



Universiteit Leiden

MSC Public Administration

Master Thesis

Arturo Parra

S1575295

**The Influence of Leadership on Policy
Implementation: A Comparative Analysis
Between Pakistan and South Korea**

Supervisor: Dr. Brendan Carroll

Second Reader: Dr. Sarah Giest

Abstract

This thesis considers the adequacy of existing theories of implementation in relation to the education sector. In particular this study analyzes the difficulties of Pakistan (implementation failure) in trying to achieve policy goals, and the efficiency of the South Korean government (success implementation) in pursuing policy objectives.

The thesis argues that the best available model of policy implementation is the one proposed by Cerych and Sabatier (1986), however this thesis will also address the impact of leadership, a very important factor omitted in their work, in policy implementation. The research will hence present an alteration of the Cerych and Sabatier (1986) model.

Contents

Abstract	2
I Introduction.....	6
1.1 Thesis Topic and Justification.....	6
1.2 Central Research Question.....	7
1.3 Mexican Education Reform.....	7
2 Review of Implementation Literature	10
2.1 Top Down and Bottom up Models of Implementation.....	11
2.1.1 Thompson's Overhead Control Model.....	12
2.1.2 Sabathier and Mazamania Model.....	13
2.1.3 Elmore Models of Policy Implementation.....	15
2.1.4 Cerych and Sabathier.....	17
3 Theoretical Framework	19
3.1 Cerych and Sabathier Model.....	19
4 Methodology	21
4.1 Comparative Design.....	21
4.2 Case Selection.....	21
4.3 Credibility.....	22
4.4 Representativeness.....	22
5 South Korean Case.....	23
5.1 History of Policy Formulation.....	23
5.1.1 Economic Development Plans in South Korea.....	23
5.1.2 Chronological Analysis of Policies.....	24
5.2 Possible Causes for Successful Implementation.....	25
5.2.1 Centralization of Administration.....	25
5.2.2 Funding.....	25
5.2.3 Incentives to Teachers.....	26

5.2.4 Educational Reform Efforts in 1995.....	26
6 Pakistan Case.....	2930
6.1 History of Policy Formulation.....	30
6.1.1 New Education Goals.....	30
6.2 Possible Causes for Policy Failure.....	34
6.2.1 Vague Goals.....	34
6.2.2 Political Engagement.....	34
6.2.3 Governance Issues.....	34
6.2.4 Centralization Problems.....	36
6.2.5 Human and Financial Resources.....	36
6.2.6 Foreign Loans.....	37
7 Comparative Analysis	3839
7.1 Pakistan Analysis.....	40
7.1.1 Degree of Change.....	40
7.1.2 Clarity of Goals.....	44
7.1.3 Intervention of Fixers.....	47
7.2 South Korea Analysis.....	49
7.2.1 Degree of Change.....	49
7.2.2 Clarity of Goals.....	51
7.2.3 Intervention of Fixers.....	53
7.3 Between Case Comparison.....	56
8 Impact of Leadership in Policy Implementation.....	60
8.1 Leadership in Pakistan.....	60
8.2 Leadership in South Korea.....	62
8.3 Leadership in Mexico.....	64
9 Conclusion	667
10 References.....	69

List of Figures

Figure 1. Public and Private Education Spending	28
Figure 2. Literacy Rate in Pakistan 2015.....	33
Figure 3. Pakistan Corruption Rank since 2006.....	35
Figure 4. PISA mean scores by country for Reading, Mathematics and Science.....	50
Figure 5. Ratio of Lower Secondary Teacher’s Salary to GDP per capita in 2012.....	52

I Introduction

1.1 Thesis topic and justification

Strong economy and a society with solid inclusion characteristics are both characteristics of successful and well developed countries. If countries aim to achieve these important traits, a strong education system that facilitates the acquisition of knowledge from generation to generation is necessary.

From the early beginnings of human society education has been a key factor for the development of civilizations. The importance and relevance of education cannot be undermined. In fact it would be fair to say that without the existence of education most societies would struggle or perhaps fall apart. Education serves an important mechanism to achieve social unity and prosperity. It also plays a huge role on the self-sufficiency and financial independence of individuals, important characteristics required for the evolution of society. Education also enhances strong values needed for progress such as collaboration, citizenship and socialization.

There is a strong relation between education and the economy of a country. Countries that provide strong support to their educational institutions tend to meet the social, economic and cultural demands of the society they govern.

While most countries are aware that education is a very important component for success, several of them have failed to provide enough support to their respective educational institutions. This lack of embracement usually generates a negative impact among societies. The less educated individuals in a country, the less developed the country becomes. In addition, the less education in a country the higher the possibility that detrimental practices such as corruption will be present.

This thesis considers the adequacy of existing theories of implementation in relation to two different cases. In particular this study analyzes the difficulties of Pakistan (implementation failure) in trying to achieve policy goals, and the efficiency of the South Korean government (success implementation) in pursuing policy objectives.

The thesis argues that the best available model of policy implementation is the one proposed by Cerych and Sabatier (1986), however this thesis will also address the impact of leadership, a very important factor omitted in their work, in policy implementation. The research will hence present an alteration of the Cerych and Sabatier (1986) model.

Policies are not useful if the implementation process is not efficient. Proper implementation occurs when the conditions and objectives of a policy are satisfied. This thesis also states that leadership is vital in order to successfully achieve the goals of a policy.

Study of policy implementation is key to provide a general understanding of the undertaken steps in the implementation process. Chiefs of state, entrepreneurs and the public are interested in knowing how the implementation process takes place and how it can be improved.

The thesis analyses thoroughly many theoretical models of implementation. These theories are discussed on the literature review. One of the theories focuses solely on testing and evaluation of policies (Cerych and Sabatier 1986). This model will be used as a theoretical framework because of its usefulness in analyzing real world conditions.

President Peña Nieto stated that this is the education reform is the most important of all. The cases selected for this research provide illustration of the successes and failures of the implementation process in two different countries (Pakistan and South Korea).

The research provides a chance to identify a policy development in the implementation of the new Mexican education reform, which is quite new and has still big room for improvement.

1.2 Central Research Question

The work will focus around one central research question:

Does leadership influences the effectiveness of public policy implementation?

1.3 Mexican Education Reform

In 2013 President Enrique Peña Nieto pushed a major reform to the Mexican education system. The reform aims to improve the quality of education, to maximize the number of students attending high school and university, and to recover the rectory of the Mexican state in the national education system. In order to achieve the above mentioned goals of the reform five important policy implementations will be pursued (Secretariat of Public Education of Mexico, 2012). First, the creation of an autonomous institute in charge of evaluating the quality of education from kindergarten to high school (“Instituto Nacional para la Evaluación de la Educación”). Second, the establishment of a merit based civil service system (Servicio Profesional Docente) . Third, the creation of a new agency that collects data and statistics in order to allow the government to monitor the information of the education system (Sistema Nacional de Información y Gestión Educativa). Fourth, the promotion of autonomy in schools through relevant programs (Programa Escuelas de Calidad). And fifth, the establishment of functional programs to assure the implementation of full time schools (Estrategia Integral para la Mejora del Logro Educativo). Following each of the five policies will be described.

National Institute of Educational Assessment and Evaluation. (Instituto Nacional para la Evaluación de la Educación)

In Mexico the National Institute of Educational Assessment and Evaluation was created in 2002. The education reform granted autonomy to the organism in 2012 in order to develop a “strategic and unified vision of assessment and evaluation” (OECD 2015). The main mission of this autonomous institute is to control the process for teacher evaluation and to closely

assist the Ministry of Public Education (SEP) and other decentralized institutions in strengthening evaluation.

Professional Teaching Service (Servicio Profesional Docente)

The 2012 education reform also includes the new General Law of the Professional Teaching Service which aims to consolidate a professional teaching service for primary and upper secondary education. This new law establishes the criteria for selection, appointment and promotion possibilities for teachers. It features the National Teaching Post Competition which principal objective is to ameliorate transparency in the teacher recruitment process.

The main proposed policies for this new law are: A) to bring an induction process in the first two years of teachers' practice. B) to define the criteria for teacher evaluations C) to establish new incentive instruments and mechanisms in order to improve teacher's performance. Following these policies will be explained (OECD 2013).

The law requires teacher candidates to pass an open public selection process . If they succeed in passing the process, a mentor will be assigned to each of the teachers in order to supervise their performance for the first two years of their assignment and must obtain an approbatory evaluation to maintain their post. If teachers fail the first two evaluations individual coaching will be assigned and if they failed the third evaluation they will automatically be dismissed. Principals of upper secondary schools will be downgraded to the post of teachers if they fail the evaluation. This set of evaluations will be assisted and conducted by the National Institute of Educational Assessment and Evaluation.

A new technical assistance to schools will be provided in order to help teachers in evaluation practices. The assistance will be executed by school leaders and pedagogical advisors and will focus on improving the quality of education by identifying and working on the teacher's needs. The supervisors will assign teachers to programs that will satisfy their lacks and necessities.

National System for Education Information and Administration (Sistema Nacional de Información y Gestión Educativa).

This organism was formed in response to the need of clarifying and organizing available resources. The National System for Education Information and Administration was created in 2013 and counts with a database platform that includes all the existent information of the education sector (students, teachers and schools). The main goal is to provide assistance to schools and respective authorities in their educational planning and administrative duties.

Quality Schools Program (Programa Escuelas de Calidad).

This program serves as a financial aid mechanism that aims to improve educational planning in schools. Its sole purpose is to provide autonomy to schools and to “encourage shared decision-making among directors, teachers and parents through Social Participation Councils”(OECD 2010). Schools enrolled in the program design a Strategic School Transformation Plan (Plan Estratégico de Transformación Escolar). At first the financial

assistance will be used to improve the schools' infrastructure and subsequently it will be directed to teacher development.

The Comprehensive Strategy to Improve Education Achievement (Estrategia Integral para la Mejora del Logro Educativo).

This strategy has been designed to provide help to schools that obtained the lowest accomplishment grades in the National Evaluation of Academic Achievement of Scholar Centers (Evaluación Nacional del Logro Académico en Centros Escolares), the most important national student assessment that tests knowledge and abilities in basic education.

The program initiated as a 3 year strategy (2009-2012), and it mainly lies on two components: training networks for teachers and personalized capacity building at schools through mentoring (OECD 2009). The long term goal of this program is to promote the development and growth of full time schools in Mexico.

2 Review of Implementation Literature

As pointed out in the introduction, the main purpose of this research is to prove the notion that theories of policy implementation are not sufficient in bringing light to the relevance of leadership in the policy implementation process. This rationale is supported in this study by empirical work drawn from an analysis of existing implementation literature. This section of the literature review also aims to find connections between the results of the different authors findings and leadership.

In terms of pertinent literature to the policy implementation process, this research found that there are plenty of factors for efficient implementation of policy. Mitnick et al. (1984) believe that effective implementation process occurs when an incentive relationship has been established between the agents in charge of implementing the policies and the elected officials. The authors argue that an incentive can be defined as a motivation instrument, used by politicians or officials, that triggers a positive behavior and sympathy, from implementers, towards a goal or aim. Although Mitnick et al. mention that a healthy relationship between agents and officials is needed for successful implementation, they don't touch base on how leadership can enhance or deteriorate this relationship.

Another interesting perspective on what makes implementation process successful comes from Tummers and Bekkers (2013), which work offers a critique of Lipsky's book "Street-Level Bureaucracy, Dilemmas and The Individual in Public Services"(1980). Lipsky (1980) defines street-level bureaucrats as public agents that have face to face interactions on a regular basis with citizens and that frequently turn to the use of discretion when performing their work. In this regard, Tummers and Bekkers (2013) argue that existing literature has not developed research that studies the effects of discretion in successful policy implementation. The research main finding is that there are two effects of discretion. The first one is that "discretion influences client meaningfulness because street-level bureaucrats are more able to tailor their decisions and the procedures they have to follow to the specific situations and needs of their clients" (Tummers and Bekkers, 2013 pp. 541) . Therefore, discretion provides street-level bureaucrats with the possibility to apply their own judgements when trying to fulfil the necessities of the citizens. The authors also found that this discretion usually has a positive effect for clients, in this case the citizens. The second finding is that this positive effect that discretion has on the clients also has a positive effect on the implementation process "When street-level bureaucrats perceive that their work is meaningful for their clients, this strongly influences their willingness to implement it" (Tummers and Bekkers, 2013 pp. 541). The authors, however, omit to explain how leadership, from the top or from the bottom, can influence the use of discretion and hence its effect on policy implementation. On the other hand, Kaiser and Hogan (2006) argue that although discretion is needed for leaders to make positive contribution to the society, it can also result in detrimental results. The authors believe that discretion is influenced by the personality of the person exercising it and that

personality flaws such as greed or psychological issues can negatively impact the exercise of discretion, and therefore the implementation of a policy. These two studies are extremely important in the area of policy implementation because they open up a debate about whether discretion, at the top or bottom, is good or bad for the implementation of a policy.

Goggin et. al (1990) provide a very interesting perspective on an important factor in the policy implementation process: communication. The authors explain that effective implementation of policy is directly dependent on the efficient communication between the different layers of the government (mainly federal-state). However, Goggin et. al, also fail to include the aspect of leadership in the process of communication. Dewan and Myatt (2007) believe that there is a connection between leadership and communication. According to the authors, a great leader should possess excellent communication skills “Good judgement is wasted unless a leader can effectively communicate her message: increased clarity enhances the informativeness of this message... a clear communicator is a leader whose use of language leads to a common understanding of the message being communicated and the policy implications of that message” (Dewan and Myatt, 2007 pp. 2-3).

May (1993) findings are also highly relevant for policy implementers. The author believes that the policy formulators can facilitate the implementation of a policy by designing efficient mandates and that a lack of statutory coherence can be counterbalanced by a “mandate specification of facilitating features along with strong agency commitments to mandate goals” (May 1993, pp 654). May’s work is useful for this research because it demonstrates that legislators are key in achieving policy goals, in other words, it identifies legislators and policy makers as possible leaders in achieving policy objectives. However, May’s work lacks an explanation of what features and attributes should policy makers and legislators possess in order to come up with efficient mandates. At a later point in this study I will analyze the role of legislators in policy implementation and how leadership from policy makers is needed throughout the policy formulation process.

The following section will provide a general overview of the different policy implementation models relevant for this study.

2.1 Top Down and Bottom Up Models of Implementation

Implementation in the education sector is perceived as a combination of both top-down and bottom-up procedures. The top-down models indicate that the success of policy implementation relies mainly on the effectiveness of executive management. According to Kendal (2006), the top down view includes six major assumptions: 1) definiteness of a statute constructs implementation (implicitly or explicitly of law can affect implementation). 2) Proper jurisdictional reach. 3) Enough resources to confront the policy’s underlying causes. 4) Legal framework is functional in ensuring compliance by implementers (bureaucrats don’t pursue their own preferences). 5) Implementers can exhibit self-interest behaviors. Cooperation of implementers might be subject to incentives. 6) Economic situations can be detrimental to the implementation of the policy.

2.1.1 Thompson's Overhead Control Model

A characteristic model that illustrates the top-down model is the one developed by Thompson (Edwards, 1984). This model argues that there are two main provisions in the implementation process: statutory and oversight. These provisions consider four types of implementation: up for grabs, controlled, buffered and prophylactic.

The up-for-grabs implementation is composed of loose structures and significant oversight. These situations can provide an amplitude to administrators to exhibit initiative and intellect. The flexibility of these circumstances might lead to customized implementation procedures through innovative methods. The accuracy of the processes can allow more optimal error repair strategies.

Controlled implementation features delineated commands and also a significant oversight. In this type of implementation technology, commitment of implementers, and performance of public institutions, can all be either neutral or positive. Under these situations it is more feasible for implementers to utilize sufficient judgement.

In buffered implementation processes statutes tend to be inaccurate and the oversight is very confined. Thompson argues that this procedures can result in quick resolution of disputes with a considerable oversight of elected officials and review institutions such as the courts.

Prophylactic implementation is based on accurate statues and limited oversight. This kind of processes require foreseeing when planning and designing statutes in order to minimize errors. These circumstances can be harmful to successful implementation since implementers can find an opportunity for sabotage

For the purpose of this study, the model developed by Thompson was thoroughly studied since it gives leaders two options when implementing policies: to strongly oversee the implementation process, or to rather rely on strong statutes and have a more "hands off" approach throughout the implementation process. Thompson's work fails to provide experience from practitioners who have used both of his methods of policy implementation. In my personal opinion, I do believe that both methods can be effective depending on the form of government, its history and the structure of a state (ie. is the state a democracy or a dictatorship? Is corruption present in the system?). The effectiveness of Thompson's proposed methods for policy implementation, in my point of view, depends mainly on the leaders ability to determine which model of implementation fits the system better. Since Thompson's work fails to provide practical evidence, it excludes an explanation of the possible influence of leadership in the process of policy implementation. This thesis aims to fill that void and to provide a coherent explanation on the possible influence of leadership in policy implementation.

On the other hand, bottom up models point out that successful implementation mainly relies on the good delivery of services. This model examines the participation from the bottom in policy implementation and, according to Calista, it gives light to the necessity of feasibility while implementing policies (Calista,1994). In his study Calista concluded that bureaucrats

control most of the distribution operations and that when several organizations participate in the process of policy implementation efficient coordination is required. Calista also believes that conciliation in the implementation process can ease an expected outcome.

It is important to mention that the top-down and bottom-up models are both idealistic in providing explanation for the policy implementation process. This literature review will examine models that share similarities with the two models.

2.1.2 Sabatier and Mazmanian Model

Sabatier and Mazmanian's main goal was to conduct a thorough research in order to identify the circumstances in which efficient policy implementation may occur. The authors were able to recognize five stages required for effective policy implementation which will be explained in the following enumeration (Sabatier and Mazmanian 1979):

The first condition states that there is an existent theory of cause and effect. In this condition the authors explain that the theories can be classified into technical and compliance elements, which must be legitimate for the policy goal to be achieved (Sabatier and Mazmanian 1979). Put differently, if a policy features a strong technical structure but lacks compliance of a target group the policy is not destined to succeed. The same result will be obtained if the policy has a strong compliance of a target group but lacks technical structure. Nevertheless, the authors do mention that this rule doesn't apply when the target group compliance is the only policy goal.

The second condition argues that policy decisions are based on clear indications and directives, and that these increase the probability of target groups complying as expected. The authors also mention that this condition is mainly in control of policy developers (ie. legislators). In this conditions the authors provide six different analyses (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979):

The first analysis argues that policy objectives are ranked internally in relevance to the statute and externally in regard to the plan of the implementing institution. In other words, objectives are clear and favor the efficiency of administrative organisms and thus an effective policy implementation.

The second analysis states that financial resources should be able to cover the hiring of staff, technical advice and services. This condition states that proper funding is required for efficient policy implementation.

The third analysis focuses on the idea that implementation of policies should be assigned to agencies that are familiarized and oriented with the relevant policy. This analysis also states that the implementation of new policies can be at risk if implementing officials are not able to create innovative implementation processes and to enforce the new policy despite resistance from opposition groups that are unwilling to accept change.

The fourth analysis argues that hierarchical consolidation depends on the number of veto points implicated in the policy objectives and also in the extent to which supporters of the policy are supplied with sufficient sanctions to limit actors with potential vetoes.

The fifth analysis of this condition states that decision rules of implementers is in accordance with the policy objectives. In order to achieve efficient policy implementation it is extremely important that the final decisions are properly stipulated in regards to the intent and goals.

The last analysis expresses that policy decisions allow interest groups to intervene in the implementation procedures (ie. evaluation of performance processes). Sabatier and Mazmanian believe that implementers cannot be trusted all the time when implementing policies and that the oversight of a constituency group is required in order to efficiently implement policies.

The third condition argues that the heads of implementing organism should possess sufficient administrative and political abilities and should be fully committed to the policy objectives (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979). The authors believe that managers and implementers at the top have a huge responsibility in the implementation of policies since they will take a key role in the allocation of personnel and in the administration of resources. They also mention that political skills, such as convincing opposition to impulse the policies and the effective use of mass media to promote the approval of the policies, are key elements that leaders should definitely possess in order to achieve efficient implementation of policies.

The fourth condition states that in order to achieve proper implementation the policy needs to be supported by constituency groups and some key legislators. The courts should also remain neutral or positive about the policy objectives.

The authors mention that political support is not always achieved and that when this situation occurs the intervention of a fixer is required. Fixers are prominent legislators that have power over resources and destined them to protect the agency in charge of implementing the policy. Political support can also be achieved through constituency groups that closely monitor the implementation process.

In this condition the position of the courts are extremely important. Courts can represent an opposition to the policy and can preclude the implementation process. For this reason courts should remain neutral or supportive towards the policy.

Condition number five states that in order to have a successful policy implementation the objectives should not be weakened over time by the appearance of new conflicting policies or opposing social conditions. The authors also state that changes in political opinion can represent a threat to the implementation of a policy.

Sabatier and Mazmanian firmly believe that if all these conditions are fulfilled implementation of policies will be successful. However, they clearly mention that in practice the conditions might encounter several obstacles. One of the problems is that theories that are related to compliance of target groups to policy objectives might be inexistent. Another problem that the authors point out is that the implementation process might end up in charge

of agencies and organisms that are not supportive of the policies, and that the so called fixers can change their mind over time and might end up opposing the policies as well.

The authors also explain in their study that even if the five conditions for successful implementation are not fulfilled at a certain point in time, policy makers can still make proper adjustments to still meet the conditions over time. They recommend to take the five following steps (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979):

First, if a theory fails to connect the target group with the policy objectives, the creators of the policy should aim to incorporate the theory through a learning process such as research.

Second, if the legislation passed includes bizarre and doubtful directives then the antagonist side can test the new passed law in front of courts in order to test functionality, efficiency and constitutionality.

Third, If the implementation is not designated to a supportive organism then it will be helpful to bring constituents and oversight from independent and autonomous agencies (governmental and non- governmental).

Fourth, If no groups are interested in providing resources to closely track the implementation of the policy then supporters of the policy should immediately search for a group that is willing to provide the necessary resources in order to assist legislators to monitor the implementation process.

Fifth, If the presence of fixers is inexistent then supporters of the policy should create one. This can be done by pursuing new legislators to embrace the policy.

I found Sabatier and Mazmanian's work to be highly relevant to this thesis because they clearly identify and state who the leaders of the policy implementation process are. The authors believe that legislators, top managers of institutions and courts as the main responsible parts of the failure or success of the implementation process. In other words, the authors explicitly explain who the leaders in the implementation process are and what they should do in order to efficiently implement the policy. Sabatier and Mazmanian, in contrast with Thompson's model, also provide a clear explanation of possible problems that leaders might encounter throughout the implementation process and include useful recommendations on how to respond to the situation.

Nevertheless, the authors work doesn't deal with historical factors and ignore the effect that systems and forms of government might play in the implementation process. For instance, South Korean legislators in the 1960's and 1970's had little effect in the policy implementation process since the country's policy making was in hand of a dictatorial system of government (military elite).

2.1.3 Elmore Models of Policy Implementation.

Elmore's research provides four different conditions under which effective policy implementation can be achieved. These conditions will be explained below.

System Managements

This model refers to the functioning and structures of organizations that implement policies. It argues that the achievement of successful implementation depends on two elements. First, the organization's maximization of performance which can be achieved by properly designating tasks and responsibilities within a hierarchy. Second, the identification of possible flaws in the implementation process in order to make the pertinent internal adjustments.

Elmore argues that there are three ways in which policy implementation can be successful by organizations under this model (Elmore, 1978). First, establishing clear objectives that exhibit with precision the goal of the policy. Second, a well-managed plan that designates responsibilities and performance criterion to subordinated departments. Third, a system based on regulations and sanctions in order to promote accountability within subordinates.

Bureaucratic Process

In this model Elmore argues that the most important elements of an organization are routine and discretion. It states that the efficient implementation of a policy depends on finding how staff members utilize discretion and in how old routines, detrimental to the implementation of the policy, can be replaced by new ones (Elmore, 1978). The author also states that the bureaucrats at the lowest level of the hierarchy hold the most important post in the policy implementation process.

Organizational Development

In this model Elmore states that the competency to implement policies comes originally from the bottom of the agencies not from the top. The model believes that implementation is only possible when workers are fully committed to the mission of the policy and that this feature cannot be controlled by the top agents of an organization (Elmore, 1978). It also argues that in order to achieve effective implementation organizations should fulfill the workers basic social and psychological needs such as autonomy, participation and commitment. Organizations should also be able to distribute control of decisions among all the units of the agency. This theory explains that the implementation process will be successful if policy makers and bureaucrats develop a compromise based on mutual agreement of goal and strong communication (Elmore, 1978).

Conflict and Bargaining

In this model Elmore considers three main elements for an efficient policy implementation. First, agencies and organizations can be considered as conflict prone since the workers are constantly competing for power and resources. Second, the power of distribution in an agency is not stable because it depends on mobilizing resources and in controlling the behavior of the workers. Third, decision making in agencies should be achieved by the use of bargaining

between areas that compose the organization. This last process requires the mutual agreement of all areas and parties on keeping the bargaining linkage as a method to allocate resources(Elmore, 1978).

According to Elmore, successful implementation of policy will occur if responsibilities are well designated, through a functional hierarchy, to competent bureaucrats who should use discretion in an assertive way in order to achieve a successful policy implementation. What It caught my attention about Elmore is that he believes that street level bureaucrats hold the most important position in the policy implementation process. In a way he argues that leadership should be present at the bottom of the institutions, and not at the top, in order to efficiently implement a policy. In this regard, I disagree with Elmore's theory. I do believe that leadership should come from the top of the organization and should be transferred to subordinates. Good leadership will, eventually, produce good leaders. I do agree, however, in the fact that leaders at the top of the institutions or government should establish clear objectives and that a proper designation of tasks is critical in the implementation process. Leaders at the top should possess an ability to designate responsibilities to bureaucrats based on merits and competence, not on political favors. In my personal point of view, designation of responsibilities in one of the most important aspects of the policy implementation process.

2.1.4 Cerych and Sabatier

Another policy implementation model is the one presented by Cerych and Sabatier (1986), which directly deals with education reform policy implementation. The model believes that efficient policy implementation depends on four factors: First, the success or failure of reforms depends on the amount of system change and in the amount in clarity Second, the authors believe that the goals should be clear. Third, the extent of control of the head of the ministry of education. Fourth, the role of fixers, legislators who have control of resources and are in favor of the policy. Fifth, changes in socio-economic conditions can affect the implementation of the policy.

According to Cerych and Sabatier (1986), successful implementation occurs when actors outside the implementing organisms are committed to the goal of the policy, monitor the implementation of the program and have sufficient resources to influence implementing officials.

I found this model to be the most relevant to my research. Out of this model, I do believe that the two most important factors that influence policy implementation are the degree of change in a system and the clarity of goals and objectives. The role of fixers is not very relevant to the South Korean case because the country's form of government was a dictatorship for almost three decades. During these decades very important decisions that changed the structure of the educational system were taken, and legislators (fixers) didn't have much influence in the policy implementation process. However, for the Pakistan case, the role of fixers was key in the policy implementation and many of the decisions that they took led the educations policies to fail.

This model, nevertheless, lacks an assertive perspective on how leadership, combined with historical and cultural features, is highly relevant to the proper implementation of public policies. Cerych and Sabatier's model will be used as a theoretical framework for this study. On the next section, I will describe the main features of the model.

Summary

The discussed literature points explain the factors and conditions for efficient policy implementation to occur and also provides sufficient guidance and advise to implementing agents when trying to implement a policy. However, the literature does not say much on how leadership actually influences the process of policy implementation. The Cerych and Sabatier (1986) model provides good perspective in terms of system change in policy reforms, however, it lacks substantial evidence on how the implementation process can be influenced by leadership.

These inferences set the grounds for the following research which focuses on leadership and its influence on policy implementation.

3 Theoretical Framework

3.1 Cerych and Sabatier Model

The theoretical framework of this study will be based on Cerych and Sabatier (1986) model. This theory is highly relevant to the study because it focuses solely in policy implementation within the education field. The authors suggest that there are five main factors that are critical to the efficiency of policy implementation.

The first factor is the degree of system change. Cerych and Sabatier (1986) argue that the success or failure of policy reforms rely on two elements of the goals “the amount of system change envisaged and their internal clarity and consistency” (Cerych and Sabatier, 1986 p 12). The authors explain that the higher the change the harder the reform process will be “Major changes are more likely than minor ones to be intensely resisted by such affected groups as teachers and ministry officials.” (Cerych and Sabatier, 1986 p.12). Their study also explains the achievement of the goals can take time to occur due to “numerous false starts until implementing institutions acquire the experience necessary to learn to effectively co-ordinate various elements” (Cerych and Sabatier 1986 p. 12). The authors also believe that the degree of system change can be interpreted by the number of institutions affected by change, the number of individuals which behavior would have to change, and by the behavioral change required from each individual (Cerych and Sabatier, 1986 p.12).

The second factor is the clarity of goals and objectives. The authors state that the formulation process is key in setting common goals between the contending parties and that if the goals are established in a vague fashion, which will allow implementers to exercise discretion, the main purpose of the goal can be at risk. However, the positive side of establishing vague goals is that their ambiguity can be helpful in adjusting to changing circumstances (Cerych and Sabatier 1986).

The third factor is the adequate causal theory and resources. In this point of view the authors suggest that causal links should be understood and that implementers should have control over critical linkages in order to achieve the goals of the objectives. The authors also point out that changes in social and economic circumstances can cause a change in the design of the program and that sufficient financial resources are needed in order to push the policy forward. Cerych and Sabatier argue that in order to successfully implement a policy, the program should be assigned to institutions that support its goals and objectives (Cerych and Sabatier, 1986).

The fourth factor is the control of the minister of education. “This is a function of how many veto/clearance points are involved in attaining program objectives and to what extent supporters of those objectives are provided with inducements and sanctions sufficient to

assure acquiescence among those with a potential veto (Cerych and Sabatier, 1986 p 18)". This element clearly suggests that a chain of command might be present in educational reforms.

The fifth factor involves the presence of fixers. The authors state that in order to achieve successful implementation, supporters of the policy need the intervention of actors outside the implementing institutions who are committed to the purpose of the policy, who have the ability to closely monitor the implementation of the program and who have sufficient resources to influence decisions of implementing agents. (Cerych and Sabatier, 1986).

Cerych and Sabatier argue that there are two kind of actors outside the agency that can be vital in implementing a policy: fixers and interest groups. The fixers can be prominent legislators that embrace the policy and that are willing to monitor the implementation of the program. Interest groups are also necessary in order to provide significant amount of resources and power to make the implementation process easier.

In summary, the theoretical model of Cerych and Sabatier argues that efficient implementation of education reforms mainly relies on the system change and the commitment from implementers officials and agencies to the objectives of the reform. It is often dependent on the how fixers and interest groups fare on the mobilization of support and on how the objectives were affected by changes in social and economic areas.

The model provides good perspective in terms of system change in policy reforms, however, it lacks substantial evidence on how the implementation process can be achieved at the organizational level. This framework will be used as a reference for the comparative analysis, which brings an additional element: leadership. This theoretical framework will also try to expose comparative trends of success in South Korea and failure in Pakistan.

4 Methodology

This chapter will discuss the research design and methodology employed in this thesis. The limitations of the chosen methodology will also be discussed in this sections.

4.1 Comparative Design

As the research focuses on comparing two countries, it can be regarded as a comparative small N study. A small N comparative research is treated in the literature as a distinct type of design as it takes from both large N designs and within case analyses (Toshkov 2015). The method is regarded as more favorable for inductive theory-generation rather than testing, as it goes more in-depth within the separate cases analyzed as opposed to large N studies where such delving into each case is the least infeasible, as well as rarely the desire of the researcher.

The selected countries for this research will be compared according to the Most Similar System Type (Toshkov 2015: 10), where similar cases with different outcomes are analyzed. This method has been chosen in accordance to the inductive approach of the theory generating research. Following Toshkov “Research design in political science”, here the control and outcome variables are taken into account during the case selection phase. “...both the values of the control and outcome variables are taken into account during the case selection phase. The researcher picks cases that are as similar as possible but differ in the outcome of interest. The task is to discover a difference between the cases that can account for the difference in outcome” (Toshkov 2015: 10). According to Castles (1991), the Most Similar strategy is preferably used when researchers seek to understand patterns of diversity.

Cerych and Sabatier’s (1986) work was selected as a theoretical framework because it directly deals with policy implementation in the education sector. The purpose of this research is not to find which implementation theory is the superior one but rather, using the case studies in an inductive way and the comparative method of the most similar system, to identify additional important factor(s) which are critical to the success of the implementation process in the education sector, and which are not included in Cerych’s and Sabatier’s work. In order to achieve this, first a parallel analysis of each case study will be conducted followed by a between-case comparison analysis.

4.2 Case Selection

A case can be considered to be an exploration of a “bounded system” or one or multiple cases over a certain period of time, through thorough data collection which involves several sources of information. The system is mainly defined by time and place (Creswell 1998).

For this thesis two contrasting cases, South Korea and Pakistan, have been selected to obtain information that sheds light on the research question. The study of these cases aims to determine how implementation policy was handled in each case and what was the role of leadership in the failures and successes. The results will also be used to examine the implications for the implementation of the Mexican education reform. The two cases were chosen because each of them resulted in different results under unique circumstances. When comparing the two circumstances and its factors, it is expected to obtain several findings that varied between the two policy implementation cases that were linked with the outcomes

Toshkov (2015), argues that analyzing more than 3 cases to the research might be of help, however, he states that it is not practical and sometimes even impossible due to the lack of cases that might fit into the most different system design.

4.3 Credibility

Documents and sources for study, when analyzed, often demonstrated repetition. When repetition was present I evaded duplication by not copying the analyzed documents.

Credibility exists when the evidence analyzed is free of error. In this regard, I can openly state that all of the documents used for this study were written independently. None of the sources issued the documents for my own interest, consequently, I truly believe that the content of the documents is authentic and have not been modified for my benefit or to misguide my research. This same notion also applies to the reports issued by government agencies, International Organizations, think tanks and NGO's analyzed for this study.

In the media newspapers articles analyzed, I ignored the author's opinion and merely focused on facts officially issued by the press. With regard to reports issued by consultancy firms, it is simple to recognize their authenticity because the sources are mainly official reports issued by the respective governments of the countries analyzed.

4.4 Representativeness

The feature of representativeness can be observed more in some documents and reports than in others. Representativeness refers to whether the evidence is typical of its kind, or if it is not, whether the extent of its untypicality is known (Mogalakwe 2006). Documents such as the Education For All Review Report for 2015 were mainly fabricated by professional researchers that used valid sampling frames. One fact that demonstrates the representativeness of the document's findings is that it exposes deficiencies and criticizes the government (Pakistan case).

5 South Korean Case

This chapter will present the evolution of South Korean education policies over the last four decades. The South Korean government has achieved great success in making education accessible to its citizens. It is quite impressive to see how the South Korean education system has been adapted to the needs of the economy and has produced amazing benefits for the country (Kim-Renaud 2005).

Following, after analyzing different reports, historical documents, newspapers and other sources, a case study will be conducted in order to identify the possible causes of success in this case and what factors were important for efficient policy implementation.

5.1 History of Policy Formulation

5.1.1 Economic Development Plans in Korea

In 1962 the government of South Korea brought into practice several economic development programs. The first two plans (1962-1971) were mainly focused on the growth of manufacturing and electronic industries. In this regard, the main objective of the educational policy was to develop a competent and educated human capital to fulfill the needs of the economy. During this period most of the work done was focused on increasing educational opportunities for children. As a measure to respond to the higher need for basic education night shifts and larger classes were introduced to schools (Kim 2001, p.29).

During the third plan (1972-1976), which focused on expanding of heavy industries, technical education at the secondary level was prioritized. The school programs were now emphasized in specific disciplines such as science and technology (Kim 2001, p. 30).

The fourth plan (1977-1981) intended to push the education, health and housing sectors of the countries. The fifth and last economic plan (1982-1986) included a major education reform which main goal was to “ameliorate social ills associated with severe competition for college entrance” (Kim 2001 p. 32). During this period the schools integrated more core subjects (ie, geography, social sciences) to their programs in order to develop students with more general knowledge.

From the 1990's to the present the economy grew and Korea became a more democratized country. The country stopped designing long term economic plans, which meant a change in the educational sector. The sector, instead of focusing on expansion, started to emphasized its efforts in increasing the excellence of the education.

5.1.2 Chronological analysis of policies

In 1954, the Korean government initiated to implement a program which meant to provide free primary education. This ambitious plan was funded by the Education Tax Act of 1958 and by the United Nations Korea Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA). In 1959 the program ended and by then the Korean government was spending almost 15% of their budget to construct new schools (KEDI, 2000).

In 1967 a second plan for primary education started. This plan also focused on improving schools infrastructure. The program concluded in 1971 and resulted in the creation and maintenance of schools. The program also provided students with free didactic materials and textbooks. By the beginning of the 1970's free education was available to all eligible children.

After achieving universal primary education, competition for admission to middle schools became fierce. Students aiming to attend middle school had to take a very difficult admission exam and most students preferred to apply to elite schools "The intense competition, depicted as "exam hell," stemmed not only from the supply side, since secondary school places were limited, but also from the demand side since most people preferred elite schools" (Kim 2001 p. 35). In response to this problem the Korean government decided to cancel the admission test and started to place students to schools based on a lottery scheme. This system placed students according to residence instead of test scores. Elite middle schools disappeared after the lottery system was implemented and parents, as well as students, were content with the new plan in place. In order to assure effectiveness of the new program, the government oversized middle school placements and improved the distribution of resources among schools.

In 1974 the government implemented the "High School Equalization Program", which main purpose was to equalize spending, admissions and the sizes of the classrooms in Korean high schools. This new policy introduced a new admission system which required prospect students to take a standardized test, instead of the institution's admissions test, in order to gain admission. The program was very successful and resulted in a higher high school enrollment in Korea.

During the third economic development plan (1972-1976), which promoted the growth of heavy industries, the Korean government decided to spend more in vocational and technical high schools. This spending was a response to the increasing demand of technical knowledge by growing industries(Lee 1996). The Korean government also re-structured technical schools in order to provide students with more specific and specialized education. The old five year system was replaced by a new two-to three year system.

In order to keep up with the labor demand from the market, the Korean government controlled the enrollment quota of universities until the late 1970's. In 1980 the government undertook an aggressive reform process in the higher education field. This new reform introduced a new standardized admission test. Furthermore, the government also increased the accreditation of private universities. The reform also eliminated the old enrollment quota system and replaced it with a new Graduation Enrollment Quota System (GEQS). Under this program universities

were required to admit 130 students but only 100 were allowed to graduate. This reform was very successful and university enrollment increased by more than 250% in the 1980's (OECD 2000).

5.2 Possible Causes for Successful Implementation

5.2.1 Centralization of Administration

In South Korea the Ministry of Education has total control over local and higher education systems at the central level of government. The Ministry oversees enrollment, hiring of teachers and facilities. At the local level, education enjoys autonomy from the government. In 1991 the Local Education Autonomy Act was passed and it provided local education authorities with autonomy in terms of budgeting, recruitment, and regulations from K-12 education (MOE, 1998). Following, I will analyze how the resources were mobilized in South Korea in order to achieve education expansion.

5.2.2 Funding

As of late, South Korea did less public spending in education than the average of the OECD's countries. However this doesn't mean that South Korea is not engaged on improving their educational system. Korea was in fact very committed to undertake an expansion of the education system. In order to promote this expansion the government has increased public spending on the education sector (from 14% in 1960's to 21% in the 2000's) (OECD, 2000). In 1971 the government passed the Local Education Grant Act which allocated a part of the internal tax revenue (11.8%) to teacher wages and disbursements of primary and secondary education. Additionally, another tax was imposed in 1981 in order to provide funding for the maintenance of school buildings at the primary and secondary level. From these two sources, the central government allocates resources to local authorities of education in the form of grants. The internal tax revenue funding is allocated through a formula and the education tax is distributed according to the population of each district. Both sources of funding represent almost 78.5% of the money spent by the Ministry of Education (OECD 1996).

In the 1970's the South Korean government began to provide funding to private secondary schools. As mentioned before, private middle schools started to receive public money in 1971, and later in 1979 private high schools also received funding. This subsidy has helped equalization of schools in South Korea and currently the quality of education is the same in the private and public schools. Due to the success of this action, in the 1990's the South Korean government decided also to subsidize private high schools on grounds of competition.

In the beginning of the 1950's the South Korean government was only able to provide funding for the primary education level. For this reason the Parent and Teaching Association stepped in and, with support from foreign aid, took an important stand in providing resources to the education sector. The Parent and Teaching Association obtained funding from charging the student's parents an obligatory membership premium. During that decade the Association financed more than 50% of the annual operating budget (MOE, various years). The Korean citizens and the student's parents, who some of them were already paying private school fees,

showed discontent on the government's dependence on the association for funding. In 1962, in response to the public's discontent, the government decided to replace the Parent and Teaching Association with a new School Sponsoring Association. The new association, instead of requiring obligatory payment, obtained resources from voluntary donations from parents. In 1996, as a reform measure, the government required all schools at the primary and secondary level to have a School Council. This council is formed by parents, alumni, and teachers, and intended to promote autonomy among schools. It also replaced the School Sponsoring Association in the role of obtaining money for the schools.

5.2.3 Incentives to teachers

In the 1960's South Korea experienced an enormous demand for teachers. In order to address this demand, the government decided to implement a system of incentives to attract excellent high school graduates into a teacher career. The incentives included tuition exemption for education majors in public universities, absolution from obligatory military service, among others. The incentive mechanisms were extremely effective and by 1970 the supply of teacher became greater than the demand. This outcome represented a big problem for the South Korean government. The oversupply of teachers led the government to establish a new open recruitment system in 1986. In 1997, after a strong financial crisis hit the country, the government faced strong protests from teacher's organization and was forced to reduce the retirement age to 62 (65 was the previous one). In taking this measure the government also aimed to renew its teacher base and 50,000 teachers were substituted by the year 2000 (OECD, 2000).

The above mentioned expansion education produced the following positive results: 1) there was not a deficit of skilled labor 2) from 1970 to 1995 the average years of schooling went from 5.74 years to 10.25 years (OECD 1996) 3) illiteracy rate declined from 13% in 1970 to 2% in 1999 (OECD 2000) 4) educational opportunities are near universal at the secondary and primary level 5) the academic performance and attendance is almost the same in boys and girls 6) progression to universities has more than doubled during the last 3 decades 7) South Korean students are at the top of the OECD countries in mathematics and science.

Despite all the above mentioned achievements, the quality of education was still an issue in South Korea. In 1997 a report from the OECD showed that Korea spent about half as much per student than all of the other OECD countries (OECD 1997). Moreover, students are overcharged with subjects, the way of learning was based on memorization, and the classes are oversized in terms of students. Experts have pointed out that the main weakness of the education system is the rigorous central control of the government. Critics also believe that the centralized government has repressed the autonomy of schools at all the levels of education.

5.2.4 Educational Reform Efforts in 1995

In 1995, former President Kim Young Sam established the Presidential Commission on Education Reform, which would be in charge of preparing the Education Reform Proposals. The proposals had two concise goals: First, to eliminate bad practices of education such as

exam-oriented teaching and absurd costs for private tutoring. Second, to improve the preparation of students for a knowledge society. In order to achieve these two goals the Education Reform Proposals issued three policy recommendations: 1) Deregulation and stakeholder participation 2) A curriculum reform 3) Integration of ICT and education 4) Financial commitment (MOE, 1998). Following, an analysis of each of the policies will be conducted.

Deregulation and stakeholder participation. Perhaps the worst problem that the expansion of the education system brought is a deficiency of creativity among teachers and schools. In order to achieve a higher quality education, deregulation of controls over schools is required. Ensuring accountability over quality of education in schools is also very important to promote educational excellence.

In order to improve the quality of the education sector, the South Korean government undertook an ambitious project, through policies, which main goal was to establish a balance between autonomy of schools and accountability of quality. The government took some control out of schools by eliminating inspections by the ministry and replaced this practice by putting in place a performance evaluation conducted by a panel of experts. This change increased the level of accountability among schools and education authorities. Furthermore, in 1999 the South Korean government decided to legalize the teachers unions in order to provide teachers with better working conditions and benefits. In 2001, the South Korean government upgraded the status of the minister of education to Deputy Prime Minister and allowed the ministry to also take charge of the human resources process

Curriculum reform. The Education Reform Proposals included in its agenda a modification of the school's curriculum in order to provide students with more subjects. This new curriculum was called The Seventh School Curriculum and required students from first grade to tenth grade to take ten subjects. Students from eleventh to twelfth were provided with the opportunity to enroll in optional classes according to their skills and preference (MOE, 1998). The sole purpose of the new curriculum was to improve the student's performance according to their competencies.

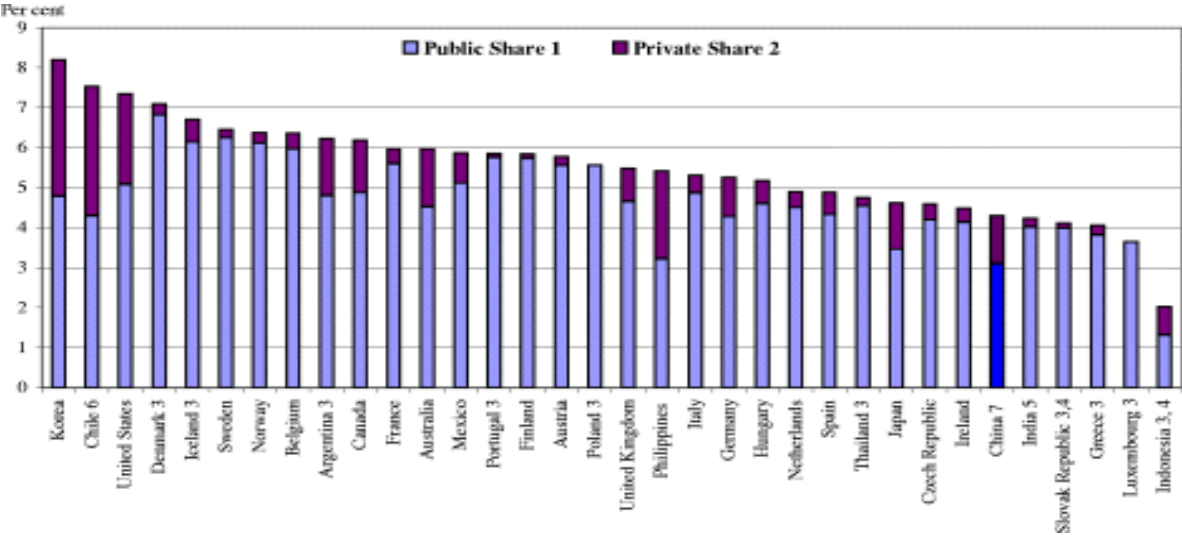
The Seventh School Curriculum also aimed to improve the vocational and technical education system. Students at vocational high schools were now required to take classes for two years and one year of work experience in their respective areas of study. The curriculum also connected vocational high schools to technical colleges in order to assure student progression.

Integration of information technology. The Education Reform Proposals pursued an aggressive and ambitious project to incorporate information technology to the education sector. This was done through six steps. First, the government introduced integration technology systems. Second, the government spent significant amount of money in placing a strong infrastructure of integration technology systems in primary and secondary schools. Third, schools developed an efficient information administration system. Fourth, the government trained teachers in order to efficiently operate the integration technology systems. Fifth, integration technology systems were placed in classrooms. Sixth, the Korea Education and Research Information System was established with the aim "to contribute to raising the

quality of education and research for national educational development through the production, survey, and collection of information needed for education and research and through establishment and operation of an educational information service system” (Korea Education and Research Information Service Law, Article 1).

Financial commitment. The South Korean government decided to increase the funding on education. In 1999 the government amended the Local Education Grant Act (See Fig. 1). The act’s main goal now was to renovate school buildings and assigned thirteen billion dollars (US) yearly through grants (OECD 2000). The grants were obtained by raising the internal tax revenue to thirteen percent.

Figure 1 .- Public and Private Education Spending as Percentage of GDP in OECD countries in 2000. (Source OECD (2000). Education at a Glance. Paris: OECD, 2000.)



Over the last four decades the expansion of the South Korean education system was achieved through economic policies, education reforms and social factors. Out of this very interesting case the following elements can be taken into account when considering reforming education system: A) political engagement in education reforms at the inception of the program implementation is a must in order to achieve change. B) the South Korean case demonstrated that effective implementation of policies requires a functional structure and allocation of resources, both provided by the government, in order to facilitate the role of institution in policy implementation. C) the Korean case showed that macroeconomic development plans are extremely important in providing strong foundations of national policies that make implementation of other policies, in this case education, more feasible and effective. D) Well organized and constructed time tables for implementation of policies are essential for success.

In summary, the South Korean education policy implementations were divided in three stages: 1960's primary education, 1970's secondary education, 1980's university education. By establishing time tables for each area of education the government was able to fully concentrate in one field at the time. The growing needs from society and economy for education forced South Korea to pursue an aggressive reform plan that effectively addressed the necessities of the country.

6 Pakistan Case

Since its independence in 1947, Pakistan has actively tried to improve its education system. In order to do so, several proposals have been made by commissions and policies that aim to strengthen the education sector. Nevertheless, policies and programs have experienced failures and setbacks in trying to achieve goals and as today their accomplishment is still highly in doubt.

This part of the thesis will provide a brief history of the policy formulation in Pakistan. It will also highlight the possible causes that have led policies to fail.

6.1 History of Policy Formulation

Since the 1950's the Pakistan's Planning Commission has been in charge of elaborating five year development programs. Until now the government has launched eight development programs (1955-1998). It is interesting to notice that in addition to each of these programs the Ministry of Education (MoE) also prepared policies aimed to improve the educational system. The first policy created by the MoE was introduced in 1959 and focused on the designing of a Commission on National Education. The main goal of this commission was to issue suggestions and recommendations for the development of an educational system appropriate for the necessities of Pakistani citizens. Since then following governments issued similar policies during their respective tenures.

It is argued that in developing countries the failure of educational policies is directly linked to problems in policy implementation. This notion truly applies to the Pakistan case. In Pakistan several teacher education plans implemented by the government were not aligned with the policy goals of the programs.

Some of the goals for education policies in Pakistan pursued are: achievement of overall literacy, universal primary education for children, reduction of student dropout, and improvement of the quality of the education. Nevertheless, almost all of the programs have failed in the achievement of objectives. For instance, the goal of achieving universal primary education was supposed to be accomplished by 1967 and until today it remains a vital problem in the Pakistani education system. Another key example of failure is the fourth five-year plan (1970-75) in where "the priority accorded to education in the drafting of plans, however, has not always been reflected in the implementation of plans" (Pakistan. Planning Commission, 1970, p. 143). In other words, the program was not able to achieve its goals.

6.1.1 New Education Goals

On April 2000, in Dakar Senegal, Pakistan signed the Dakar Framework for Action and committed to achieve six education for all goals by 2015. Following, I will conduct an analysis on how Pakistan has fared in trying to achieve each of these goals. Data and information were gathered from the Pakistan Education For All Review Report for 2015.

Goal 1: Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood education especially for the most vulnerable disadvantaged children.

Pakistan has two kinds of pre-primary education: poor quality public primary schools “Katchi” and good quality early childhood education schools (private).

Katchi schools are facing several issues. The teachers that instruct in these schools are not well prepared and they are overwhelmed with excessive work. Teachers are required to simultaneously teach two grades (mainly first and second grades). Children that attend Katchi schools are only able to learn only basic knowledge such as the alphabet and numbers. In addition, conditions of the classrooms are poor and not functional.

In private early childhood education schools the reality is different. Private schools count with well-trained teachers and the conditions of the classrooms is very good. These kind of schools are located in the urban areas, where kids from wealthy families are enrolled.

The teaching methodology in private and public schools is different. In public sector schools the program follows a syllabus that is prescribed by the government. On the other hand, private schools pursue an education method which is mainly child-centered. The differences in teaching methodology are definitely a determinant in quality of education.

The government has not been able to improve the quality of education in Katchi schools because the national curriculum for education is only implemented in selected schools and its support comes mainly from donors.

In summary, public schools lack sufficient resources, an effective teaching methodology and well prepared teachers. For this reason the government of Pakistan has failed to achieve goal number one.

Goal 2: Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.

As mentioned before, Pakistan is struggling in achieving its goal of universal primary education. This failure is mainly due to low allocations of budget; lack of schools for girls; lack and absence of well trained teachers and instructors; missing of basic services such as water in schools; poverty; and weak rule of law.

In Pakistan, only two thirds of children attending schools make it up to grade 5 because of “extreme poverty, shortage of schools, lack of trained and motivated teachers, low quality of education and poor law and order situation. The highest (82%) survival rate is in ICT, understandably due to better equipped schools and well trained teachers” (Pakistan EFA Review Report 2015).

For the above mentioned reasons, the government of Pakistan has also failed in trying to achieve goal number 2.

Goal 3: Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programs.

Pakistan has also failed to achieve goal number 3. In Pakistan youth literacy rates have increased over the last decade but at a very slow rate. The main cause for this failure is the lack of resources allocated to the education sector.

Technical and vocational education has also been ignored by the government, which hurts the economy since the human capital has not been able to satisfy the needs of the emerging global industries.

Goal 4: Achieving a 50% improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.

As mentioned before, the adult literacy rate in Pakistan has increased but at a slow pace (1%). One of the reasons is that the country has failed in achieving its goal of providing universal primary education to its citizens. Efforts to come up with a well design literacy program are falling short. In addition, budget allocations have been inefficient. The literacy rate in Pakistan stands at 56%(Pakistan EFA Review Report 2015).

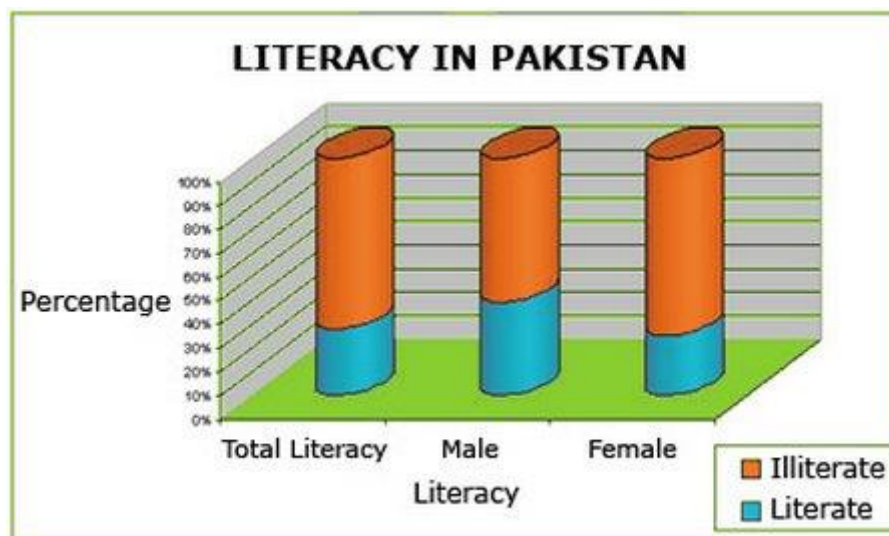
Pakistan has 52 million adults who are illiterate. From this quantity almost 65% are women. This statistics clearly showed that Pakistan has also failed in trying to accomplish goal number four.

Goal 5: Eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2015 and achieve gender equality in education by 2015 with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.

In Pakistan gender disparities in the education sector have always been present. Schools for girls are usually located in rural areas of the country. Pakistan is also experiencing a lack of well-trained female instructors. Women are also affected by the conservative cultural factors and are very restricted in terms of mobility. Moreover, “the overall deteriorating law and order situation are other barriers, discouraging parents from sending their daughters to school” (Pakistan EFA Review Report 2015).

Due to the issues mentioned above, Pakistan has not been able to eliminate gender disparities in the education sector. Girls are still facing tough challenges that enables them to receive education in the country (See Fig. 2). For this reason, Pakistan has also failed in achieving goal number 5.

Figure 2.- Literacy Rate in Pakistan 2015 (Source UNESCO (2015) Education for All 2015 National Review Report: Pakistan)



Goal 6: Improve all aspects of the quality of education and ensure excellence so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.

In Pakistan, qualifications of teachers is quite decent since most of the teachers possess bachelor’s degrees, some of them even have masters degrees. However, the students’ performance is low. “Quality of education in Pakistan is lacking as was evident from the mean scores of tests administered to students of Grade IV in 127 districts” (Pakistan EFA Review Report 2015).

A country’s quality of education also lies on the physical conditions of the school. Sanitation in educational institutions is key to provide good education. In this regards, statistics show an interesting trend. “Data for sanitation facilities in public sector schools, too, show better availability by levels of educational institutions e.g., 66% primary, 85% middle and 91% upper secondary girls' schools have sanitation facilities while 54% primary, 76% middle and 85% upper secondary boys' schools have access to sanitation 14 facilities” (Pakistan EFA Review Report 2015).

Although Pakistan has fared good in teacher’s qualifications, relevant efforts such as increasing student’s performance and improving sanitation are still needed in order to fully accomplish goal number 6.

Following, after identifying some of the possible cause that have led to failure of education policy in Pakistan, I will list the possible causes for failure and will further discuss each one of them.

6.2 Possible Causes for Policy Failure

6.2.1 Vague Goals

It is believed that most policies are not efficient in learning from previous failures. As a consequence governments tend to design or engage into programs that include ambitious goals which are unrealistic and often fail in achieving their objectives (Ahsan, 2003; The World Bank, 1999).

Perhaps the principal reason of this failure is the lack of trustworthy and solid data for educational planning. Ahsan (2003) has demonstrated that there is a huge variation in official documents that include general statistics such as the percentage of literacy rate. The government of Pakistan has openly addressed that there are some inconsistencies in education statistics and has also committed to resolve such problem. Trustworthy data enhances the ability of policy makers to clarify policy goals and to elaborate well designed implementation plans. Mohamid Ibrahim's article states that "a government has to come up with a clear and coherent set of ideas—a vision—and use available resources and instruments as efficiently as possible to produce the results that citizens expect... I would suggest that the best way to improve government is to improve government's ability to manage risk and produce results. This could be achieved by a shift toward data-based policy making."(Ibrahim 2012).

6.2.2 Political Engagement

According to Sabatier and Mazmanian, political commitment by leadership is critical to the success of a policy (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1983). McCourt (2003) argued that the deficiency of political commitment of governments is the main cause of failure in policy reforms. In Pakistan governments have fared poorly in providing political support to policies. New governments tend to discontinue the programs imposed by previous administrations. Under ideal circumstances new elected officials are supposed to promote the improvement of education in their districts by providing sufficient support to programs devoted to the development of education. In Pakistan the scenario is completely different since elected officials tend to reward political supporters with teaching posts that include juicy contracts and benefits. Members of the parliament also engage in bad practices such as using political patronage to improve their opportunities of getting reelected . These sort of practices are certainly detrimental to the development of the education system. This deficient leadership takes a negative toll on policy implementation since civil servants don't count with the required political support to properly perform their tasks.

6.2.3 Governance Issues

In Pakistan the educational system was never created to catch up with the constantly changing educational world. Shahzad (2015) argues that this flaw occurred because "political will was found missing in order to implement the policies in accordance with the intention to promote the good governance at school level and produce the robust results" (Shahzad 2015, p. 309). Shahzad also states that the dichotomy between governance and government has seriously

affected the mechanisms of accountability, transparency and effectiveness (Shahzad 2015, p. 40).

In order to achieve good governance, responsibility and accountability should be present within the system. Winkler and Hatfield (2002) point out that in Pakistan government officials and implementers are not completely aware of their responsibility and duties. They argue that agents often struggle to recognize in which responsibility they have to engage and how efficient the tasks should be performed (Winkler and Hatfield 2002).

The problems of good governance and corruption represent a huge barrier to efficient policy implementation in Pakistan (See Fig. 3). The poor coordination between politicians and government officials is perhaps the main cause of incompetent governance. Also the absence of cooperation among the agencies of government and their lack of trust and disrespect lead to the emergence of “clearance points” that are harmful to the implementation of policy (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1983, pp. 155-6).

The above mentioned problem can be illustrated in the education policies that involve community participation in the country. In Pakistan public schools are, in theory, in charge of organizing parent associations. Nonetheless, most of the associations are very dysfunctional since they were not provided with the adequate training and therefore this policy never was put into practice as the theory indicates. Currently the country faces serious tensions between provincial and district governments because of an increasing vagueness in responsibilities and duties. The World Bank also has stated that Pakistan is facing severe accountability problems and corruption issues that are directly affecting the implementation of polices in a negative way (The World Bank, 1999).

Figure 3. Pakistan Corruption Rank since 2006. Currently ranks in No. 117. (Source Transparency International Corruption Index 2016)



6.2.4 Centralization Problems

In Pakistan the education sector is greatly centralized and doesn't respond to the necessities of its citizens. "Pakistan educational system is highly centralized... The bureaucracy interferes with the flow of resources and information. It also means higher level administrators have the less time to devote to important issues like program design, implementation, and monitoring" (Qaiser, 2013). This problem is a huge challenge for achieving effective local governance in the country. Very important plans and projects are usually slowed down because of redtapism, a practice that bureaucrats utilize in order to keep elected politicians in office. In addition, "governmental activities at the local level are not driven by demand but pushed from the center to the local level and people do not feel any ownership"(Qaiser 2013).

Unfortunately in Pakistan the majority of the political parties believe in two levels of government, federal and provincial. Centralization of power is perhaps the most important issue that Pakistan is facing "our decision makers; security intelligence establishment, bureaucracy and political parties prefer to run the districts, tehsils and union councils by unelected administrators and commissioners" (Qaiser, 2013). This problem has led to political uncertainty. For instance, during the 2008-2013 democratic transitional phase, there were no local body's elections "we have no local democracy here. No one knows when there will be elections for new local government setup"(Qaiser, 2013).

In 2000, the government of Pakistan introduced the Devolution Plan aiming to modify the education system at the district level. Under this program the District Education Coordinator was assigned under its respective district. Each Coordinator counted with two District Education Officers, one for primary and the other for secondary level. The Devolution Plan allow decisions to happen on a rational basis, however, there has been several reports that have pointed out cases of abuse of authority, mainly by political authorities (Shah, 2008).

In Pakistan most of the education policies and programs created by the government don't involve consultation from the teachers and school authorities. For this reason, education programs tend to be unsuccessful due to the implementer's lack of familiarity with the policy. This deviance directly affects important elements of education such as curriculum execution, evaluation of teachers and school administration.

6.2.5 Human and Financial Resources

According to Sabatier and Mazmanian, financial and human resources are very important elements that promote the efficient implementation of policies, especially if a policy needs a new staff recruitment system (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1983, pp. 156).

During the last sixty years developing countries have engaged in serious budget spending to promote the development of education. For Pakistan this trend came out of time (1978) and as today the resources employed for educational improvement are not sufficient to address the necessities of the sector. The bad timing of investment and the low available budget have made the implementation of the education policies even harder to achieve.

Ahsan (2003) states that another critical problem that affects the proper implementation is the fact that the education budget is allocated according to the rate growth of the economy. It is also pertinent to point out that on several times the funding assigned to education has not been totally used, failing to achieve the expected results of progress. After analyzing one study conducted by Kardar (1998), I found out that Pakistan expenditure in primary and secondary education, per student, is two times higher than the average amount of money spend by developing countries. At first this can be seen as a good feature, however, the truth is that due to the bad management of resources the cost of education per student rises.

As today, Pakistan's commitment to improve the education sector is evident. In 1992 one of the main goals of the country was to increase the public spending on education up to four percent of its GDP . Nevertheless, financing the education sector has been a constant struggle for the country. During recent years, the country has only spent 2.5%, and in 2013 the allocation reduced to 2% of the GDP(Government of Pakistan 2013). In terms of total government spending, Pakistan spends around 10% on the education field. Due to this challenge in spending, in order to achieve the goals set in 2015 for education goals by 2030, Pakistan must increase expenditure per student by 10 times.

As mentioned before, Pakistan education resources come directly from the country's tax revenue. This tax is dependent on the resources produced by the economy and the government's competence on taxing these produced resources. If economic growth goes down the resources destined to education, and other sectors, will be lower. The main problem in Pakistan is that due to low economic growth rate the ability of the government to obtain resources through taxes is very poor.

The government of Pakistan has been reluctant to improve the country's taxing system. Tax reform should become a priority on the political agenda but has been so far ignored by the parliament "While the Federal Board of Revenue's tax collection has increased in absolute terms, it has remained at just 8.7% of the GDP for the past ten years – amongst the lowest proportions in the world. International targets estimate that governments need to raise 20% of their GDP in taxes to achieve MDG goals" (Malik and Rose 2015).

The 2014 Education for All Global Monitoring Report, pointed that in order for Pakistan to provide schooling for all kids and teenagers of the country, the country needs to increase the tax revenue to 14% of the GDP and spend 20% of that money in education (UNESCO, 2014).

6.2.6 Foreign Loans

Pakistan has an enormous dependence on foreign economic assistance to implement its policy programs. Pakistan's need for external aid started right away after the country's independence. Pakistan received USD \$121 million from 1951-1955. The digits increased by three times tripled by 1960 since Pakistan's role in the cold war increased. Foreign assistance went down after 1965 and 1971, as the international community sanctioned Pakistan and India for wars. It is important to note that after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan the external aid increased once again. Pakistan's debtors include the United States, France, Canada, United Kingdom, among others. Another debtor is the International Monetary Fund. According to IMF's own

data, the financial institution has provided more than \$10 billion (US) in aid since 1984 (IMF 2000).

Policy reforms in Pakistan are directly linked to foreign loans, causing the financial institutions and external countries to influence politics in Pakistan. A good example of this influence is that the government implemented a 3 year Poverty Reduction Strategy which is clearly aligned with the IMF's interest and mission. Another example is the influence that the International Task Force on Higher Education, report issued by the World Bank, played in the formulation of the higher education reform in Pakistan. (Ministry of Education, 2002).

7 Comparative Analysis

This section of the thesis will analyze the extent to which the Cerych and Sabatier model, the theoretical model of this thesis, explain the failure of the Pakistan case and the success obtained by South Korea. Cerych and Sabatier argue that in order to look for answers the following components should be thoroughly analyzed: degree of change in the system, the clarity of goals, and the intervention of fixers. These elements will be analyzed for both case studies.

The purpose of this analysis is to use the case studies in an inductive way and the comparative method of the most similar system, to identify additional important factor(s) which are critical to the success of the implementation process in the education sector. In order to achieve this, first a parallel analysis of each case study, in connection to the theoretical framework, will be conducted followed by a between-case comparison analysis.

7.1 Pakistan Analysis

7.1.1 Degree of Change

Cerych and Sabatier (1986) argue that the success or failure of policy reforms rely on two elements of the goals “the amount of system change envisaged and their internal clarity and consistency” (Cerych and Sabatier, 1986 p 12).

The education systems are formed by all the institutions that provide educational services (public and private) and their respective faculties and students. The system also includes institutions in charge of managing and regulating schools such as the ministry of education, testing organizations and other independent institutions such as NGO’s and think tanks that are merely devoted to educational ends.

During the last five decades the education system in Pakistan has seen big changes. In the 1970’s the government nationalized the private providers of education, however, due to struggles with organization and lack of resources, the government was forced to reverse the decision. In 1979, private institutions jumped back into the scene and provided educational services to the country that the government failed to deliver. As today, more than 30% of students attend private institutions in Pakistan (Pakistan Economic Forum, 2013), which include the high, middle and low segments of the population. Moreover, non-profit organizations such as the Cooperation for Advancement Rehabilitation and Education (CARE) are making reasonable efforts to provide funding for low income families so their children can get the opportunity to attend private institutions.

Several constitutional changes in the educational system have also been made recently. In 2010, the Pakistani legislature approved the passing of the 18th amendment to the constitution, which delegated several responsibilities of the education sector to the provinces. Before the amendment was passed, the responsibility of providing educational services to the provinces was shared between the federal and the state governments. The new amendment absolved the federal government from educational responsibilities in the provinces. This change provoked a negative reaction from the citizens and was challenged in the Supreme Court in 2011, which ruled that the government cannot absolve itself from the obligation of being responsible for the education sector in Pakistan. In response, the Pakistani government restructured the Ministry of Professional Education, renaming it to the Ministry of Education and Training. Nevertheless, since its creation the mission, goals and functions of the new ministry are still unclear and vague in regard to the educational services in the provinces.

The higher education in Pakistan is also facing significant challenges. The government of Pakistan clearly favored the primary education level and left the higher level marginalized. In order to bring balance to the education system, the government formed the Higher Education Commission (HEC) in 2002, an independent and autonomous body that aimed to properly fund and regulate the higher level of education in the country. At first the HEC brought positive changes to the higher education level, however, as of today the commission has suffered several budget cuts and has been converted into an arena of political conflicts.

Currently the HECs mission is vague and the organization is appalling and full of uncertainty. For example, the government hasn't decided, although it is supposed to be autonomous, if the HEC should be reporting to an agency and if it does, the government is still trying to decide which body should this commission be reporting to. In this matter, the government has been trying to involve the intervention of the Ministry of Education and Training, institution that has the final word on higher education. The government is still trying to figure out how this Ministry can provide help to the HEC. Some government leaders believe that the Ministry should have the final word over the HEC, however, other leaders disagree with this idea and argue that putting the HEC under the control of the ministry would be detrimental since it would destruct the independence and autonomy of the commission.

Although the outlook seems quite complicated for Pakistan, there are several forces in the country that can bring a positive change to the current situation. The first force is the high expectations that the new generations of Pakistanis have settled towards their government. Technology and globalization have made the new generations more aware of the different problems that the country is facing and how far behind their progress is compared to other nations. Young citizens of Pakistan are becoming more skeptical about their government decisions and are constantly demanding a better quality of education.

The second force is the changing political system that is now trying to adapt to the new demands and expectations of Pakistani citizens. Pakistan was ruled by a military regime for more than 66 years, therefore, democracy was not a feature of the old government. Since the military was the biggest power in the country, politicians time in power was very limited because they didn't have much hopes of getting re-elected. Since time in office was limited, politicians and government's agents main goal was to obtain as much as personal gains as possible. The system has now changed. Citizens enjoy much more influence in deciding who gets elected and who stays in office. The last military regime, which started in 1999 and ended in 2007, was mainly overthrown by the public through demonstrations and civil acts of discontent. In 2008, a new democratic government took power in Pakistan, however, it only lasted five years because the citizens voted the party in power out due to a lack of efficient performance and failure in service providing. As today, the new government in place is aware of the fact that the needs and demands of the Pakistani citizens should be met or otherwise the public will kick it out. It also knows that it's performance will be closely surveilled by the higher judiciary, which became an independent body in 2007, constantly holding politicians and bureaucrats accountable.

The third force of change in Pakistan is the media, which has become more open in criticizing the dysfunctions of the government and in pointing out its failures and mistakes. Citizens also have used the media as an arena to express their discontent and dissatisfaction on how the government operates important sectors such as the educational one. The media has also served as a tool of political accountability by frequently issuing reports that expose official's negligence and bad practices such as corruption and abuse of power. This new pressure from the media has forced politicians and civil servants to improve the quality of services and has also enhanced the transparency process inside the government.

The fourth force of change is the citizens opposition to repression from the government. A clear example of this force is the Malala Yousafzai's case which gained attention at the global stage in 2012. Malala is a young Pakistani girl that survived an attempt of murder from the Taliban. After the event became known worldwide, the Pakistani government received international pressure to improve gender equality and education in the country.

Young citizens of Pakistan have openly expressed a big discontent on how the government is leading the education sector. A report from the British Council issued in 2009 revealed that 92% of young Pakistani population pointed out that their education system is highly in need of a change, and 48% argued that the education they receive is not enough to keep up with the high skills that the job market is currently demanding (British Council Pakistan, 2009), in other words, young citizens feel that they are not sufficiently equipped to perform well when entering the labor force and that they are at disadvantage with citizens of other countries of the world.

The discontent of the Pakistani youth stems from two major problems: a low literacy rate and an increasing inequality of opportunities. In the country only 55% of adult citizens and 71% of citizens between the ages of 15-24 are literate (Pakistan Economic Forum, 2013). Statistics in terms of enrolment of students are high in Pakistan, nevertheless, enrolment and attendance are two completely different concepts. A big portion of students in Pakistan fail to finish a school year. This problem can be directly attributed to the lack of commitment from teachers, inefficient and low quality school programs and to a mediocre infrastructure.

In Pakistan the educational services are not the same for all the citizens. Urban regions tend to have better services and a higher quality than the rural regions. Gender inequalities are also present in the country's educational system. As today, more than fifty percent of girls living in rural areas are unable to attend primary school and more than seventy five percent don't attend secondary school. These inequalities

In order to design an effective reform in Pakistan a system focus should be adopted. In Pakistan government support to education has not been provided equally to all levels of education. Funding and allocation of resources has oscillated from one level to another depending on which level provides more profit and returns of investment to the public and private sector. For example, in the early 1990's donors decided to provide funding to private primary education, which was the most profitable at that time, and totally disregarded the higher education level.

In order for positive changes to occur in the education system policy makers and reformers in Pakistan should focus on all levels of education and not only on the ones that generate more private gains or political interest. It is important to remember that all of the education levels (primary, secondary and higher) play a key role in the development of the country's economy.

After equally focusing on all the education levels, the government should proceed to center its efforts on the subsectors of each level (budget, human resources, study programs among others), which also should be equally addressed in terms of importance. It is important to point out that due to the nature of each level of education the solutions and efforts to improve

the area will require different approaches. For example, human resources managers in the primary sector will use distinct recruitment techniques that their counterparts in the higher sector of education.

Another important principle to achieve an effective is to define the standards of excellence. In this regard, it is key to first take into account the purpose of each level of education according to the necessities of the society. Standards of excellence should not apply uniformly for the whole education system. For instance, private schools procedures of admissions can become highly selective since these institutions count with enough resources to attract wealthy bright students and also to provide full scholarships to middle and low income students. This scheme doesn't apply to public schools in the rural areas because they are usually neglected by the education system and thus don't count with the required resources and fame to attract bright students. For this reasons, it would be highly damaging for the education system to set the same standards of excellence for all the educational areas and levels.

Likewise, in the higher education level, not all universities should meet the standards of the top universities of the world. Although is good to have great higher education schools, the government needs to set realistic standards for the universities according to their resources, capacity and purposes. For instance, teaching in vocational institutes can be excellent if the purpose of these schools is to graduate a certain number of students, who upon obtaining their diplomas, are competent enough to perform jobs that are high in demand. By setting realistic standards of excellence the human capital will be more solid and stronger, providing the economy with a better opportunity to expand and grow.

The proper management of resources is also vital in achieving an efficient implementation. Perhaps the most important resource in Pakistan for appropriate implementation to take place is the people (implementers). In some countries implementation efforts have failed because two or three people who were key in the process stepped out or got replaced by new ones. In order to avoid setbacks while implementing policies, Pakistani politicians and leaders should carefully delegate the implementation process to capable and competent implementers and should already have a potential list of skilled replacements in case that the first ones exit the process. When trying to recruit the implementers, the government should look for people that have a consistent track of success in implementing public policies, even if their area of expertise is not education. Candidates with private background can also be useful if their experience relates directly to management of resources and administrative duties.

7.1.2 Clarity of goals.

Cerych and Sabatier (1986) state that the formulation process is key in setting common goals between the contending parties and that if the goals are established in a vague fashion and are not realistic the main purpose of the objectives can be at risk.

Pakistan, as mentioned before in this study, has failed in achieving the New Education Goals set in 2000. The goals were clearly not realistic for Pakistan. In this regard, I believe that the government should focus their efforts in increasing the enrolment of students, reducing inequality in terms of gender, social class, region (urban or rural), and in enhancing the quality of the education provided. It is important that all of this efforts are simultaneously and equally applied to all the levels of the educational system.

The current inequality in gender and regions are problems that must become a priority in the reform agenda. These issues can be easily go unnoticed when implementing the reform. For example, if the government decides to put a strong emphasis on improving the private sector of education, poor girls that live in the rural areas will be dramatically affected. Private institutions may offer limited amount of scholarships to bright students, however, the fees that these institutions charge will be still unaffordable for most of the poor girl students living in the rural areas, increasing inequality among gender and regions. In this regard, the government should take care of business and provide the same strong emphasis on improving public schools in rural areas so poor girls can obtain access to good education.

Key areas for achieving goals

If Pakistan aims to obtain positive results out of the reform, the government should focus in improving four areas that are extremely important to the educational system. These areas are: governance, financial resources, human resources, and academic program reform. In order for the reform to work efficiently all of these areas should work in a systemic way.

Governance.- this area encloses four different elements: accountability of bureaucrats that are part of the educational system, efficient performance of enforcement bodies, development of affiliations between the private, civil and public areas, and putting in place an effective evaluation program for the education sector.

Cerych and Sabatier argue that a successful reform in the education level depends on the control of the Ministry of Education and its efficiency in monitoring and regulating the reform. As today, accountability of bureaucrats working for the education sector is bizarre and vague. This is mainly because of the 18th amendment to the constitution, which absolved the federal government from educational responsibility in the provinces. Since this amendment was recently challenged by the Supreme Court, bureaucrats from the federal and provincial level still don't know where they stand in terms of functions and accountability.

In order to obtain favorable results from the reform, the Pakistani government will be in need of regulating the actions of the private sector in the educational field. For instance, a major

problem in the system today is that the wealthy and smart students prefer to attend private schools rather than public institutions, which are only left with low income students that are not able to perform well in school. This problem needs to be tackled by promoting communication and cooperation between the private and public sector of the educational system. If the government doesn't facilitate this cooperation legislative leaders should step in and find a feasible solution for the issue. One thing that comes to my mind is to develop laws that force private institutions to admit and fund a certain number of low income students (around 30%).

The reform should also facilitate the formation of partnerships committed to make the system more fair and equal. These partnerships should include the public, civil and private sectors of the education system. As today the government is doing fine in taking action to promote the development of these partnerships. An example of this is the Foundation Assisted Schools initiative, funded by civilians and private businesses, which provides grants and money to schools with the purpose of canceling tuition fees to low income students.

Putting in place an effective evaluation and monitoring program is also very important for the reform to succeed. Perhaps the most challenging task is to make sure that all members working for the educational sector (teachers, principals, managers, etc.) are on the same page. In other words, to ensure that employees have a clear vision of the reform's goals and that they totally understand their position and responsibilities in achieving these objectives. This can only be materialized if the system establishes accountability mechanisms that push all employees to properly perform their functions and roles.

Financial resources. In Pakistan financial resources have always been a problem and it seems that this will not change in the near future. The country is currently facing inflation issues and the GDP per capita is very low. In this area Pakistan faces strong challenges, however, available resources, if properly allocated and managed, can still be of great use for the educational sector. Good use of resources and the support of a partnership between the government, private sector and citizens can be of great help in providing better educational services, through funding and scholarships, to poor students.

Resources should also be destined to improve the students enrolment and attendance. In low income regions this can be done by providing subsidies to schools in order to help students with transportation fees and also with basic needs such as healthy food and uniforms.

Human resources. This area is perhaps one of the most important ones to achieve a reform with positive results. Development of human resources require bodies that provide proper training to the hired teachers. This can be achieved if the government establishes different training centers focused on improving the teacher's performance and his/her career.

Another way of improving the quality of education in through incentives. Providing teachers with monetary incentives may result in a productive outcome. However, doing this will be difficult in Pakistan since there are not enough resources to afford monetary incentives to teachers. In my point of view it is imperative to provide teachers with incentives in order to

obtain positive results in the reform. The government needs to prioritize the education reform and should discuss the possibility of having budget cuts on other less important fields.

Academic program reform. Programs of education in Pakistan have been heavily criticized by academicians and researchers mainly because of the lack of tolerance. Several efforts have been taking place to change the schools programs but so far they have been useless since there is a great opposition to change especially in subjects like studies of Islam and history. Pakistani politics have been reluctant to change the school's curriculum for unknown reasons. It seems that there is a very powerful lobby effort that blocks any intent of change.

The curriculum has also received severe criticism because it doesn't allow students to think with independence, creativeness and innovation. This might also be due to the lack of quality of teachers. Teachers quality can be increased by improving human resources management. This is why I mentioned that in order for the result to be successful the four areas should work in a systemic way.

The reform will face several challenges. The main challenge is to ensure that the reform is implemented in a systemic way. This is going to be extremely difficult to achieve because the country is currently facing a lot of problems in the economy and security areas. As mentioned before, the inflation in Pakistan is very high and crime and violence are both on the rise.

7.1.3 Intervention of Fixers

In order to achieve successful implementation, Cerych and Sabatier (2006) argue that supporters of the policy need the intervention of actors outside the implementing institutions who are committed to the purpose of the policy, who have the ability to closely monitor the implementation of the program and who have sufficient resources to influence decisions of implementing agents. (Cerych and Sabatier, 1986 p 20). These actors are also known as fixers.

As mentioned before, Pakistani legislature, with support of fixers, approved the passing of the 18th amendment to the constitution, which delegated several responsibilities of the education sector to the provinces. The amendment absolved the federal government from educational responsibilities in the provinces. This caused negative reaction from the citizens and was challenged. The Supreme Court ruled in 2011 that the government cannot absolve itself from the obligation of being the provider of education. This exhibited the incompetence and terrible organization of fixers in Pakistan.

If fixers want to be successful at pushing the reform forward they will need to position the reform as a priority on the public agenda. Kingdon (1995) explains that in order to position an issue in the public agenda three elements should efficiently associate: problem stream, political stream and policy stream. The problem stream refers to a persistent problem that has been taunting citizens for a long period of time. The political stream refers to a strong political change that creates an opportunity for the problem to jump into the agenda. The policy stream element occurs when possible solutions to the problem are accessible. In Pakistan, as today, two of the three elements are already present (problem and political stream). The inequality of education problem is highly visible in Pakistan and political leaders are now trying to propose solutions in order to obtain votes from the citizens. The first and perhaps biggest challenge for the country is to align the policy stream, which is still a struggle, with the two already existent streams. Policy stream refers to finding practical solutions to the education problem and this can be achieved through thorough research which can be conducted and headed by think tanks and experts from the academia. If policy stream is achieved, the next step that would be required is to present these policy solutions to political leaders, that support the reform, so they can take further action. A second challenge that the government is facing is the changes in the constitution that are hurting the educational sector (ie. 18th amendment). These changes are harming the accountability of bureaucrats that work for the education system, who are very confused about their roles, responsibilities and expectations within the system. This problem needs to be solved as soon as possible and political leaders should advocate for solutions to this uncertainty, which can push away key actors in favor of the reform since there is not an institution or person responsible for the education sector.

The biggest barrier of the reform in Pakistan is by far the implementation. The main question is which group of fixers or which leaders will be able to materialize the educational reform. Throughout history, Pakistan has struggled in implementing reforms since there is a lack of commitment from leaders and also a deficiency of capacity and competence. It is not impossible though, if Pakistan wants to properly implement an educational reform a strong

consensus and commitment between the country's leaders, bureaucrats and citizens. To form a consensus strong political leadership and skills are required, therefore, the main mission is to find strong committed political leaders (fixers) that possess the ability and the resources to push the reform forward.

It is very important to take into account that what works in theory it doesn't necessarily means that it will also work in practice. It is possible that fixers that support the reform will face opposition from groups due to political matters. In order to overcome this obstacle, leaders in favor of the reform need to possess strong political analysis which will allow them to interpret in advance the opposition's reactions. Leaders should also be able to design different political strategies that allow them to identify the different actors involved in the reform, their power and their stand. Supporters of the reform should be ready to face unexpected and challenging outcomes.

The skills mentioned above should be used when executing a plan of action for pushing the reform forward, however, there are more elements that should also be involved when implementing the reform. One of these key elements is to obtain support from the main clients of the educational sector, the students and their family members. In Pakistan parents of children attending primary and secondary school are actively involved in the kid's educational development. While it can be unrealistic for the government to closely monitor the performance of teachers, the children attending classes and their parents can make it possible. Agents implementing the reform should be able to enhance the power of the clients to destroy the linkage between political officers and the institutions that most of the times ends up in malpractices like corruption and political favors (ie. principal of schools gets appointed based on political matters).

It is no lie to say that the educational system in Pakistan is going through a crisis. It is also not a lie to say that, as today, there is a big opportunity for the country to change things in a positive way. The government of Pakistan should act now to fix the problems that are making the educational sector dysfunctional and erratic. It is crucial to act as soon as possible since Pakistan will experience a boom in population during the next ten years which can make the problem worse. It is also important to point out that the education reform should be comprehensive and must address all of the education levels with equal importance. Private and public sectors should work shoulder to shoulder with citizens to properly implement the education reform. If the quality of education is higher the country will see positive changes in the areas that they are currently struggling such as economy and security.

7.2 South Korea Analysis

7.2.1 Degree of Change

This section will analyze the degree of change in the education system in South Korea. Cerych and Sabatier (1986) argue that the biggest the change of the system the harder it will be to implement policies.

During most of South Korean history, education was only available to a reduced elite. During the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910-1945), the education system in South Korea was decent, however, it was only the Japanese who were able to teach and to attend schools at the secondary and tertiary level. In other words, the South Korean citizens were excluded from their education system. When the Japanese occupation ended in 1945, South Korea was left with no educators and no educated citizens, and only 22% of the South Korean population was literate (NCEE Report 2015). The South Korean did their best to improve their education system but their hopes of improvement were devastated by the war they fought against North Korea in the 1950's.

Even though all the struggles and setbacks the South Korean education system is today one of the most sophisticated and efficient in the world. The country also possesses one of the highest skilled workforces in the world.

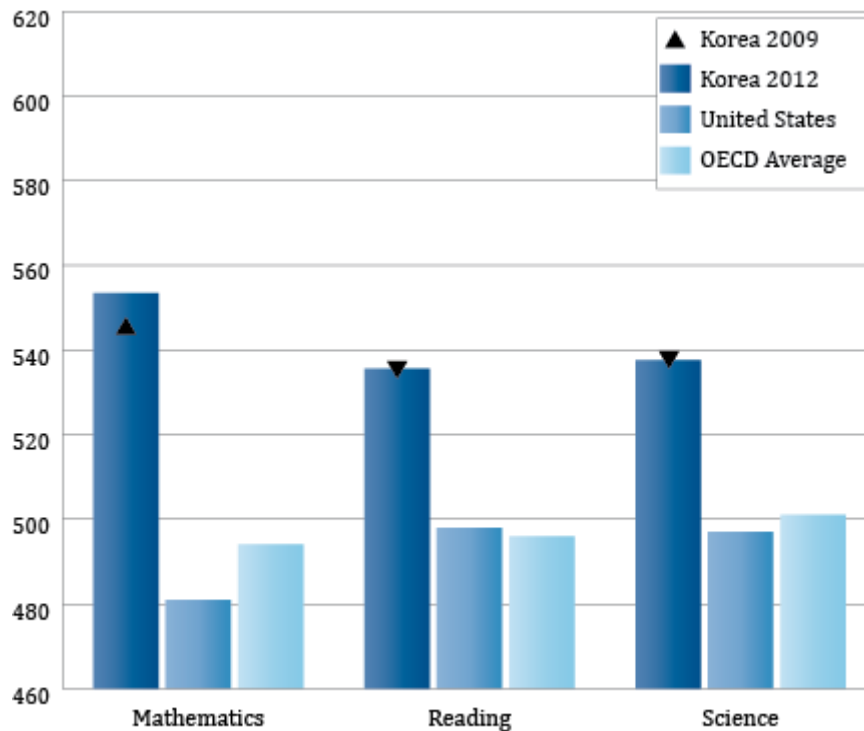
South Korea is a country with Confucian values such as strong work ethic, solid family values, loyalty, etc. These particular values had an impact on the country's success of constructing an efficient education system, however, it was the citizens commitment to education the ultimate feature that helped South Korea to build one of the most strongest education systems in the world.

During the Japanese occupation, South Koreans realized that one of the main tactics that Japan used to maintain power over the colony was the prohibition of education to Korean citizens. In 1919, South Koreans began to fight for their independence and the movement included the creation and development of a strong education system as a strategy to build a new and better country.

After the Korean war ended, South Korea started the process of building a new education system. The new system aimed to provide educational services to all the citizens of the country regardless their social or economic conditions. The first step the government took to achieve this goal, was to pass the Basic Education Law, which gave the government power to take control of all the school boards and to incorporate them into the ministry of education. This law also designed the structure of the new system which included an elementary level (6 years), middle school (3 years), high school (3 years) and university (4 years).

By 1966 the illiteracy rate in the country decreased dramatically. More than 90% of the elementary school cohort was still continuing education (OECD 2014). As today 98% percent of elementary schools cohorts successfully complete secondary education making it the number 1 country in the OECD (OECD 2014). 63% of adults aged between 25 and 34 successfully complete university (OECD 2014).

Figure 4. Shows the PISA mean scores by country for Reading, Mathematics and Science. It is impressive to note that South Korea is well above than the OECD average (Source OECD (2014), Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators, OECD Publishing, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2014-en>)



South Korean education system was and still is very test driven. In order to make the system more accessible, the government decided to ban admissions exams to middle schools, however, students aiming to pursue high school and university diploma still have to take highly competitive admission exams. As today, much of the professional success that a student might enjoy is directly related to the high school and university he or she attended.

Employers in South Korea tend to assign top managerial positions to employees that graduated from highly ranked universities. Social status of citizens is directly linked to the prestige of the college that they graduated from. An important fact to mention is that in South Korea is mandatory by law that children provide financial support to their parents as they grow old. For this reason parents put a lot of pressure on their kids to do well in school since their retirement income is proportional to their children's economic success, which depends mainly on the admissions exams for high school and university. Due to these conditions South Korean parents spend a lot of time and effort in trying to assure their children's academic success.

As today, the demand for education in South Korea is increasing and the stress that students face to perform is enormous. South Korea holds the number one position among OECD countries in study hours. It is widely known that students that fail to meet the academic

expectations set by their parents are harshly grounded and punished. Results of a survey conducted recently in South Korea showed that more than three fourths of students attending middle schools and high schools were seriously contemplating the possibility of running away from home or to commit suicide due to the high pressure that their parents put on them to excel in school.

Cerych and Sabatier argued that “Major changes are more likely than minor ones to be intensely resisted by such affected groups” (Cerych and Sabatier, 1986 p.12). For the South Korean case this clearly applies. Students and parents opposed the government’s introduction of the admission’s exams and pushed for change. Cerych and Sabatier (1986) argue that the achievement of goals can take time to occur due to “numerous false starts until implementing institutions acquire the experience necessary to learn to effectively co-ordinate various elements” (Cerych and Sabatier 1986 p. 12). The military regime effectively reacted to the changes and demands of the citizens in order to establish legitimacy.

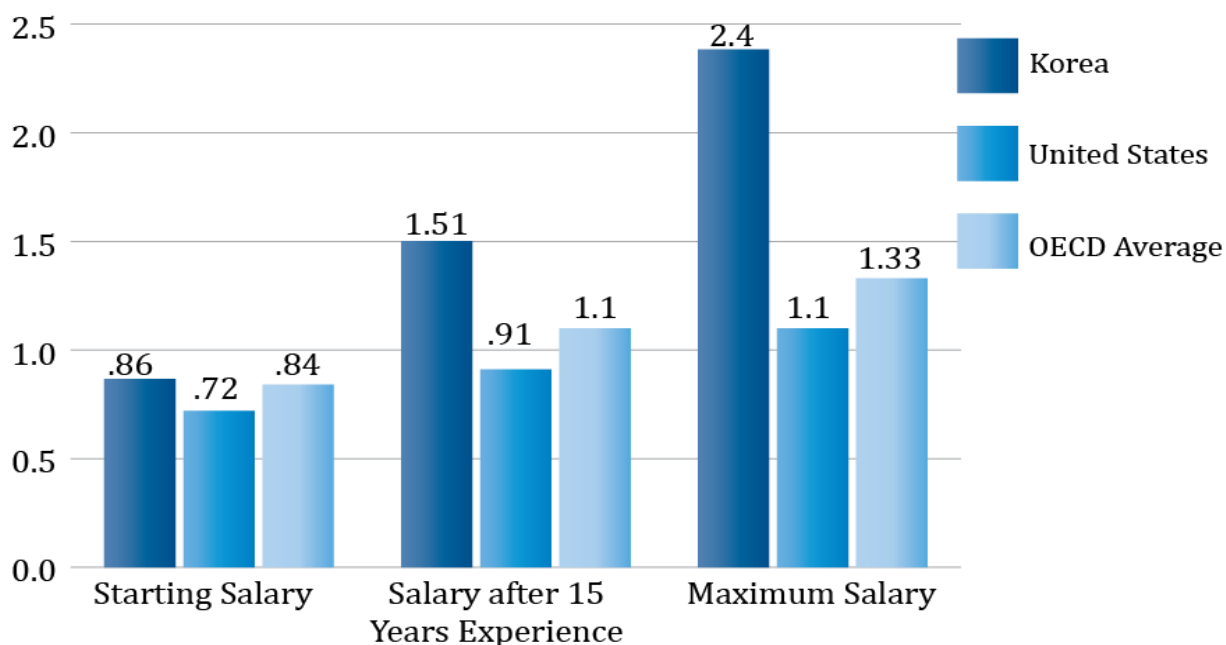
For all the reasons mentioned above, citizens in South Korea are overachieving in the educational sector. Students study longer hours than all the other students in the world, and their parents are willing to invest more in their education than all the other parents in the world. South Korean government has strongly supported the education system in terms of finance and resources, nevertheless, parents’ payment of their children school tuition has elevated the school spending all the way up to 15% of the country’s gross national product. Parents also spend huge amounts of money on tutoring services. Economic experts have pointed out that the financial resources spent by the parents in their children’s education is one important factor that has contributed to the success that the South Korean economy currently enjoys today.

7.2.2 Clarity of goals.

During the 1960’s and 1970’S South Korea experimented a fast economic growth. In response to this growth, the government decided to push an aggressive quantitative expansion in student and size, school facilities and teachers. The population of students grew rapidly and as a result the classrooms and schools exceeded their capacity, making teachers less capable to provide a good quality level of education.

In addition, During the 1970’s South Korea faced a significant scarceness of teachers and for this reason they decided to implement a strategy that built an education system with sufficient and competent teachers. As a response, the South Korean government decided to implement a strategy that consisted in paying teachers high wages, providing them with a high social status and a strong job security (See Figure 5). The goals of the strategy were achieved and became quite successful. As today teaching is the preferred career path among South Korean citizens. The teaching recruitment process in South Korea is one of the toughest and most selective ones in the world. For instance, only 5% of applicants get accepted for teaching positions at elementary schools (NCEE Report 2015). Most of the teachers in South Korea have bachelor’s degree and are completely certified.

Figure 5 Ratio of Lower Secondary Teacher’s Salary to GDP per capita in 2012 (Source: OECD (2014), Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators, OECD Publishing. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2014-en>)



In addition, South Korean government pursued a strong education reform that included the following goals: 1) the establishment of a Graduate School of Education in charge of training teachers 2) the cancellation of the middle school admission exam 3) melioration of universities at the local level 4) institutionalization of a general admissions exam for universities 5) converting selected high schools into 2 year colleges that provide training to primary school teachers and upgrading institutions that provide training to secondary school teachers to a full time four year program. All of the goals were successfully achieved.

In the 1980’s, the government continued to transform the educational system and focused mainly in trying to improve the quality of education. During this decade significant qualitative changes were made to the education system. South Korea became the first country to enjoin in the constitution the necessity of lifelong learning. The changes also aimed to achieve modernization through the development of science. Other important modifications to the education system included the building of a broadcasting platform for education, the introduction of a quota system to college graduates, the development of an educational tax system to fund the reforms and the creation of the Social Education Act and also the Early Education Promotion Act.

In 1985, The Commission for Educational Reform, an organism that provided education consultancy to the President, was created. The main goals of this commission were the following: Improvement of college admissions system, Improvement of education facilities, Improvement of the quality of teachers, to impulse the teaching of science, to improve the

quality of education offered at the university level , and to enhance autonomy in the education system. Impressively, all of the goals were also achieved.

During the 1990's, the education system in South Korea aimed to prepare strong foundations for the future in terms of quality of education. In 1990, the Ministry of Education changed the structure of its organization and the government pushed for the creation of new policies and legislations that increased the autonomy of local educational institutions. The government's main goals for the education sector were the following: to achieve an education welfare, to increase the dimension of mandatory education, to increase the number of schools providing secondary education, and to make the access of universities more available to citizens in order to improve the country's growth and economy.

Cerych and Sabatier (2006) state that the formulation process is key in setting common goals between the contending parties and that if the goals are established in a vague fashion the main purpose of the goal can be at risk. It is clear that in South Korea the formulation of policies for successful implementation were result of a response to failure. In other words, the goals were realistic because they responded to a necessity that the country had and to the demands of the population. Cerych and Sabatier clearly argue that in order for a reform or implementation of policy to succeed the goals must be realistic, explicit and clear (Cerych and Sabatier, 1986 p 14). This is exactly the case in South Korea and it can be argued that the success of the educational sector is directly attributed to the effective goal setting of the government.

7.2.3 Intervention of Fixers

Statism, as a political definition, refers to a concept in which the state subjugates the interest of individuals to its own interest or the state's interest (Hart & Burkett 2001). Statism was inherited by South Korea from Japan during the colonial era (1910-1945). In this type of statism, Japanese, the state has a lot of power over the bureaucracy and the public institutions in order to provide wealth to the country and a strong military, as claimed back in the colonial era, or to enhance economic prosperity and social development, as proclaimed today. State intervention in South Korea is almost omnipresent in the country and experts constantly question the existence of a civil society in South Korea. Policy making and implementation were mostly in charge of the military elite, which took unilateral decisions on behalf of the society, therefore, the role and intervention of fixers and legislation didn't have much relevance in the construction and implementation of education policies. However, for purposes of this study, we will identify the military leaders as fixers. Following I will analyze how the military leaders were able to intervene in the policy implementation of the education sector.

In 1961, General Pag Chong Hi took power after winning a coup and his regime lasted for 18 years, 1979, after he was killed. Subsequently, Chon Du Hoan and Ro Tae U took power of the country after completing a coup that killed more than 200 protestors, event widely known as the Kwangju massacre. The military ruling of Du Hoan and Ro Tae lasted until 1993. During this period of military dictatorship, which lasted three decades, the state faced serious concerns about the legitimacy of power. As a measure to calm the society down, the military

regimes utilized the bureaucracy, which was also tightly controlled by the state by preventing bureaucrats to earn power and privileges. The two dictatorships featured political parties in the legislature, however, the parties didn't enjoy freedom and were totally ruled by the military elites. Consequently, the state was able to exercise total control over political parties, citizens and the bureaucracy.

As mentioned before, perhaps the main issue that the military dictatorships of South Korea faced was the lack of legitimacy of power. In order to maintain legitimacy, the military elites tried to control the daily activity of its citizens, repressed any form of manifestation or resistance from society, and used the possibility of North Korea invading the country as a justification of all the repressing policies. Nevertheless, these tactics from the states only generated results on the short term and discontent from the South Korea grew immensely. In response, the government had to turn to a new strategy. In 1961, General Park Chung Hee pushed for a new project that aimed to earn legitimacy from economic development. This new tactic consisted mainly in spreading the word among the population that great economic expansion was on its way and that citizens would have a significant share of this abundance. It is important to note that all of Chung Hee successors adhered to this strategy.

The military dictatorship promoted economic development and used it as tool to gain legitimacy from the citizens. However, the legitimacy that this strategy provided didn't last long. The government decided to invest and to allocate resources only to strategic fields of the industry, generating huge discontent from all the others industrial areas. In response to this discontent, the Chung Hee's regime, and also all of his successors later, took two different plans of action. First, the state suppressed all demonstrations of public discontent and decided to open debate on issues regarding equality. Second, the state utilized egalitarian policies as instruments to calm down the growing discontent of the society. These policies were detrimental to the economic development plan because the state repressed the labor sector and favored the industrial one but, simultaneously, it brought prices down so the poor people can fulfill daily basic needs. The result was a conflict of policies and a massive constraint of profit.

Because of the reasons explained above, the legitimacy crisis in South Korea grew even further. This problem required immediate response from the state. In this regard, the military regime decided to take advantage of what Dore (1982) described as the "personalist ethic", a traditional system in South Korea that consisted of making deals via personal networking instead of using public competition. The military regime decided to allocate significant amount of resources to selected groups, that arguably can be considered as fixers, who were connected to the state, in order to control the population. These groups, who were funded by the state, were mainly political and some of their functions included the raising of funds for the military regime, proselytism to obtain more votes in favor of the regime during elections, and the spread of pro-state feelings among students and schools. This strategy was very effective and successful because legitimacy was re-established through selected groups that efficiently promoted a nationalistic sentiments.

These fixers groups implemented statist policies in the education sector. The military regime knew that educational institutions were key in establishing legitimacy among citizens. For

this, the regime took complete control of the educational sector and assured that all the institutions, private or public, including their principals and teachers were aligned to the purpose of promoting state legitimacy. In order to ensure the control of the education field, the regime decided to create a legal program that stipulated new legal terms to the institutions. For instance, public schools were labelled as public institutions, private institutions were labeled as public legal bodies and teachers were categorized as public agents (Kim, 2005). This new legal framework gave the power to the regime to control all the educational procedures including, curriculum of schools, student admissions, learning material, recruitment of teachers, among others.

In 1961, General Pang Chong Hi didn't believe that education would play a key role in re-establishing legitimacy, and even if he did, the country was facing economic difficulties and couldn't spend much money on the field. Since resources were scarce, mainly due to the aftermath of the Korean war, Pag decided to limit spending on education and also wanted to suppress any possible form of discontent or manifestation that supported education funding. As part of a plan to implement Pag's policy, the government decided to reduce the number of students at the secondary schools and universities through extremely competitive admission exams. This measure generate immediate discontent from the society since many citizens were not able to pass the exams and hence were not able to continue to the next level of education.

The discontent among society forced Pag to change the policy and to pursue one that would be more fair to the students. In trying to redeem himself, Pag decided to introduce a state admission exam for each education level and ordered all schools to base the student's admission solely on the result of the state's test. This measurement promoted fairness within the education system but, at the same time, it made the entrance competition a huge problem because it created an intern fierce competition among schools to prepare students for the tests. It is important to mention that some schools had more resources than others, and that students graduating from schools with more resources tended to perform better on the entrance examinations. Because of this problem the society expressed its discontent and the state had to change the strategy. With the aim of easing people down, Pag decided to increase the quota of students at secondary and university levels, and also reduced the tuition fees in order to calm parents down. The state also decided to spend more money on education and increased spending on the renewal of school facilities.

Most of Pag Chong Hi techniques were also used by his successor Chu Du Huan, who ruled South Korea until 1988. In other words, for almost 30 years (1961-1988) South Korea was ruled by military regimes. These statist regimes had total control over the educational sector and controlled its policy formulation and implementation. The regimes encountered great opposition from the society, nevertheless, they effectively implemented policies, through groups of fixers, to improve the education system in order to keep citizens happy and hence maintain a high level of legitimacy. Put differently, the military elite successfully used the education system as a mechanism to earn approval and lawfulness from citizens.

7.3 Between Case Comparison Analysis

Degree of System Change

Cerych and Sabatier (1986) clearly state on their work that a high degree of system change may cause the implementation process to become unsuccessful. The authors state that small changes in the systems enhance stability and hence the possibility of a successful achievement of policy objectives.

Pakistan is a country that has faced a lot of political change. As mentioned before, the country gained its independence from the United Kingdom in 1947 and subsequently was ruled different authoritarian regimes that repressed citizens for more than sixty six years. The system is now completely different mainly because in 2007 a democratic government took power. Citizens in Pakistan are now much more engaged in politics than before. New generations are aware of the power that they have and openly express their discontent and dissatisfaction when the government fails to deliver services. South Korea has a similar history. For this reason it was selected as a most similar case to Pakistan. In 1945, the country became independent after Japan's World War II defeat. Peace, however, didn't last long for South Korea. In the 1950's, as part of the cold war era, South Korea fought a fierce war against its neighbor North Korea. After the war ended, a military regime led by Pag Chong Hi took power in 1961. The military regimes in South Korea lasted until 1993 when Kim Young Sam became the first civilian President. In summary, both countries earned independence in the 1940's, they were mostly ruled by military regimes after independence and now hold democratic governments.

Although they share similar historical facts, their political systems differ greatly. South Korea inherited Japanese statism as a form of government. In this system the state has supreme power over public institutions and takes unilateral decisions on behalf of society. This condition allowed military regimes to keep power for several years (1961-1987). Since 1987 South Korea is a democratic republic. On the other hand, Pakistan, after its independence, inherited a parliamentary democracy from the United Kingdom, nevertheless, the form of government in Pakistan changed in 1958 to a military regime, led by Iskandar Mirza. In 1971, Pakistan went back to a democratic government, led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, but only lasted six years and in 1977 the country went back again to a military regime that lasted until 1988, when democracy returned again for eleven years (1999). For most of the 2000's, Pakistan was ruled again by a military regime. In 2008 democracy returned and as today is still the form of government that rules the country. In summary, South Korea's political system faced a transcendental change in 1993 when the country became a democratic republic. Simply put, South Korea only faced one major change in its form of government, compared to Pakistan's form of government which has bounced back and forth between democracies and military regimes.

As described above, Pakistan went through a lot of changes in its form of government. This changes can explain why the implementation of education policies in the country has roundly failed. The political instability in the country is directly related to constant changes of leaders

that have different ideologies and contrasting leadership styles. This point certainly aligns with Cerych and Sabatier's view that big changes can lead to failures in the policy implementation process. Cerych and Sabatier (1986) also argue that major changes in systems tend to complicate the implementation of policy since opposition from groups might occur. This case is particularly true for Pakistan which education policies have faced enormous opposition from young citizens who have openly expressed their discontent due to the disorganized and unstable education system that the country has currently in place.

In South Korea the scenario is quite different. The country only went through a big major change in 1987 when a new leader was elected through democratic elections. For almost three decades, under the rule of the military regimes, the state was very efficient in responding to the educational needs of the citizens. The policy implementation of educational policies was very successful. Under the strong leadership of Pag Chong Hi, the country developed smart strategies that responded to the demands of the students, and their parents, and at the same time the state was able to uphold legitimacy among its citizens. This legitimacy strengthened the military regime and prolonged its supremacy for the upcoming years. South Korea's case also is connected to Cerych and Sabatier's theory since it demonstrates that small changes in the system foster the efficiency of policy implementation. Furthermore, it exhibits the importance of the continuity of policies under rulers with strong leadership features.

Clarity of Goals

Cerych and Sabatier's (1986) theoretical model also state that a critical stage that might determine the success or failure of policy implementation is the formulation stage. Cerych and Sabatier believe that, while formulating policies, policy makers should set goals and objectives that are precise, lucent and consistent. If goals are clear and realistic there is a big possibility that efficient policy implementation will occur.

South Korea's government has been very committed to improve its education system since the Japanese occupation ended. In 1961, the new military government of South Korea, headed by Pag Chong Hi, established clear goals that allowed the education system to move in the right direction. During the formulation policy process of a new education system, the South Korean government officials objectives were very clear and concise. The leaders wisely designed a long term plan with the purpose of establishing a strong and solid education system. This plan set time tables for each level of education. During the 1960's the government merely focused on strengthening the primary level of education, in the 1970's the goal was to improve the secondary level, and the 1980's dealt with the university level. Moreover, the statist policymakers intended to create an education system that was completely under the power of the military elite. To pursue this goal, the South Korean government passed the Basic Education Law which basically delegated all the power of the education government to the state. Another important reform that was very successful in terms of policy implementation was the Educational Reform of 1995, which featured lucent goals that were set at the early stage of the policy formulation process. The main goals of this reform were to increase shareholder participation, to introduce a more efficient school curriculum and to increase

spending on education. All of these goals were achieved and the policies of the reform were efficiently implemented.

In contrast, Pakistan policymakers have repeatedly failed in trying to set clear goals during the formulation process. The thesis has provided a lot of situations and examples in which policy implementation has failed in the country's educational sector. It is clear that leaders and policymakers in Pakistan do not possess the political analysis and knowledge required to formulate a policy, leading to the setting of unrealistic and bizarre goals. One key example of the leaders incompetence is when the government committed to achieve the New Education Goals for 2015 in 2000. The government failed to achieve all of the goals listed in that document. In 2015, a report issued by UNESCO stated that "The government is not serious about achieving the goals... Pakistani authorities are always very quick to sign on these indicators and vow to achieve them, but later on fail to show political will and engagement into accomplishing them" (UNESCO 2015). It is clear that a lack of political engagement and leadership has led to the formulation of vague and unrealistic goals.

The South Korea case can validate Cerych and Sabatier's (1986) argument that the formulation of clear and concise policy goals can lead to efficient implementation. Likewise, Pakistan's case also validates the author's theory since it demonstrates that the lack of precise goals leads to failure in policy implementation. In addition, this comparison also exposes the importance of leadership and political engagement from government officials in formulating and eventually achieving the goals.

Intervention of fixers.

According to Cerych and Sabatier's model (1986) successful policy implementation is contingent upon finding leaders outside the institutions in charge of implementing the policy, also known as fixers. These leaders should possess great influence and resources in order to push the policy forward. These leaders can be legislators, government officials and interest groups.

Education reform policies in Pakistan have been supported by fixers. However, the fixers in Pakistan have exhibited horrible leadership abilities, poor decision making and a severe lack of legal knowledge. For instance, in 2010 a group of fixers, formed mainly of legislators, mobilized resources and used their influence to effectively pass and implement the 18th amendment of the Constitution, which stipulated that the federal government was absolved from educational responsibilities, leaving the educational system in hands of the provinces. Nevertheless, fixers in Pakistan ignored the lawfulness of this amendment and in 2011 the Supreme Court of Pakistan declared the law unconstitutional.

On the other hand, In South Korea, from 1961 until 1988 educational reform policies were totally supported by the state. The Ministry of Education had no autonomy since it was totally under the power of the military elite. Nonetheless, in the mid 1970's South Korea's military elite face a legitimacy crisis and decided to allocate resources to selected interest groups in order to push policies forward. These groups can be identified as fixers and they were extremely efficient in the implementation of policies and also developed a strong nationalistic

sentiment among South Korean citizens. These group of fixers were mainly composed of agents outside the implementing agencies, which totally matches Cerych and Sabatier's definition of fixers. In comparison with the Pakistani fixers, fixers of South Korea were highly educated and possessed significant amount of resources, which came from the state, and strong connections. South Korean fixers efficiently implemented statist education policies by creating a new legal framework that redefined the educational sector in the country. This framework endowed the military elite with power over all the educational areas including curriculum, admissions and hiring of teachers. The South Korean fixers, compared to their counterparts in Pakistan, without a question, demonstrated great leadership skills when implementing policies.

In both case studies the presence of fixers was evident throughout the policy implementation process. However, this comparison between cases demonstrated it that the support of fixers doesn't always leads to a successful implementation of a policy. In the Pakistan situation the fixers lacked important abilities such as leadership and knowledge, which eventually led to the failure of policy implementation. This finding can serve as an additional factor to Cerych and Sabatier's theory of successful policy implementation.

In summary, the Cerych and Sabatier model of 1986 provides different factors that contribute to the effective implementation of policy. This model is used as a framework for this between-cases comparative analysis, which resulted in an interesting finding. One important factor that explains the success of South Korea and the failure of Pakistan is leadership. This element will be thoroughly analyzed in the next section of this thesis.

8 Impact of Leadership in Policy Implementation

Leadership can be referred to the way institutions were utilized by the government to implement policy. The leadership factor is, in my opinion, the most relevant element in determining the success or failure of policy implementation in the two cases analyzed. The theoretical framework of this study, proposed by Cerych and Sabatier (1986), omitted the influence of leadership in the process of policy implementation.

Leadership is a concept that is hard to define. For this study, the definition of successful leadership will come from the researcher John Kotter. Kotter (2006) outlined the tasks that leaders should implement in order to successfully achieve policy goals. Kotter argued that leaders should establish a direction and should effectively communicate the direction to all the parts involved in the policy implementation process. He also stated that leaders should be great motivators and encourage people if the policy implementation process faces adversity and should be able to push towards change if required. This section aims to research the impact of leadership and the decisions of leaders in the policy implementation processes in Pakistan and South Korea.

8.1 Leadership in Pakistan

Pakistan is a country in which Islam is the main religion. It is quite important to understand the conception of leadership in the Islamic context in order to fully understand the implications of leadership in policy implementation.

In Islamic societies, any educational finding or discovering that defies the teachings of the Quran is prompt to face huge opposition from the religious followers. This is one of the main reasons why reforms in the school curriculums have not been able to go smoothly since some proposed reforms challenge Islamic beliefs.

One of the strongest features of Islam is the acquisition of knowledge, however, this knowledge is not a matter of personal will or election, but is rather one of God's tasks that is available to all Muslims and that the ones that seek knowledge will be able to productively act on the name of God. Islam believes that the main function of teachers is to provide the knowledge and to become guides of the students in order to bring them closer to God.

Leadership in the education sector, under Islamic interpretation, is formed of three main features: 1) Leaders should be able to teach with knowledge 2) Leaders should possess high moral values and guide the believers close to God 3) Leaders should be fully committed and responsible. In other words, Islam argues that leaders that aim to spread knowledge among people should possess high knowledge (educators), which can be translated to high levels of education, should have great values and enough wisdom to bring believers closer to God (prophet), and should also be the highest authority in the society of Islam (parent).

It is clear that the Islamic basic ideas of leadership in the education sector are similar to the ones that the western culture has. Nevertheless, leaders in Pakistan, in practice, have not been

able to follow the core ideas of the Qur'an in terms of education. In Pakistan, Qur'an is used mainly to memorize some key prayers but not as a platform to push change and prosperity.

While conducting research for this thesis, I found several experts on Pakistan highly questioning the country's leaders skills to push the country towards a path of growth and progress. Most of the existent publications that cover public implementation in Pakistan efficiently address the problems that the country is facing, but lack a realistic proposal of solutions to these problems. This deficiency of solutions is present because the concept leadership is extremely hard to define.

In today's institutions change is a reality that cannot be ignored and which needs to be dealt by policymakers, bureaucrats, and officials in power. Reforms and policy implementation in any country require the intervention of clever and tenacious leaders that are willing to develop new abilities that respond to the necessities that change demands. Pakistan urgently needs leaders that are able to use new ideas and perspective on how to wisely use and allocate available resources in favor of the education sector. The Ministry of Education must deliver capacity building opportunities so teachers and authorities can work shoulder to shoulder in order to efficiently implement a policy. In addition, the sense of ownership among Pakistani leaders is almost non present. In this regard, leaders should actively engage in developing a strong ownership and should also understand that ownership is not immediately available at the beginning of the implementation process, but is a feature that is acquired through an adequate change process.

Leaders in Pakistan have failed to form an educational system in which students learn from each other and commit to improve the country's educational system. This issue reveals that leaders should aim to improve the system of evaluation and assessment in educational institutions. Both, teachers and students should be subject to evaluations that determine their progress in order to identify potential areas of growth.

Leadership in the Pakistan education sector mainly lies on one person, the Minister of Education, and has not been able to efficiently spread throughout the institution. This problem makes the system clumsy because it does not allow the opportunity for new leaders to emerge. In other words, Pakistani leaders should actively look for new leaders that have the ability to instill leadership in others in order to improve the system.

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, Leaders have failed to kept schools in poor communities out of isolation. This problem is serious since it prevents a lateral capacity building in which schools learn from each other and the quality of education provided improves. Leaders of the educational field in Pakistan should promote the interaction of schools so they can learn out of their successes and failures.

Leaders in Pakistan have failed to develop educational programs that properly train school authorities, such as principals, to become authentic leaders. In other words, school authorities are not trained to become school authorities and have no idea on how to lead and manage schools. In theory, several educational policies in Pakistan highlight the importance of having well prepared and highly qualified school leaders. Unfortunately, in Pakistan, Leaders have

failed to apply theory into practice. Principals in schools do not possess the proper training and knowledge to do their jobs. Principals deal more with financial and administrative procedures rather than improving the quality of education and preparing teachers better.

An important feature that leaders in Pakistan lack is a moral purpose. Pakistan is in desperate need of leaders that have a strong desire to improve the country's situation, that fully understand the change processes and that can pass leadership to others.

The effect of leadership in policy implementation is an area that lacks a lot of research in schools in Pakistan. The main reason of this is because educational reforms in developing countries, such as Pakistan, are based on the top-down policy implementation rather than in modifying the educational sector at the school level (down to top).

In Pakistan, it is clear that the lack of leadership is directly related to the failure of policy implementation.

8.2 Leadership in South Korea

South Korea is a country with Confucian values such as strong work ethic, solid family values, loyalty, etc. These particular values had an impact on the country's ability to establish solid leadership values among the rulers. Researchers like Hofstede and Peterson (2000) have pointed out that cultural values have a strong relationship with the development of leadership in the society and that the practices of leadership are aligned with the values that the leaders have.

Confucianism is the backbone of East Asian cultural values, including South Korea, and has had a significant impact on leadership practices (Cheung & Chan, 2005; Ip, 2011; Lin, 2008). Confucianism is composed of seven values: benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, trustworthiness, loyalty and filial piety. Moral and ethical leadership are directly derived from these values and have helped tremendously in the implementation of policies in the country.

As mentioned before in this thesis, one of the main goals of the rulers of South Korea is to establish legitimacy, in other words, to keep their citizens happy. South Korean leaders have used the education system as a tool to promote legitimacy and nationalism in the country.

Leaders in South Korea have been very successful at establishing a direction for the implementation of policies within the educational system. In order to keep up with the economic development plans, the government undertook aggressive implementation strategies in the educational sector. Leaders effectively communicated the direction to school authorities and teachers. They were also able to transfer that leadership and power to the teaching profession through the establishment of an effective system of incentives which attracted overachieving high school graduates into a teacher career. The incentive mechanisms imposed by leaders were extremely effective and by 1970 the supply of teacher became greater than the demand. As today the teaching profession is the most popular one and respected in South Korea. It is also a symbol of social status and honor.

Leaders of South Korea have also increase the role of stakeholders in the education system. The most important stakeholders, outside the government, are the parents. South Korean leaders imposed mandatory laws that force children to provide financial aid their parents once they become old. This measure made parents to put a lot of emphasis in the education of their children since, technically, their future as elders mainly depended on their kids income. Although this method has been widely criticized it has been effective and kids in South Korea are currently excelling in the education sector.

The leaders of the country transformed the educational system and focused mainly in trying to improve the quality of education. In the 1980's, thanks to the strong leadership skills of Chu Du Huan, South Korea became the first country to enjoin in the constitution the necessity of lifelong learning.

Perhaps the most important feature of leadership demonstrated by South Korean leaders is how they were able to change strategies according to the demands of the population without neglecting the basic needs of the economy. In other words, how efficiently leaders reacted to changes without putting the country's direction at risk. General Pang Chong Hi possessed strong leadership skills which were demonstrated in the way he effectively changed strategies in order to satisfy the society's demand. He efficiently cut resources, which were needed by the economy in other areas, in the educational sector but eventually resumed the spending. Put differently, Chong Hi was a great administrator of resources and while cutting resources in the education sector, which generated discontent, he was able to calm citizens down by justifying his actions and assuring them that it was for the welfare of the whole country, which indeed was correct and showed strong Confucian values.

As mentioned before, South Korea was led by statist leaders who had total control over the educational sector and controlled its policy formulation and implementation. The regimes encountered great opposition from the society, nevertheless, they effectively implemented policies. To be more distinct, the military elite was characterized by great leadership that successfully implemented education policies and at the same time established legitimacy from the society.

South Korean leaders play a key role in maintaining a healthy relationship between the citizens and state. This was achieved due to strong leadership skills. Leaders were loyal to the Confucian ideals by being faithful to their citizens. It is evident that the Confucian model has significant positive implications in the way leaders of South Korea act, and therefore, in the implementation of public policies.

8.3 Leadership and Mexico's Education Reform

As mentioned throughout this thesis, one of the most important factors that influence the efficiency of policy implementation is the decisions that leaders take. Following I will analyze the approach that leaders have in Mexico in the fields accountability, centralization, school leadership, funding, stakeholders and human capital. All of these areas are extremely important in the education reform process that Mexico is currently going through. The analysis will also provide suggest how the strategies implemented by South Korean leaders can benefit the policy implementation of the reform in Mexico.

Accountability

The tasks and responsibilities of each of the parts involving the implementation process need to be directly aligned with the policy objectives and goals. In order to effectively assign responsibilities a strong accountability system should be enforced. In this regard Mexico should follow the model pursued by the South Korean government, which successfully established a balance between autonomy of schools and accountability of quality. The Korean government took some control out of schools by eliminating inspections by the ministry and replaced this practice by putting in place a performance evaluation conducted by a panel of experts. This change increased the level of accountability among schools and education authorities.

Centralization

Centralization is another big issue currently in the Mexican educational system. Currently the Mexican education system has a high degree of centralization mainly exercised by leaders at the federal government and also by the state government. In addition, there is a massive presence and dominance of the teachers unions. The leaders of these different groups play a key role in determining the allocation of funding and resources, undermining the schools autonomy and flexibility in decision making. In this regard, Mexico should follow the South Korean model of centralization. In 1991 the Local Education Autonomy Act was passed in South Korea and it provided local education authorities with autonomy in terms of budgeting, recruitment, and regulations from K-12 education. Mexico has currently no law or act that provides local institutions with autonomy in terms of resource management. Following the Korean model can boost the autonomy of schools and improve the quality of education.

Funding

Mexico is currently spending 5% of its GDP on education (OECD 2014). The spending doubles the one of Pakistan which accounts for 2.5% (OECD 2014). However, the big problem in this field is that most of the financial resources (more than 90%) are allocated to staff members. Only 5% of the total funding is used to improve other important parts such as infrastructure, innovation and research (OECD 2014). The big problem is that leaders of the Mexican educational system tend to engage in corrupt practices such as controlling the payroll of the Ministry of Education and including in it persons that are owed political favors. Much of these persons, who receive payments as "teachers", never actually show up to classes and

basically are paid for literally doing nothing, just a few actually teach but are not qualified to do it. This problem is currently hurting the educational system in Mexico and has lowered the quality of education. In this regard, Mexican leaders should first apply the strategy that South Korea used in the 1990's which consisted of balancing the funding of the educational system and spending more on infrastructure than the previous decades. The Mexican government, as mentioned before, should also be able to provide schools with financial autonomy so they can fulfill their needs in order to offer a higher quality of education.

Stakeholders

In Mexico, the principal stakeholders and the teacher unions (Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación) and the federal government. During the 2000's there was a huge struggle of power between the two groups. The trade union has opposed many of the actions that the federal government has tried to implement. In 2013, the leader of the union, Elba Esther Gordillo, was arrested due to corruption accusations and still remains incarcerated. Her detention eased down the tension between these two stakeholders, however, both stakeholders have failed to provide a higher quality of education. In this regard, the Mexican leaders should promote the involvement of parents as stakeholders. This measurement was taken by South Korea and did wonders for the education system. South Korea has always showed strong endorsement for parent participation in the education system. The country has implemented and funded several programs that teach parents how to increase their role in the education of their children. On a negative note, the South Korean system has made parents to become a bit maniacal in terms of their children academic performance. While it is good to increase the participation of parents in the education system, too much pressure can become a detrimental feature that might affect the mental health of the students. Mexico should avoid this exaggeration.

Human Capital

The recruitment of teachers in Mexico has been very inadequate and dysfunctional. According to a report of the OECD, in 2010 only 13 states out of the 31 selected teachers through an examination process (OECD 2014). Moreover, the government has failed to provide proper training to teachers and incentives to become better at their profession. In response to these deficiencies, the 2012 education reform included the new General Law of the Professional Teaching Service which aims to consolidate a professional teaching service for primary and upper secondary education. This new law establishes the criteria for selection, appointment and promotion possibilities for teachers. It features the National Teaching Post Competition which principal objective is to ameliorate transparency in the teacher recruitment process. The law also aims to establish new incentive instruments and mechanisms in order to improve teacher's performance.

Mexico should provide teachers incentives that are similar to the ones that South Korean government provided to its teachers in the 1970s. These incentives included tuition exemption for education majors in public universities, absolution from obligatory military service, among others. The incentive mechanisms were extremely effective and by 1970 the supply of teacher became greater than the demand and as today teaching is the preferred career path among South Korean citizens.

9 Conclusion

The conducted research aimed at answering the question: Does leadership has a direct influence in the process of policy implementation? In order to answer this question a small N comparison design was used where two countries, Pakistan and South Korea, using the similar the Most Similar Case Method.

First, I researched the historical components of each case and subsequently conducted an analysis of the possible causes for failure of policy implementation in Pakistan and success in South Korea. As demonstrated in the analysis, effective centralization, good management of resources, strong political engagement and clear goals are key in order to successfully achieve and effective policy implementation.

Subsequently, I conducted a comparative analysis between South Korea and Pakistan in relation to the theoretical framework. Cerych and Sabatier (1986) argue that the degree of change in the system, the clarity of goals, and the intervention of the so called fixers are key factors that directly affect the outcome of policy implementation. In this analysis I was able to find that the less political change a system face, the set of realistic and clear goals during the policy formulation, and that the proper intervention (not only their intervention) of leaders and groups supporting the implementation process (fixers) are factors that lead to and efficient implementation of policies.

One of the main causes for policy implementation failure in Pakistan was that the political system experienced a lot of changes. The system has bounced back and forth between democracies and military regimes, forbidding political continuity. The second cause was that their political leaders lacked knowledge on the policymaking field and were not engaged when formulating policy goals. The third cause that led to policy failure was that the intervention of legislators was incompetent because they passed laws that are unconstitutional.

On the other hand, South Korea only experienced one major political change in 1988, when the country became democratic. The military regime enjoyed strong stability under the lead of Pag Chong Hi. The South Korean authoritarian state wisely formulated policy objectives that were efficiently achieved and also provided support to interest groups, fixers, that implemented statist policies very efficiently.

While conducting the comparative analysis I came up with the main finding that the role of leadership is vital in achieving proper policy implementation. Most of the successful policies implemented in South Korea came behind the strong leadership of General Pag Chong Hi. The most predominant factor that appeared in the comparative analysis, other than the ones pointed out by the authors of the theoretical framework, was leadership. This element is constantly omitted in the theoretical framework of Cerych and Sabatier (1986) in relation to policy implementation

Moreover, I compared the factors behind the leadership values of Pakistan and South Korea and found out that cultural values have a direct impact in the quality of leadership of countries.

While Leaders in South Korea adhered firmly to the Confucian values and on the other hand, leaders of Pakistan only view the values of the Qu'ran as symbolical and didn't apply them in practice.

Furthermore, based on the results, I conducted an analysis which provided an insight on how the Mexican education system can be improved in relation to the success that South Korea has achieved behind great leadership.

It would be interesting, as a recommendation for further research, to explore how the function of leadership is directly related to other factors such as discretion, communication, incentives and guidance, and that if these factors can also change the outcome of the implementation of a policy. Also another interesting factor for further research would be the impact that supporters behind the leaders have on the policy implementation process. In the comparative analysis I also found out that interest groups supported politically and economically by the government can influence the policy implementation process. Researchers and experts should focus their efforts on finding what other factors, others than the ones mentioned in existent literature, influence the policy implementation process directly or indirectly.

In conclusion, the answer to the research question is that indeed leadership has a strong influence in the effectiveness of the policy implementation process. In summary, the thesis research found that an understanding of leadership and factors such as culture is needed if significant problems of implementation of policy are to be overcome. Hence, leadership and its role in policy implementation needs to be a subject of additional research.

10 References

- Ali, S. (2006). Why does policy fail? understanding the problems of policy implementation in Pakistan - a neuro-cognitive perspective. *International Studies in Educational Administration*, 34(1).
- Aziz et al (2014) Education System Reform in Pakistan, Why, When, and How?. Iza Policy Paper No. 76
- British Council Pakistan (2009), "Pakistan: The Next Generation", November 2009.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods* (4th ed., p. 766). New York: Oxford University Press
- Burki, Shahid Javed (1999). *Crisis in Pakistan: A Diagnosis of Its Causes and An Economic Approach to Resolving It*. Pakistan Institute of Development Economics. Lectures in Development Economics No. 9, 1999.
- Calista, DJ (1987), "Employing Transaction Costs Analysis as a Theory of Public Sector Implementation", *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol 15, No 3, March.
- Cerych, L and Sabatier, P (1986), *Great Expectations and Mixed Performance - The Implementation of Higher Education Reforms in Europe*, Trentham Books, Stoke-on-Trent.
- Cheung, C., & Chan, A. C. (2005). Philosophical foundation of eminent Hong Kong Chinese CEO's leadership. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 60, 47-62.
- Creswell, JW (1998) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design – Choosing Among Five Traditions*, Sage Publications, London
- Dewan and Myatt (2008), *The Qualities of Leadership: Direction, Communication, and Obfuscation*. LSE PSPE Working Paper No. 1. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1083815> /<http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1083815>
- Dore, R.P. (1982). "Groups and Individuals.," In: *Society in Transition with Special Reference to Korea*, ed. Y. S. Chang et al. (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1982), 13-29.
- Edwards, GC (1984) *Public Policy Implementation*, JAI Press Inc, London.
- Elmore, RF (1978), "Organizational Models of Social Program Implementation", *Public Policy*, 26(2), Spring
- Goggin, Malcolm and Bowman, Ann and Lester, James and O'Toole, Laurence. (1990). *Implementation Theory and Practice, Toward a Third Generation*. Illinois: Scott, Foresman/Little, Brown Higher Education.
- Government of Pakistan (1965). Planning Commission. *The Third Five Year Plan 1965-70*.

Government of Pakistan (1970). Pakistan Planning Commission 1970

Government of Pakistan (1996), "Social Action Programme: Report to the Pakistan Consortium 1996- 97", Planning Commission, April 1996.

Government of Pakistan (2013). Economic Survey 2013. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan

Hart and Burkett (2001) "Economic Crisis and Restructuring in South Korea: Beyond the Free Market-Statist Debate," *Critical Asian Studies*, Vol 33, No 3 (September 2001).

Hewlett, M., & Ramesh, M. (1995), *Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Hofstede, G. H., & Peterson, M. F. (2000). *Culture: National values and organizational practices*. In N. M. Ashkanasy, C. P. M.

Ibrahim M (2012) *Better Data Better Policy Making*. McKinsey and Company. Article retrieved on Dec. 15, 2015 from <http://www.mckinsey.com/industries/public-sector/our-insights/better-data-better-policy-making>

International Monetary Fund (2000). *Observance of Standard and Code in Pakistan*. Islamabad: IMF

Jamil, B. R., & Qureshi, T. M. (2002) *Policy Dialogue on Decentralization*. Paper presented at the Research and Policy Dialogues on Key Issues in Education: Decentralization in Education, Karachi.

Kardar, S. (1998) *The economics of education*. In P. Hoodbhoy (Ed.), *Education and the State: fifty years of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford.

Kendal (2006) *The Implementation of Public Policy: University Amalgamations in Australia in 1980's* Edwards, GC 1984, *Public Policy Implementation*, JAI Press Inc, London. and 1990's. University of Canberra press.

Kim, JK (2001) *Education Policies and Reform in South Korea*. African Region Human Development Working Paper Series, Washington D.C. World Bank, pp. 29-40

Kim, K. S. (2005). *Globalization, statist political economy, and unsuccessful education reform in South Korea, 1993-2003*. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 13(12). <http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v13n12/>

Kingdon, J. (1995). *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. 2nd ed. New York: Harper Collins.

Korea Educational Development Institute. *Education Indicators in Korea*. Seoul: KEDI, 2000

Kotter, J. (2006). *Transformation: Master three tasks*. *Leadership Excellence*, 23(1), 14.

Lee, Jisoon. (2001) *Education Policy in the Republic of Korea*. World Bank Working Paper, 2001.

- Lee, Ju-Ho (1996). *Employment Policy and Human Resource Development*, Seoul: Korea Development Institute, 1996
- Lipsky, M (1980). *Street-level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 1980. Print.
- Malik and Rose (2015) *Can Pakistan Afford Quality Education for All its Children and Young People?* University of Cambridge Press
- May, PJ 1993, “Mandate Design and Implementation: Enhancing Implementation Efforts and Shaping Regulatory Styles”, *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Vol 12, No 4.
- McCourt, W. (2003) Political commitment to reform: civil service reform in Swaziland. *World Development*, 31(6), 1015-1031
- Ministry of Education (1998). *50 Years of the Ministry of Education History*. Seoul: MOE, 1998.
- Ministry of Education. *Statistical Yearbook of Education*, Seoul: MOE, various years.
- Mitnick, B. M., & Backoff, R. W. 1984. The incentive relation in implementation. In G. C. Edwards, III (Ed.), *Public policy implementation*, Vol. 3: 59-122. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Mogalakwe, M (2006) The Use of Documentary Research Methods in Social Research. *African Sociological Review* 2006 p.221-230.
- Muhammad Ahsan (2003) An analytical review of Pakistan's educational policies and plans, *Research Papers in Education*, 18:3, 259-280, DOI: 10.1080/0267152032000107329
- OECD (1996). *Review of Education Policy in Korea: Examiner’s Report*. Paris: OECD, 1996
- OECD (2000). *Education at a Glance*. Paris: OECD, 2000.
- OECD (2009) *Evaluating and Rewarding the Quality of Teachers. International Practices*. OECD Publishing.
- OECD (2010) *Improving School Strategies for Action in Mexico*, OECD Publishing, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264225442-en>
- OECD (2013) *Education Policy Outlook Mexico*. OECD Publishing.
- OECD (2014), *Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators*, OECD Publishing. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2014-en>
- OECD (2015) *Education Policy Outlook 2015: Making Reforms Happen*, OECD Publishing, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264225442-en>
- Pakistan Economic Forum (2013). *Education Panel Report of Pakistan Economic Forum - II*, April 2013

Pakistan. Ministry of Education (2002) Education Sector Reforms: Action Plan 2001 - 2004. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan

Pakistan. Policy Wing, Finance Division, Poverty Reduction Cell, & Planning Commission (2001) Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (I-PRSP). Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.

Qaiser, J (2013) Pakistan Main Challenges and Constraints in Local Government. Article retrieved on Dec. 17, 2015 from <https://lubpak.com/archives/279693>

Sabatier, P and Mazmanian, D (1979), The Conditions of Effective Implementation: a Guide to Accomplishing Policy Objectives, Policy Analysis, Fall, 481-504.

SEP (Secretaría de Educación Pública) (Secretariat of Public Education of Mexico), www.sep.gob.mx.

Shah, S (2008) Implementation of Devolution Plan in Education Sector in Pakistan: Variations Across Provinces and Districts. Allama Iqbal Open University Islamabad.

Toshkov, Dimiter (2016) Research Design in Political Science. Palgrave Macmillan.

Tummers, L.G., Bekkers, V.J.J.M., Vink, E., & Musheno, M. (2015). Coping During Public Service Delivery: A Conceptualization and Systematic Review of the Literature. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, muu056

Shahzad, M (2015) A Content Analysis of Education and Good Governance in Public Schools of Pakistan. PMAS-Arid Agriculture University, Rawalpindi

Stern, N. (2001) Investing in Education and Institutions: the path to growth and poverty reduction in Pakistan. Paper presented at the National Workshop on Pakistan's Poverty Reduction Programme, Islamabad.

UNESCO (2014) Education for All Global Monitoring Report: Teaching and learning: Quality Education for All. UNESCO: Paris.

UNESCO (2015) Education for All 2015 National Review Report: Pakistan

Winkler, Don, and Randy Hatfield (2002) The Devolution of Education in Pakistan. World Bank. Washington, DC

World Bank. (1999) World Development Report 2000/2001: attacking poverty. New York: World Bank

World Bank (1999) Implementation Completion Report (Core ICR) on a credit in the amount of US\$112.5 million to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for a Sindh Primary Education Development Program (IDA Credit 2102-PAK) (unpublished): Education Sector Unit south Asia Region.

