocation of funds. We ask the finance department what we want. Generally the university runs on tuition fees. This is supplemented by the grants and scholarships from the non governmental organisations, and Somaliland Diaspora communities.

24. What is your perception about the textbooks and other educational resources that your student's teachers use in their study?

T1: very inadequate both in terms of quality and quantity

25. How can you describe the demand and supply of qualified teachers in government public schools?

T1: The demand far much exceeds the supply. In fact qualified teachers in government schools are estimated to be about 40% the rest are unqualified teachers.

26. What is the best way to overcome the acute shortage of teachers?

T1: We have to increase the capacity of production, by expanding the current capacity of the existing teacher education institutions as well as establishing new ones. However the problem is that prospective teachers do not see teaching career as a worthwhile personal

investment. They only pursue teaching when they are sure that they will get a grant from the NGO's. Currently the NGOs pay both their tuition cost, and maintainace cost"

27. What are the main problems facing teachers in Somaliland?

Salary factor is the main problem hindering teacher professionalism in Somaliland. Every one should understand the degree of teacher professionalism that can be expected from teachers in Somaliland. Their pay is too low and because of this the inspectorate department cannot expect certain standards of professionals from them. Every time teachers are in class they are thinking not only how to give children good education but also whether there is lunch at home for their children. Because of this teachers have to supplement their income with other activities. I know so many teachers that operate small canteens, conduct evening tuition classes and many other related activities. These activities drain teachers' time and professionalism and eventually lead to deterioration of teacher quality and shortage of teachers. Such teachers cannot adopt changes.

28. In your view how can you describe the relationship between the teacher education institutions and the Ministry of Education?

29. Does your faculty have collaborative practices with NGO and other external institutions in terms of research activities and teacher education programmes***?***

T1: yes it does

30. What is your views on the donor approaches and involvement in teacher education

T1: Financial contributions in form of grants and students' scholarship awards from the INGOs are the main sources of our finance. Yes, we appreciate their financial contribution, scholarships and support. You know this is a young nation that has just recovered from a civil war. We couldn't have managed with out them. Although they have significantly reduced the number they use to hire expatriate lecturers for our teaching programmes and curriculum review programmes. We have also used their global networking and knowledge to partially overcome problems that is caused by our limited national sovereignty. For example, through their help we connect to overseas universities and other countries to exchange education programmes. We learn from the experiences of these visiting lectures, exchange ideas

31. What are the main challenges you anticipate in implementing the new teacher education policies?

T1: The new education reforms and teacher education reforms have put a lot of unfair pressure on teachers with out considering many circumstances that involve around the issue of teacher quality. No one is disputing that there is lack of adequate qualified teachers to implement the new policies. However, to solve this problem the government and the international donor community must address the conditions in which teachers work. It's very unlikely to implement the new policies in a sustained way if the employment conditions of the teachers are not sufficiently changed. But the problem is not only about teachers and teacher education the governments structure and mechanism that supports education system is also weak, corrupt and old fashioned. MOE needs to rejuvenate and renovate itself for it to contribute to the transformation process.