CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purposes of the Research

In 1993 the International Baccalaureate diploma (IB) was offered by 505 international and national schools in 73 countries throughout the world. It is the only international university entrance qualification in existence. The governments, education authorities and individual schools which have variously accepted or adopted it around the globe are part of a rather unique venture in international educational cooperation. This study inquires into the origins and evolution of the IB program and the IB Office.

The investigation has been prompted by the researcher's own participation at national and state ministerial level (from 1986 to 1989) in questions concerning the applicability of the IB to government and private schools in Australia as a complement to existing programs. A number of issues relating to the origins and proliferation of the IB arose quite naturally out of this involvement; for example, what were the aims of the IB, for whom was it intended, what purposes did it serve which were not already being met by the many national pre-university examinations operating worldwide, how did its standards compare with national curricula at the same level, which disciplines were compulsory or optional, how costly was it, what were the procedures for introducing it into a school, what were the benefits (if any), how readily were IB diploma holders accepted into universities in different countries? The writer therefore considered that the answers to these and other questions concerning the provenance, academic credentials and university acceptance of the IB were worthy of investigation.

A policy analysis perspective has been chosen because it is directly relevant to how a decision was arrived at to create the IB, how that decision was brought into effect and how the IB was then gradually adopted by certain schools. Two aspects of the policy process - policy formation and policy implementation - provide the conceptual background which enables the researcher to pursue these questions. Policy analysis affords a rich texture of analytical components including the impact of political, social, economic and technical factors on the adoption and implementation of the IB. The strengths and weaknesses of the aims, academic standards, curriculum content and subject profile of the IB, while not the focus of this study, are of necessity important technical elements of policy analysis. The record of university acceptance is an additional technical aspect or outcome which influences decisions concerning the adoption of the IB by a school or government. The research will have at least partially succeeded if the reader is left with a greater understanding of the processes of educational policy making and implementation at an international level, and with an appreciation of
the development of the IB (including some knowledge of its technical aspects).

The purposes of the research may then be summarised in the following way. This study seeks to analyse the policy formation and implementation processes leading to the creation of the IB diploma and the IB Office in Geneva. The analysis extends over time from the beginning stages of policy formation in the 1920s through to the final implementation stage at the International School of Geneva and then in other trial schools during the 1960s and 70s.

Since the first students gained their diplomas in 1971 the expanded clientele now includes many students for whom the IB was not originally intended. During the analysis any policy shifts by the IB Office will be examined, particularly those relating to:
- a conscious effort to attract national (as distinct from international) schools; or
- policy changes as a response to interest from national school systems.

(A distinction between international and national schools is provided in the "Definition of Terms" section of this chapter.)

The focus of the study is policy formation and implementation: how and why written or understood policies were arrived at for the creation of the IB and its organisation, and how the policies were put into effect.

There will be occasions when policy outcomes will be addressed although they are not the major emphasis of this research; policy evaluation is included in the final stage (execution) of the implementation phase.

The policy process approach of this study is descriptive; it is an analysis of what has happened, not what was intended to happen.

Research Question

A more detailed specification of the purpose of the research can be stated in question form as follows: what combination of factors have created, sustained and led to the expansion of the IB? When this question is addressed from a policy analysis perspective, the research question for this study becomes:

What are the characteristics of policy formation and implementation which led to the establishment of the IB diploma and the IB Office?
Significance of the Study

Contribution to the History of the IB

A number of doctoral and masters theses have been written concerning the IB, but only the works of Kesin, Kroll and Wagner (see Bibliography) treat its evolution to any significant extent. Wagner’s work is the fullest and closest to an historical case study. None of these, however, is a truly detailed analysis of the origins, evolution and development of the IB and the IB Office.

The starting point for these theses is the 1960s: whereas there is a whole social, political, economic and technological context, commencing with the League of Nations in 1920, which pre-dates the completion of the very first IB syllabus in contemporary history in 1963. Moreover, no study, to this writer’s knowledge, has discussed the contribution of actors (including some world figures) and the factors which influenced their actions in relation to the historical development of the IB. This approach draws from the field of policy process which provides a basis for quite exhaustive data collection and analysis to an extent unknown in any other study relating to the history of the IB, as far as this writer is aware.

Peterson’s Schools Across Frontiers (1987) is a very good account of the evolution of the IB (and United World Colleges) but unashamedly from his perspective and his recollection. Peterson makes it quite clear in the introduction that the book does not purport to be a scholarly, objective analysis.

As an exercise in historical case study it is also hoped that this thesis is a contribution to techniques in that field of research.

Significance for IB Development Across the Globe

As a unique educational venture which traverses national frontiers the creation and establishment of the IB merits close attention; it may provide important clues to other forms of educational (or non-educational) policy initiatives across countries as well as pointing the way for its continuing development. “The IB may be justly numbered among the most significant attempts at international educational cooperation of the twentieth century” (Husen & Postlethwaite 1985: 2648). The analysis of policy formation and implementation in relation to the creation and establishment of the IB diploma should therefore assist future planning for IB development across the world.

This historical study should be of assistance to governments, education authorities or individual schools in countries wishing:

- to understand how current IB policy statements developed; and
- to formulate and implement IB policy for the future.
Significance for Policy Analysis

Research into policy formation and implementation aids the improvement of these processes as well as being of theoretical interest. It can be valuable in providing a better understanding of the feasibility of policies in the public domain: studying policy causation and execution "can be quite relevant to determining optimal or desirable action where one's goals logically include political feasibility" (Nagel 1980: 31). The way in which the policy is formed (accurate problem definition, how aggregation occurs, the degree of consultation with interest groups, bringing the issue before policy makers, discussion with funding organisations and individuals) and brought into effect (turning the decision into operational objectives which guide planning and organisation so the policy can be applied) will contribute to its acceptance, that is, to people taking the desired action.

The cross-national perspective of this study will enable the development of broader theories of the causes (and effects) of public policies than is possible by working within a single country (Nagel 1980: 32).

The study contributes to knowledge about international policy making and implementation processes in education. It is suspected that few such studies exist. A policy analysis study of IB development has not been made so far as this writer is aware.

Research can influence the conceptualisation and the frame of reference of those involved in policy making and implementation (Weiss 1982: 289-90). An original conceptual framework has been developed for this study which may be of benefit to future scholars undertaking policy analysis in education or other fields at an international level.

Significance for Educational Administrators

Theoretical knowledge and analysis of practice in the policy process domain will assist administrators to engage more productively in, and to improve their understanding of, the mediation process at the levels of schools, education authorities and governments (Harman, 1980a: 53). This study will also assist the formation and implementation of policies at government, education authority or school level; it will give some insight into how policies have been formed and effectuated and therefore could be formed and effectuated. While this thesis is descriptive research, there is always some prescriptive, not just historical, value which accrues. Policy oriented research is an aid to administrators when forming and overseeing the implementation of policy. Insofar as information conveys power, research strengthens the hand of administrators against the many pressure groups in the policy making arena. Research is also helpful in planning the details of implementation.
by identifying obstacles, including the opinions and attitudes of those who are likely to oppose implementation of a policy, and perhaps testing out solutions to overcome these obstacles in trials with pilot groups (Husen & Postlethwaite eds 1985: 3958).

Definition of Terms

Policy-Related Terms

The term “politics” is used in two ways. It may refer to the art of government and conflicting parties involved in elections. It may also have a wider connotation concerning interest and power conflicts amongst groups or individuals, quite unrelated to party politics in government.

It is clear from the literature on policy analysis that various interpretations of the terminology associated with the word “policy” exist. These interpretations are linked to particular models of the policy process which will be discussed in Chapter 2. It is important to avoid confusion because the specific definitions assumed by policy analysts determine the questions to be asked, the data to be collected, the methodology to be used and the analysis which results.

The term "policy" is too general to allow for a meaningful definition; the word on its own leads to various interpretations which encompass some or all of policy formation, statement, implementation, outcomes and evaluation.

Harman (1980a: 56) defines policy as "basically a course of action or inaction towards the accomplishment of some intended or desired end." The focus is clearly on both the intended and actual outcomes as the consequence of implementing an agreed-upon course of action. This definition excludes formation (how and why a statement of policy was arrived at) and evaluation. It is also not concerned with the policy statement itself but commences with the action (or inaction) stage.

"Public policy is what governments choose to do or not to do" (Dye Understanding Public Policy Prentice Hall 1972 in Mitchell 1984: 137). The emphasis here is on implementation, on the translation of official statements into programs of action or inaction. Other activities of the policy process are subordinate to what governments do.

In Educational Policy: Analysis, Structure and Justification (New York, David McKay, 1976 in Mitchell 1984: 137) D. Kerr defines policy as "something one undertakes with particular intentions and purposes in mind." The formation stage may be the starting point of the undertaking.
and evaluation may be a purpose which was envisaged beyond the outcomes, but their inclusion is ambiguous. Kerr's definition encompasses the implementation and outcome stages.

Clay & Schaffer (1984: 3) see the policy process as a sequence of complex analytical activities culminating in a decision which is then implemented and reviewed. The "complex analytical activities" leading to a decision comprise the policy formation stage which produces a policy statement. This is followed by implementation and the actual outcomes which result. Evaluation then takes place.

These examples show that definitions of the term "policy" or "policy process" are often incomplete or emphasise different aspects. Unequivocal definitions of policy-related terms must be established in order to understand the questions which direct this research.

The following definitions apply in this study.

**Policy** is synonymous with **policy statement** which is a collection of considered words or thoughts constituting a "standing decision" that will guide action in relation to a particular issue. (This combines elements of definitions by Bhowon 1989: 9 and Eulau & Prewitt 1973: 465).

**Policy formation** is synonymous with **policy making**: it is a sequence of activities leading to the production of a policy.

**Policy implementation** is the translation and adaptation of official statements (policies) into plans and programs of action.

**Policy outcomes** are the end-products of policy implementation.

**Policy evaluation** is determining the extent to which the actual outcomes match the original conception of intentions.

**Policy process** comprises all of the broad phases identified in Figure 1.1; that is, from formation and implementation of a policy statement through to its outcomes and evaluation.

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Formation → Statement → Implementation → Outcomes → Evaluation
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**Figure 1.1 Phases of the Policy Process**

Any one or more of these steps may be found in definitions of policy or policy process. The phases are not necessarily linear but interactive (as shown); phases can occur simultaneously such as formation, implementation and evaluation. Evaluation can and usually does occur
at each step of the process; the policy statement itself may be adjusted as a result of feedback during implementation.

The term "policy analysis" means an analysis of all or part of the policy process as shown in Figure 1.1. This study is concerned with the first three elements: formation, statement and implementation. The feedback which inevitably occurs between policy formation and implementation is an evaluative process and is included as part of the final stage of the implementation phase. This recognises that valuable signals will come from the policy recipients once the policy has been put into practice. Other actors concerned with forming and planning the implementation of a policy also provide important reactions which lead to adjustments and refinements along the way.

The analysis of the process as defined above may be more prescriptive, focusing on intended methods of formation, implementation, outcomes and evaluation whereas others may be more descriptive, focusing on the actual formation, implementation, outcomes and evaluation of policies.

International and National Schools

An international school is not easily defined. There are directories of them produced annually by organisations to which these schools can belong: ECIS (European Council of International Schools), ISS (International Schools Services) and ISA (International Schools Association). We know who they are and where they are but not exactly what they are. However it is clear that these schools are driven by an ethos which distinguishes them from national schools. This ethos may be defined as preparing students for global citizenship by building on the principles of tolerance, international co-operation, justice and peace.

Matthews (1988: 83-84) concludes that the following two characteristics, found only in international schools, contribute to this ethos:

- the diversity of input from teachers and students representing many different nationalities and cultures; and
- the social adaptability and openness of the students.

The writer, being the headmaster of an international bilingual school, having visited a number of international schools in Europe and Asia, and with a background of teaching and administering in a national system, agrees that these characteristics stand out when one crosses the threshold of international schools. Taking into consideration this and some other aspects, the writer's definitions of international and national schools follow.

An international school is one whose students and staff are representative of a number of cultural and ethnic origins, where the IB and/or a number of different national courses and examinations are offered and where the ethos is one of internationalism as distinct from
nationalism. Such schools:

- may serve a local and varied expatriate community of business people, diplomats, armed forces personnel;
- may attract resident students from all over the world;
- are usually either proprietary schools, owned and controlled by one or two individuals, or are private schools governed by a board of directors consisting mainly of parents; and
- are usually fee-paying or scholarship-funded (such as the United World Colleges) or both.

A national school is one whose students and staff are predominantly from one country, where the curriculum and examinations of that country only are offered; and where the ethos is national as distinct from international. National schools:

- serve principally the students of one nationality;
- are usually located within the one country where they may be government or private fee-paying schools with a parent governing board; and
- may be located overseas to serve their own expatriates such as the numerous American, British and French schools, many of which are funded and staffed by the national government at home and some of which are private.

Cole-Baker, headmaster of the International School of Geneva during the 1960s and one of the principal proponents of the IB, makes the following observations about international education. Both international and national schools (as defined above) may offer an international education. In an international school it is more a frame of mind. Within an international school representing many cultural differences one can create an environment in which suspicion and hatred disappear; the formal curriculum is a contributing factor, but the personal contact amongst students and staff is more powerful.

In a national school it depends very much on an analysis of how and why certain biases are formed.

One can only judge something through personal experience. Once one forms an opinion one is immediately biased. To have the international state of mind one must be able to self-analyse one's biases and consider the conditions under which the bias was formed, which may be quite different from the situation when the conditions are met again (Cole-Baker correspondence 1989).

Here the formal curriculum plays a more important role in the absence of a culturally varied student and staff population: it gives the personal experience in the classroom which will prompt the students to reflect on existing cultural biases. Cole-Baker sees international education in terms of intercultural understanding - this is the basis on which the IB program was predicated.
Delimitations

This study’s focus is the process by which policy statements are formulated and then implemented. Evaluation is not considered as a separate part of the policy process but as an ongoing activity of particular importance when the policy has been implemented. Outcomes do not form another phase of the policy process but are implicit in the underlying evaluative action whereby outcomes are compared with the original conception of intentions.

Analysis of curriculum content and comparisons with national curricula at the same level, examination methods, pedagogical issues related to curriculum delivery and the subject profile of the IB diploma, academic standards, careers of IB diploma holders, student feedback concerning the IB experience, and university acceptance statistics are treated sufficiently, according to their importance in clarifying policy formation and implementation. None of these aspects forms a major focus of this study.

The analysis of the development of the IB and the IB Office is not a prescriptive study concerning what was intended; it is a descriptive analysis of what has happened.

This research is concerned with events leading to written and unwritten policies relating to the establishment, development and acceptance of the IB. It is not concerned with events and statements about curriculum content or examination procedures unless any changes in these areas have a major impact on decreasing or increasing the number of IB schools.

The time frame of this study encompasses events from 1920 leading up to a decision in the early 1960s to create an IB and its subsequent implementation up to 1978.

Once the IB was developed and the IB Office established, reference is then made to pilot schools and other schools which adopted the program. It would be interesting to analyse why schools decided not to become involved with the IB: that is, how and why did they arrive at their policy of non-acceptance? It is more difficult, but certainly not impossible, to locate schools which have considered adopting the IB and then decided against it.

The International Baccalaureate

What is it?

It is a two-year pre-tertiary international curriculum for secondary students leading to an IB diploma on successful completion of the course.
Certificates are awarded for individual subjects where the whole diploma course is not attempted or not satisfactorily completed.

The aims of the IB Office have always been:
- to promote international understanding within the context of intellectual rigour and academic excellence in the final years of secondary school;
- to service the internationally mobile community by
  - providing the IB diploma which gives access to higher education world-wide;
  - providing a common program which minimizes dislocation in the education of children as they move from country to country;
- to work in collaboration with national education systems in developing a rigorous, balanced and international curriculum.

A further aim has developed over time:
- to provide an international educational experience and ready access to universities in other countries for students in national schools.

While there is an element of internal assessment in some subjects, externally marked examinations are the principal means of assessment. In 1993 there were some 1150 individual examiners around the world; marks are moderated and co-ordinated by chief examiners.

In 1993 almost 20,000 candidates from 505 schools in 73 countries took IB exams.

Students sitting the full diploma must take one subject from each of the following groups:

- **Group 1 Language A** (first language) including the study of selections from world literature.
- **Group 2 Language B** (second language) or a second language A with more emphasis on linguistics.
- **Group 3 Individuals and Societies** - one subject from history, geography, economics, philosophy, psychology, social anthropology or organisation 
  & management studies.
- **Group 4 Experimental Sciences** - one subject from the fields of biology, chemistry, physics, psychology or environmental systems.
- **Group 5 Mathematics** including a choice of computing
- **Group 6** - one subject from the following: art/design, music, Latin, classical Greek, computing studies, theatre arts or a school-based syllabus approved by IBO (e.g. drama, peace studies, political theory) or a second subject from any of groups 2, 3 or 4.

Examinations in subjects other than the many languages A or B which are offered, can be taken in English, French or Spanish, the official languages of the IB Organisation. Three subjects are taken at higher level (a minimum of 240 hours over two years) and three at subsidiary level (a minimum of 150 hours over two years).
In addition, diploma candidates must:
- submit an extended essay (of some 4000 words) in one of the IB subjects for external assessment;
- follow a course in the Theory of Knowledge (of 100 hours) which is internally assessed and externally moderated; and
- engage in CAS (Creativity, Action and Service) for one half day per week.

The extended essay is like a mini-thesis; the student must research a topic in one of the subjects being studied and produce a document for external examination under the guidance of a supervising teacher. Originality and the use of appropriate research techniques are aptly rewarded. The following titles give a feeling for the imaginative work which has taken place:

- Beach Culture in Connecticut
- Religious Imagery in "Wuthering Heights"
- A Case Study of a Paris Taxi Rank - Do Drivers Price Discriminate?
- Promotional Tactics of Contemporary Museums and Galleries
- The Twilight Zone: Four Dimensional Space
- An Investigation of the Rubik's Cube and Tetrahedron
- An Investigation into Lead Pollution
- The Trajectory of a Golf Ball
- An Analysis of the Debt Crisis in Mexico

The Theory of Knowledge is a philosophy-based subject. Its purpose is to "stimulate critical reflection upon the knowledge and the experience of students both inside and outside the classroom" (IB Office 1985). CAS is included to provide some respite from the intensity of the academic program and to ensure that all students have the opportunity to cultivate interests and creative talents, and to give of themselves through service to those less fortunate. This program may include music, drama, art, dance, yoga, Model United Nations club, computer activities such as desk-top publishing, assisting the physically or mentally handicapped and the medically ill or aged, and environmental projects in the community.

The IB course is generally recognised as comprehensive, academically rigorous and challenging. It is accepted by all major universities throughout the world, a number of which offer advanced placement for good results in particular IB subjects. A May 1989 Tasmanian IB graduate from the UWC of the Adriatic at Trieste was offered places at the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard and Yale. He went to Harvard. A May 1991 Austrian IB graduate from the International School of Sophia Antipolis (France) was accepted at Oxford.

The IB is unique. It is the only international pre-university course available to schools throughout the world. In addition, all courses are offered in three languages - English, Spanish and French - enabling
bilingual diplomas to be awarded where appropriate. The International Baccalaureate is not to be confused with a qualification which caters for a number of national groups during the last years of secondary education called the European Baccalaureate, an examination offered for the first time in 1959 in the 7 (later to become 9) European Schools set up by agreement between member states of the European Community. Their purpose is to provide a national education within a multinational environment for the children of staff employed in the institutions of the European Community. They cater for students from 4 - 19 years of age and are each organised in separate language sections such as: French, German, English, Dutch, Italian, Danish, Greek, Holland, Italy, Luxemburg and the UK each have one such school, Germany has two and Belgium three. It is not an international examination.

Since 1984 France has been offering a French Baccalaureate with an International Option which is taken by some students in France and in a few French lycées in the USA and the UK. The International Option consists of teaching half of the history/geography course together with a language and literature course in a language other than French at native speaker level. Bilingual competence in French and the other language is eventually required to succeed.

The University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate has developed an International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) which is offered as a pre-IB, pre-'A' Levels qualification to English speakers throughout the world at the end of grade 10 or 5th form in Britain. Some 500 students in a number of European schools sat this examination for the first time in June 1988. This is the international version of the GCSE examinations which have now replaced the GCE "O" Levels in the UK. There are currently some 70 000 subject entries throughout the world.

The International Schools Association (ISA) has developed primary and pre-IB curricula for the first five years of secondary education; some international schools throughout the world are trialling these courses. The Tasmanian Education Department's Health Education curriculum has been of great interest to the ISA.

**Historical Perspective**

The IB owes its existence to the determination and vision of people such as Mr Desmond Cole-Baker, headmaster of the English Language Section of the International School of Geneva in the 1960s. With the aid of funds from UNESCO and the Ford Foundation he was able to enthuse a group of educators centered around the International School of Geneva and the International Schools Association (ISA) to produce international curricula and examinations for the last years of secondary school. Dr Alec Peterson, director of the Department of Educational Studies at Oxford
University, became involved in the work taking place in Geneva and then was appointed the first director-general of the IB organisation in 1967. So it was that the IB evolved in the mid 1960s to provide:
  a portable qualification recognised world-wide for the children of internationally mobile expatriates; and
  a curriculum that would give students an international perspective, especially in literature, history and the social sciences.

A chronological review of the most significant events in the history of the development of the IB follows.

The International School of Geneva was founded in 1924. In 1925 the director, Paul Meyhoffer, circulated a questionnaire to seventeen European leaders in educational reform proposing a "Maturité Internationale" (international university entrance curriculum and examination). There is no record of the responses (Peterson 1987: 15). Nevertheless world geography and history courses were developed and taught at the school during the 1930s by Monsieur Dupuy and Madame Maurette, headmistress from 1929-1949 (Oats 1952: 26-28).

Across the Atlantic the United Nations International School (UNIS) was founded in New York in 1947 to serve an internationally mobile group of students in the same way as the International School of Geneva.

In 1948 Mr Kees Boeke, director of the Werkplaats International Children's Community in Bilthoven (Holland), persuaded the Education Division of UNESCO to convene a meeting of the heads of some European schools wishing to develop an international outlook. Thus the first meeting of what was to become in 1951 the Conference of Internationally Minded Schools took place in Paris in 1949 with Monsieur Roquette, headmaster of the International School of Geneva, as inaugural president (Minutes of the Conference of Principals of International Schools 1949). The aims of the organisation were to provide training for teachers, to establish student and teacher exchanges, to strive for the recognition by all countries of the equivalence of university degrees and to work towards the provision of international university entrance diplomas. At the instigation of this group, the following year Monsieur Roquette and Mr Bill Oats (an Australian) organised at the International School of Geneva a Conference for Teachers Interested in International Education. Teachers from Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Norway, Holland, Switzerland, USA and Australia attended (Course for Teachers Interested in International Education: Final Report 1950). The Conference agreed on a definition and aims for international education and concluded that it was not desirable to have common international examinations as the needs of each country were different.

In 1951 the International Schools Association (ISA) was established with
the assistance of UN officials to address problems related to international schools throughout the world. The aims of this association were to provide a regular consultative service to international schools concerning pedagogical and administrative questions and to establish a common academic level of programs and examinations amongst international schools. The ISA was granted Category B status (that is, a relationship of consultation and information) with UNESCO in 1966 (UNESCO Executive Board Document 70 EX/20, 1965). The Conference of Internationally Minded Schools, whose meetings were always held at UNESCO House in Paris, merged with ISA, which was based in Geneva, in 1967; membership of both organisations had always been world wide and was not restricted to Europe.

In 1955 ISA formed the International Schools Foundation based in New York with the purpose of "raising money for international schools" (ISA Annual Conference Report 1968). This became International Schools Services, currently based in Princeton, New Jersey, which publishes an annual directory of international schools and provides various services such as teacher recruitment and professional development workshops. In 1955 the Ford Foundation granted US$85,000 to UNIS for the development of international curricula (ISA Fourth Assembly Minutes 1955). At about the same time the ISA was interested in the problems of teaching many different national programs in the same school. In 1961 Desmond Cole-Baker, of the International School of Geneva, loaned his head of history, Robert Leach, to ISA as a travelling consultant to determine the need for an international university entrance examination.

Leach's report recognised such a need and in 1962 an ISA Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools (assisted with a grant from UNESCO) asked the International School of Geneva to initiate a pilot exam in contemporary world history. Leach (an American Quaker) chaired a group of teachers to undertake the task and was strongly supported by Cole-Baker (Irish) and John Goormaghtigh (Belgian), chairman of the board of the International School of Geneva and director of the European Office of the Carnegie Endowment for World Peace. During the deliberations of this working group the words "international baccalaureate" were used for the first time (Peterson 1986: 17).

In 1963, thanks to the work of Leach and his colleagues, the contemporary world history syllabus and examination was completed and sent to ministries of education throughout the world, many of which responded favourably to the idea. At the same time an ISA Examination Advisory Committee was founded comprising staff of the International School of Geneva and the University of Geneva. ISA needed funds to proceed further and Georges-Henri Martin, editor of the influential *Tribune de Genève* and a trustee of the Twentieth Century Fund secured a US$75,000 grant from that body to ISA in 1964 for the
development of international curricula and examinations spanning the last two years of secondary schooling. A further grant of US$75 000 was made at the end of 1968 by the same organisation. At the same time the Twentieth Century Fund commissioned a noted American educator, Martin Mayer, to write a book on the potential of the IB project; this was published in 1968 under the title Diploma: International Schools and University Entrance. ISA founded the International Schools Examination Syndicate (ISES) in 1964, including Goormaghtigh as chairman and Cole-Baker as an executive member, to undertake the Twentieth Century Fund project. The June 1964 edition of the "ISA Newsletter" published an article entitled "Draft Proposal for an IB".

The Oxford Department of Education had been involved in a program of sending teacher trainees to the International School of Geneva for practice teaching. Bill Halls of Oxford was involved in comparative education research in Europe and heard about the IB project. He became director of the IB Research Unit which was established at Oxford by Alec Peterson in 1967. In January 1965 ISES Executive Council membership was widened to include Americans Harlon Hanson (director of the College Entrance Examination Board) and Desmond Cole (director of UNIS) partly as a ploy to attract Ford Foundation funding. Alec Peterson (director of the Education Department at Oxford University) also became involved with the IB for the first time as a member of the ISES Executive Council. In March/April of the same year the first general conference of the IB was held in Geneva to establish the six major subject areas followed by some 37 subject meetings (to establish curricula and examinations) up to 1968 in Geneva, Sévres, Brussels, St Donats, Oxford, New York and Paris.

Peterson became the full-time director of ISES in January 1967 during which year the IB Office was officially formed in Geneva with a governing international Council of Foundation registered under Swiss law, an Executive Committee and an Examining Board. In October 1966 the Ford Foundation granted US$300 000 over three years to support the international university entrance examination project (Peterson 1972: 13). During this time, trial examinations and curriculum development took place in an increasing range of subjects. A "six year" (really seven years) experimental period (1970-76) then occurred whereby universities were asked to grant provisional recognition to a maximum of 500 IB candidates per year (Renaud 1974: 11).

The first official IB exams occurred in May/June 1970 in which 39 candidates from the following four schools took part: UNIS (United Nations International School, New York), International School of Geneva, St Germain-en-Laye in Paris and the United World College of the Atlantic in Wales (the first school to adopt only the IB curriculum from 1968). The first students were awarded diplomas in 1971. IB recognition at university level was officially granted in twenty countries.
The Research Unit at Oxford, headed by Dr Bill Halls and from 1972 by Dr Kevin Marjoribanks, monitored progress and results until 1974 when the Unit was abandoned.

Funding was becoming a problem and in November 1974 Peterson and Renaud attended the 18th General Conference of UNESCO with a view to having the project partly funded by that organisation (IBO Annual Bulletin 1976: 7). This bid failed. In 1976 the Netherlands Minister for Education called the first intergovernmental conference concerning IB schools in the Hague. Nine countries pledged an annual contribution to the IBO over two years initially: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Italy, Morocco, Netherlands, Switzerland, United Kingdom and the USA. This meant that a third of IBO's budget came from a group of UNESCO member states (IBO Director-General's Annual Report 1975/76).

In June 1976 Peterson held a meeting in London following an urgent appeal to IB participating schools concerning the critical financial situation of the IBO. Charles Gellar (of the International School of Copenhagen) was one of the headmasters present and he suggested that IB schools pay a more significant contribution to IBO than Peterson proposed at the meeting. All present agreed. Together with the contribution of the government group this financial commitment from each IB school was to greatly assist the IBO to operate in the absence of further grants from funding organisations (Renaud 1978). The idea of regular annual meetings of heads of IB schools was also discussed. This idea became a reality when in March 1977 the head of the International School of Geneva, Mr Lejeune, called together the first meeting of the Standing Conference of Heads of IB Schools (HSC) in the Palais des Nations, Geneva (IBO Annual Bulletin 1977: 25).

The Secretary of State for Education in England, Shirley Williams, hosted the second conference of governments interested in the IB in London in 1978 HRH the Prince of Wales opened the congress and John Goormaghtigh proposed that a Standing Conference of Governments (SCG) be created to support the IB. Membership of the SCG was available to governments willing to contribute US$15 000 per year. Thus the SCG and the HSC became part of the Council of Foundation in addition to the Executive Committee and the Examining Board.

IB schools continued to expand rapidly in number and geographical spread. Government contributions declined during the early 1980s to the stage where, from 1990, the IBO was funded solely from the annual registration (approximately 10 000 Swiss francs) and examination fees of IB schools, now grown to over 420.

This brief historical perspective is enlarged in Chapters 5 to 10 where the development of the IB is analysed in terms of policy formation and implementation processes.
The Present

There are now IB regional offices in Geneva, Singapore, Buenos Aires, Cardiff and New York with regional representatives in Mexico, India, Australia and the Middle East. The examinations office is in Cardiff.

Initially the IB was adopted by international schools catering for expatriates or receiving students from all parts of the world who were scholarship-funded, such as the United World Colleges. During the last fifteen years the IB has also been adopted by many national schools, particularly in North America and Spain because of, it would seem, its international perspective and academic rigour.

Countries may exhibit different national IB policies. For example, the USA has by far the largest number of IB schools (146 in 1993) and most of them are government schools. UK education authorities have been debating for some time the appropriateness of the “A” level examinations with their narrow, but in-depth focus on three major subjects; the IB has been mooted as an exam, ‘a r of the breadth of study which should be considered but it has not spread rapidly (27 schools in 1993). In France the IB has been the subject of fluctuating support ranging from a sincere commitment in the beginning through an anti-IB phase to the present state of limbo where the IB is officially tolerated. Furthermore some of the schools which offer the IB (there are 7 in 1993) represent a unique type of joint state-private administrative structure: large French public schools with bilingual international sections forming mini-schools which are partly governed by parent boards who employ foreign teachers. The international sections share plant and staff facilities with the state-run French school.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to define the purposes of this research and to give sufficient background concerning the International Baccalaureate so that the reader will appreciate those purposes: to analyse from a policy formation and implementation perspective the creation and development of the International Baccalaureate diploma and Office (in Geneva). These aims were then expressed as research questions to suggest a conceptual framework, to guide the collection of information and to focus the analysis.

The significance of the research as an historical case study and for IB development around the world was then discussed together with the implications of the study for policy analysis in general and for educational administrators in particular.

Terms relating to the word “policy” and the policy process itself were
defined for this study followed by an attempt to distinguish between international and national schools.

The limits of the study were circumscribed. It is a descriptive study of policy formation and implementation concerning the growth of the IB diploma and Office.

The chapter concludes with current information concerning the IB and an historical perspective of its origins and development. The next chapter will review the literature on policy formation and implementation and discuss a number of relevant models in some detail.
A REVIEW OF RELEVANT MODELS RELATING TO POLICY FORMATION AND IMPLEMENTATION

Introduction

Policy analysis is the application of social science methods to the examination of all or part of the policy process, stressing causal relationships between variables (Wollmann 1984: 29). Research in educational policy processes has roots that extend farther afield than that of most other areas of educational research. Major contributions from the policy sciences, organisational theory and decision theory have enabled scholars to develop models which now transcend the first purely rational, scientific explanations of policy making and implementation to include the role of sectional interests and conflict.

Harman (1980a) identifies twelve models of policy process and Dye (1984) examines nine. Seven of the models are common to each:

- rational
- incremental
- institutional
- process
- interest groups
- game theory
- systems theory

In addition Harman (1980a) includes:
- Lowi’s typology
- Rose’s dynamic policy change
- Innacome’s interaction among actors
- voting behaviour
- garbage can theory


For the purposes of this study seven of the above models have potential according to the following criteria (Dye 1984: 42):

1. They are neither too simple nor too complex.
2. They are relevant to policy formation and implementation.
3. They are congruent with reality.
4. They communicate something meaningful.
5. They can direct inquiry and research; that is, they are operational.
6. They suggest explanations about the formation and implementation of policy.

The literature suggests that models tend towards one of two extremes in relation to how policies are formed and implemented: by rational or political activity. Rational means that a scientific, analytical conclusion is unaffected by human interaction or other environmental factors: the
pure logic of the argument produces the best policy and directs its implementation. Politics is used in the sense of "interest and power conflicts through which policy making takes place" (Wollmann 1984: 29) and the same may be said of implementation. Successfully putting a policy into practice may depend not simply on the technical (including administrative) elements but more on political factors. For instance, the implementation of a new curriculum idea may be totally thwarted (even when the policy decision has been made by government) if teacher unions do not accept the proposal and advise their members to ignore the procedure or to adopt it in a negative way.

The seven models may be placed on a continuum according to their degree of pure rationality or pure political activity. In the real world neither extreme exists but such ideal types are helpful in explaining observable phenomena. Moreover "classifications are serviceable when they are tentative and undogmatic, and when they guide scholarly activity in directions that are accepted as valuable" (Lasswell 1963 in Jones 1984: 37).

![Figure 2.1 Policy Process Models According to Rational or Political Orientation](image)

The examination of each model in this chapter should elucidate the reasons for so placing them in Figure 2.1.

The same policy formation and implementation issue could be analysed using a number of models separately; each of these would give rise to a different set of research questions, sources of data to be tapped, data to be collected, methodology to be used and interpretations of the analysis. In reality most policies are formed and applied in ways that pertain to a combination of models. Even the models themselves overlap: for instance, the systems approach may incorporate rational, elitist and interest group elements. The elite model may include rational, process and incremental components. It is more the mode of analysis (along the rationality to political activity continuum), the policy issue itself and the context which will select the model or parts of models to be brought into play.

**Orientation of Models**

Each model may perform a descriptive or prescriptive function. Viewed
as statements about how decisions are made and implemented they are empirical, explanatory or descriptive. To the extent that they describe how decisions ought to be made and implemented they are normative, ideal type or prescriptive (Anderson 1984: 8). The rational model is therefore more likely to represent a prescriptive orientation in that it sees the policy process as a function of pure logic, unencumbered by political interactions: a series of almost mathematical steps to arrive at the best policy decision. As the following discussion will attempt to demonstrate, such a purely scientific model is unlikely to fully explain how decisions were taken and put into operation; rather it represents an ideal type to which those who make and implement policy might aspire.

In the actual world of research, descriptive and prescriptive tend to converge for practical and methodological reasons. This study is a descriptive analysis of how policy was formed and implemented in relation to the development of the IB. Inevitably the analysis will, at the same time, highlight procedures which might be replicated to arrive at a particular policy decision and its application. It will, then, even unintentionally, also have a prescriptive function to the extent that the exact conditions of some aspect of the descriptive study may be reproduced at another time and in another place. (In the ideal type rational model such repetition of events presents no difficulty as policy formation and implementation takes place in an environmentally and politically-free vacuum). The circumstances of descriptive political interaction models may, on the other hand, be impossible to reproduce even where exact replication is not required. The prescriptive potential in these instances is greatly diminished.

The seven models will now be discussed by identifying for each its guiding principles, characteristics and strengths and weaknesses. The guiding principles are the rationale behind the model; they are a set of values and beliefs which give rise to particular policies and their application. The characteristics are the components or units of analysis: what it is that has to be “measured” to uncover how the particular policy was arrived at and translated into practice.

Rational Model

This is the approach attributed to Lasswell in his seminal essay in The Policy Sciences published in 1951 (Lerner & Lasswell). He postulated a linear progression of scientific policy analysis which would produce the best result if each step were followed.

Guiding Principles

Policies follow from analytical conclusions. This linear, ideal type recognises the purely intellectual (not political) process. For example this model sees voters having clear policy preferences rationally formed with
full information. The reality is that many voters are misinformed and do not know the names of election candidates nor their political platforms (Lineberry 1978: 48).

It is assumed that the decision maker is a rational actor who accumulates information, assesses all possible alternative actions and selects the alternative that most efficiently enables the actors to achieve their stated goals (Grindle & Thomas 1989: 245). The scientific model focuses on options and strategies available to the policy-maker, making it possible to view discrete decisions as part of an overall decision making system with identifiable characteristics that produce policy outcomes.

Values as they relate to the creation of objectives are an essential component of the rational model because the final policy decisions will be based on the objectives stemming from a set of values.

The rational model is the principal analytic framework used to evaluate public spending decisions. It is applied to the formation and implementation of virtually all government policies (Dye 1984: 32). As Senior Private Secretary to the Minister for Education in Tasmania from 1986-1989 this writer was very close to the policy making and implementation apparatus of the Tasmanian government. In general, a policy was formed at ministerial level and implemented through the various bureaucratic layers of the appropriate government agency or department until it reached the recipients of the policy. According to the rational model, implementation was a question of providing administrative guidelines, technical expertise and financial and human resources to carry out the policy.

The format of submissions to the Tasmanian government Cabinet espoused the rational model of policy-making as the following headings of the Cabinet submission document attest:

1 Background
2 Issue(s) to be defined
3 Options for consideration
4 Arguments for and against the options
   4.1 Financial considerations
   4.2 Employment considerations - private and state
   4.3 Family impact - housing, education, welfare
   4.4 Regulatory impact - legislation, administrative action
   4.5 Public impact - employer/employee groups, other interest groups
   4.6 Intergovernmental relations - commonwealth, state, local
5 Consultation with state agencies - opinions from, for example, the Departments of Finance, Sport and Recreation, Transport
6 Timing of policy announcement
7 Recommended policy
Section 604 of the Cabinet Submission format document reads:

The following value statements should be used as a guide in preparing a family impact statement to ensure that these statements are undertaken from a common perspective:

- The family, responsible for the care and development of children, is the most important social unit of society.
- The well-being of families and their ability to care for their members is of major concern, and this concern applies equally to all family types.
- Government policies affecting families should seek to strengthen and support the capacities of families to meet the needs of their members.
- Policies have the potential to effect improved service provisions across a range of vital social needs.

Hence one of the first steps of the rational model, setting objectives and values to guide decisions, is quite clearly an important part of the Cabinet Submission.

The policy formation stage rarely takes place in isolation from the implementation stage. In the Cabinet Submission format the decision makers had to consider a number of elements which pertain to the implementation stage such as financial provisions and the impact of the policy on the family, the public, employment and intergovernmental relations (see item 4 of the Cabinet format above). Already some political considerations are evident here although the overall emphasis is rational. There is also a further implicit consideration: decision makers should have some measure of the administrative capacity of the institution or individuals to carry out the approved policy. If it is seen to be practically unworkable or cumbersome then other less desirable options may prevail.

When the submission was forwarded to the Cabinet Office an appraisal was conducted by a team of experts. The submission and the appraisal were then sent to each Cabinet Minister at least one week before the issue was to be considered by a Cabinet meeting at which a decision would be made or not made.

The process was rational in theory and to a large extent in practice, but political sensitivities, of course, played their part. For example, this writer was involved in the compilation of a Cabinet Submission to regularise the cost of bus transport to and from school for students. An anomaly existed: students living in country regions were transported free of charge; those in the urban areas paid for each journey. This had existed for at least 30 years and had evolved at a time when living in the country was considered to be arduous and in need of compensation. The current view had been that there were distinct advantages to living in the country such as cheaper housing, locally produced food, and a stress-free environment. In fact the argument ran that if any compensation were to be paid, it should be to those in the cities.
The logic of the analysis was compelling: if all students (country and city) paid about half the fare currently being paid by just city students the anomaly would disappear, equity would prevail, and the cost to those now paying would reduce considerably. (Other alternatives such as no cost to any student or reimbursement of fares on a means-tested basis were considered). This recommended policy decision was supported by the official appraisal of the Cabinet Office experts but in Cabinet political concerns became overwhelming. Some ministers feared they would lose their country electorates if a student transport charge (which had not existed in the memory of most electors) were suddenly imposed. Cabinet did not accept the recommended policy but opted for the status quo and transferred the student transport portfolio from the Department of Education to the Department of Transport.

**Characteristics**

Simon's (1957a) rational decision making model consisted of five sequential steps: intelligence gathering (formulation of the problem), identification of all options, examination of the consequences of each option, relating the consequences to values and choosing the preferred option.

Lasswell's (Lerner & Lasswell 1951) seven stages were:

1. Intelligence - the processing of information to define problems
2. Promotion - considering alternatives and their consequences
3. Prescription - arriving at a policy decision
4. Invocation - the focus of authority and power to assure compliance with the policy
5. Application - how executives apply the laws or rules relating to the policy
6. Termination - of the rules or laws relating to the policy
7. Appraisal - evaluation of the policy and its impact

The first three steps directly concern policy formation while steps 4 and 5 pertain to policy implementation. Several versions combining Lasswell and Simon's original models have since been published. For example, Anderson (1984: 8), Clay and Schaffer's (1984: 4) dichotomous model of Phase 1 (arriving at the decision) and Phase 2 (implementation), Dye (1984: 33) and the rational systems model of Caldwell and Tymko (1980: 89) which is basically as depicted in Figure 2.2.

Hogwood and Gunn (1985: 4) provide a useful framework which encompasses the work of a number of exponents of the rational model. Although theirs is a contingent approach which accommodates a rational and/or political analysis "the emphasis is on rationality" (Hogwood & Gunn 1985: 6).
In essence, the scientific model of the policy process (and a simplified, shortened version of the Hogwood and Gunn model) may be expressed thus:

1. problem perception and definition
2. setting objectives and values (to guide decisions)
3. proposing alternative solutions and examining the consequences of each
4. policy statement (selection of an alternative to maximise objectives)
5. translating the policy statement into operational terms
6. establishing regulations, procedures and resources
7. operation
8. evaluation and review

**Strengths**

The rational model is an ideal type towards which practice can aspire and which therefore serves as an important guide to practice. It is also a basis for evaluating the rationality of policy decisions and their implementation in particular contexts. The model is simple to understand and is still used by many governments to bring some structure and rigour to decision-making and policy implementation. The approach also has the advantage that the rational policy maker sets goals that are not reducible to self-interest (Grindle & Thomas 1989: 224).

**Weaknesses**

The main criticisms are that the model does not represent reality. There is an assumption that policy is the product of one mind and that the process is linear. Interaction with others which may lead to redefinition of the problem is not, for example, accounted for. Political aspects such as public disagreement or individual power plays which may impact on a decision and its implementation have no place in the rational model. Perfection is assumed at each stage whereas in reality there is no time nor enough information to consider all possible alternatives, and the ability to predict consequences accurately is suspect. Arriving at a consensus of values to guide rational reflection at each stage is difficult.
In the ideal situation decisions are made to benefit society, not for personal rewards such as power, status, re-election, money. The perfect situation does not, however, exist; therefore any model which discounts the importance of self-interest is lacking a dimension which may explain the policy formation and implementation process. A step-by-step analysis of policy-making may also obscure universal issues and phenomena in searching for those aspects of the policy process unique to each step (Lindblom 1980: 3). The observer is swamped with detailed and comprehensive information at each step which is difficult to analyse and impairs a grasp of the global picture (Hogwood & Gunn 1985:64).

Incremental Model

This school of thought emerged from criticism of the purely rational model by Lindblom (1959, 1964, 1968) as discussed in the previous section. Incrementalism purports to depict more accurately the reality of policy formulation and implementation. Whereas the rational model is more prescriptive, the incremental model tends towards the descriptive - to indicate what actually takes place in the policy process.

Harm* (1980a: 56) notes that Simon (1957) created an adaptation of the rational model. This involved arriving at a decision which was likely to please the greatest number rather than taking a less popular decision arrived at through pure scientific reasoning. Simon believed that policy makers attempt rational conclusions but fail to do so because of limits to an individual's or group's intelligence, time and cost; hence instead of arriving at the best policy, the policy maker settles for a "satisficing" decision, one which will meet expectations but will not be too far removed from the status quo and will not be too noticeable during the implementation stage.

Guiding Principles

Incrementalism is a descriptive, explanatory model which conforms more to reality than the rational, prescriptive approach. It sees policy development as a "serial process of constant adjustments to the outcomes (proximate and long-range) of action" (Frohock 1979: 50). Policy is a gradual unfolding, not a single defined event. Dye (1984: 35) sees incrementalism as "policy variations on the past"; only incremental modifications are undertaken, usually so as to satisfy as many contending interests as possible. The decision is therefore not the best (in a rational sense) but is a policy which has been willed, chosen or preferred.

Devising policies acceptable to a number of conflicting interests necessarily limits innovative ideas because only alternatives which differ marginally from existing policies are considered. A final decision is rarely reached as the process is iterative.
"Policy making is a process of successive approximation to some desired objectives in which what is desired itself continues to change under consideration" (Braybrooke & Lindblom 1963: 71). "Partisan mutual adjustment" is the cornerstone of the model whereby actors seek to accommodate one another through negotiation and compromise. Lindblom recognises and makes allowances for political reality. The model provides clues about the extent to which policies are influenced not only by rational considerations but by the judgment of key actors about what is politically feasible (Harman 1980b: 153).

It is a model of conservative adjustments to existing policies. This also serves a remedial function: it assists amelioration of current imperfections rather than facilitating completely new initiatives. (Lindblom's second edition of The Policy-Making Process appeared in 1980. It gives more importance to political interaction because of limited human cognitive capacity and the difficulty of arriving at consensus about values and goals as demanded by the rational model. This work would seem to place him more in the process model, further from his incrementalist approach of twenty years before).

Characteristics

Lindblom's (1959) model comprised the following discernible steps relating to the policy process. Note that the second step includes consideration of aspects of the implementation stage although this early model placed an emphasis on policy formation.

1 issue definition
2 goal selection and analysis of action to attain them (these are inextricably linked whereas they are distinct in the rational model)
3 some alternatives differing incrementally are developed
4 a limited number of consequences are evaluated
5 constant redefinition of the problem makes the issue more manageable
6 there is no single, right solution; the end result is settlement, reconciliation and adjustment

The similarity of structure with the policy formation phase of the rational model is obvious but important adjustments during all stages except the first make it a more credible model for describing the reality of the policy process from a scientific perspective.

Etzioni (1967) postulated a compromise between the rational and incremental models called mixed-scanning. This is an analogy relating to weather observation cameras where a compromise between the total global picture and more local detail is necessary. This allows both fundamental and incremental decisions to be taken. Practical applications
of this model are rare.

**Strengths**

Small or incremental moves are more readily acceptable to a wide range of conflicting interests. It is more consonant with what happens in practice. The focus of this model is on troublesome areas which are improved gradually (Hogwood & Gunn 1985: 60). Implementation is facilitated because those affected experience only minor adjustments to the status quo.

**Weaknesses**

It is concerned with small changes and is therefore conservative rather than innovative. The model does not account for changes in policy or for policy-makers or implementors behaving in a non-incremental way; problems may change so fast that policies based on past experience are inadequate as a guide to future action (Harman 1980a: 60).

As a prescriptive model new decisions built on an old base may not succeed, particularly if the base is unsatisfactory. Only the most powerful interests are catered for since elites make the small changes which will satisfy the majority. Interest group theory has a similar view of elites being constrained by societal pressures and thus making the decision which will produce tranquillity, not necessarily the best decision. However, interaction between actors receives scant attention in the incremental model.

**Systems Theory**

The systems approach is generally attributed to David Easton's (1957, 1965) work in the area of political science. A number of scholars have since used this framework for exploring policy formation and implementation in education and political science; for example Dye (1966), Hofferbert (1974), Campbell and Mazoni 1976 (in Harman 1980a: 74), Caldwell and Tymko (1980).

**Guiding Principles**

Policy formation and implementation is a response to forces brought to bear upon an issue from the environment. It is an interactive process in which inputs are converted into outputs or policy decisions. The outputs in turn affect components of the system leading to new demands. Dye (1984: 40) defines outputs as the "authoritative value allocations of the system"; these allocations constitute public policy.

The systems model operates in a dynamic political environment and focuses on phases of the policy process. Inter-related disturbances in one
part have repercussions elsewhere in the system, underlining its interdependence. It provides a framework where interest groups, institutions and actors can fit easily without being given undue attention. It conceptualises the whole policy process, its relation to the environment and the linking of components.

The concept of "system" implies an identifiable set of institutions and activities in society that function to transform demands into authoritative decisions requiring the support of the whole society (Dye 1984: 40).

The contribution of the systems model to policy analysis and its rationale lies in the questions it raises (Dye 1984: 41):

1 What are the dimensions of the environment that act upon the political system?
2 How does the political system transform environmental pressures into policy?
3 How do environmental inputs affect the character of the political system?
4 How do political system characteristics affect the content of policy statements and their implementation?
5 How do inputs affect the content of policy statements and their implementation?
6 How are the environment and the political system affected by feedback from the policy implementation stage?

The concept of "system" implies institutions and activities that transform demands into decisions requiring the support of the whole society. The demands are often conflicting and require negotiated settlements (policies) which all parties must then respect.

Characteristics

While variations abound the basic policy process model is depicted in Figure 2.3.

![Diagram](image)

*Figure 2.3 Basic Systems Model of the Policy Process*
Environmental Factors

The environmental context is vital: it provides the culture (in a laboratory sense) in which issues emerge and are defined. The processes by which decisions are made and the implementation of those decisions are responsive to the environmental conditions in which the actions take place.

The environment consists of a number of components or factors which impinge on the policy process; according to the issue, individual factors may or may not come into play and, when they do, some will be more influential and important than others. Some of the more significant factors are as follows:

Demography: Population mobility patterns are, for example, essential in arriving at policy decisions about where to create new schools, when and how permanent the construction should be.

Economy: This is an extremely important consideration for government policy formation; for example, the level of unemployment has given rise to new curriculum options such as enterprise education to encourage initiative in creating one's own employment. Of course any policy requiring financial support for implementation is subject to the prevailing economic conditions.

Socio-Cultural Context: This includes factors such as urbanism, literacy, level of adult education, occupations, modernisation, racial composition, class: system, prevailing myths and beliefs. All of these contribute to a climate which is conducive or obstructive to certain policy decisions and their application.

Political Context: This may refer to a party political context: is the decision consonant with party lines, that is, with a set of stated values? However it more often relates to the distribution of power in society, within an organisation, between groups of people or individuals. It is, in this sense, the "internal politics" of a university, a government department or a school for example.

Technology: The power, speed and distance-span of communications systems such as television, telephone and facsimile transmission via satellite, not to mention the expansion of computer data bases and word processing, have a direct bearing on policy implementation in many areas. For instance, the provision of distance education, of computer terminals to access information and the modification of curriculum content are responses to current technology. The importance of technological advances for world-wide communication in an international organisation such as the IB is self-evident.

Ecology: This is a consideration of the way man interacts with his natural environment. Governments have risen and fallen on the basis of policies related to ecology and on the way such policies have been translated into action.

History: Policies may be influenced by past events which prevent or
allow policy makers to act in a certain way. For example, in the Persian Gulf War of January/February 1991 Iraq attacked Israel with Scud missiles to provoke a counter attack from the latter country. The aim was to escalate a war between the Arab world and Israel (and hence support for Iraq) due to the historically based antagonism between Arabs and Jews.

Geography: The distance from the point of diffusion of a policy may affect its implementation. For instance, in-service training of teachers for a curriculum innovation is more difficult and expensive to organise when schools are in remote areas.

Educational Context: The types of programs already in existence within a country or within a school, the amount of support by governments or local authorities, the number of non-government versus government schools, receptiveness to new ideas, the general standard of education provided, the degree of public support for education at all levels and results of educational research are some of the environmental factors which may hinder or propel policy development and implementation.

Other Policies: These may impact on each other to encourage or discourage certain courses of action. For example, if a government decides to improve standards of literacy, a government school must make policies in line with that of the government; non-government schools wishing to attract government funding in this area would be influenced by the government policy decisions but are otherwise not obliged to respond.

Other Nations: Anderson (1984: 23) includes this as an important environmental factor where international politics are concerned. If country A, for example, decides to perfect an atomic bomb, country B may adopt the same policy as a response. The decision to adopt or not to adopt the IB in one country may affect the IB policy of another. In comparative theory this is termed "international diffusion".

These environmental factors are rarely discrete; rather they impinge upon each other and aggregate to affect issue definition, resolution and implementation. Environmental influence is multiple, not monolithic. An example of the inter-relationship between technological and political factors is how satellite TV transmission has assisted political activists who demonstrate or terrorise in the knowledge that the world is watching. Socio-cultural context provides the background for the ideologies which shape policy decisions and actions by these people.

In summary, the dynamic, fluid nature of the environment affects the behaviour of those who formulate and implement policy. As Macpherson (1990: 7) has noted in relation to the field that concerns this study, the environment "mediates how influential policy makers in education act".

Inputs

Inputs are issues generated in the environment which require resolution
through some process. They arise from the perception of problems which necessitate demands for solutions. "Forces generated in the environment which affect the political system are viewed as inputs" (Dye 1984: 40).

**Process**

*Articulation*

Individuals or groups, operating within an environmental context, articulate demands and needs. Which groups or individuals are involved and how do they proceed to delineate the problem? Issue definition is seen as both a political and a technical exercise; it forms an important component of the process model to be discussed later.

Cobb and Elder (1972: 2) identify four ways in which issues may be articulated. Each way is related to a particular initiator type:
- "readjusters" who perceive an unfavourable bias in the distribution of power or resources;
- "exploiters" who create an issue for their own gain;
- "circumstantial reactors" who initiate an issue as the result of an unanticipated event; and
- "do-gooders" who genuinely perceive a need for improvement and who are unlikely to benefit personally.

Triggering devices such as natural catastrophes, unforeseen events (demonstrations, strikes), technological or ecological changes, bias in the distribution of power and resources all create issues that will be defined by the initiators. "The formulation of an issue is dependent on the dynamic interplay between the initiator and the trigger device" (Cobb & Elder 1972: 2).

Farman (1985: 36) points out three weaknesses in the Cobb and Elder model of issue definition:

1. The attribution of motives to each initiator is arbitrary to the extent that initiators and observers may not agree; initiator types may also overlap.
2. Initiators may be government or institutional officials who perceive administrative difficulties or dysfunctions.
3. Identifying a single initiator is sometimes not possible because issues may arise out of new opinions developed over time, with a number of actors involved.

*Aggregation*

Once the issue has been articulated both formal and informal structures and processes occur to resolve the issues. These are the means by which articulation takes place; it may be, for example, via teacher unions, parent groups or an aggregation of individuals to form unofficial groups.
Analysis

Caldwell (1981: 16) sees three major components of this phase:
1 definition and clarification of the policy problem;
2 co-ordination with existing related policies; and
3 communication with constituents.
Alternative policies will be produced and analysed according to the values of the structures and processes which articulated the demands.

Outputs

A selection is made from the alternatives which have been considered; this output is the "authoritative value allocation of the system" (Dye 1984: 40) which results in a policy decision and its translation into action.

The concept of feedback indicates that the implementation of policies may also contribute to the environment and the demands which are generated in it.

Strengths

It conceptualises linkages between the environment, the political system and the formation and implementation of public policy by alerting us to aspects such as:
. How do environmental inputs affect the content of public policy and the nature of the political system?
. How does the implementation of policy affect the environment and subsequent demands which manifest themselves?
. What forces or factors in the environment act to generate demands upon the political system?
. How is the political system able to convert demands into public policy and preserve itself over time? (Anderson 1984: 15)

Weaknesses

It is a conservative model which cannot deal well with a changing policy system (although Hofferbert's model attempts to accommodate this). Anderson (1984: 15) notes that the systems model does not describe what takes place in the "black box" labelled (political) "process" - what actually contributes to decision making in this box remains arcane. The basic model does not differentiate between policy formation and policy implementation (discounting the adaptation of Caldwell and Tymko 1980: 89 previously discussed).

Comparative Theory

Comparative studies have sought to determine how, why and to what
effect policies are developed by different national governments (Heidenheimer et al 1975: 1a). Cross-national studies lead to the identification of cross-cultural variables which loom large in international settings but which are of little importance in elucidating the development of national policy. (This discussion excludes the strand of comparative theory which contrasts sources and application of public policy within a single national or cultural context; such comparisons, as important as they are, do not reveal the international dimensions of policy generation and implementation which are pertinent to this study).

The cross-national comparative model seeks to understand which characteristics of the particular cultures, societies, economies or political systems affect underlying patterns of behaviour (Dierkes et al 1987: 35).

Guiding Principles

A number of researchers claim that national cultures and ideologies explain contrasting patterns of policy formation and implementation in different countries. Anderson (1978: 2b) notes that a knowledge of the national languages of political discourse will explain different cross-national responses to the same problem. Ashford (1978:82) takes this further: "There is probably more similarity across <different> policies for one country in how policies are formed and implemented than there is for the same policy across several countries". This cultural-determinist view of policy is important in international settings.

On the other hand researchers have found compelling empirical support for the proposition that certain policy types generate certain common processes across national boundaries: "Similarities are greater within a given program across national boundaries than between different programs within a country" (Rose 1984: 11). Similar "political logic" may transcend national characteristics.

Horowitz (1989: 250) cites other examples of this alternative model of policy development in cross-national comparative studies. Similar defence and welfare policies operating in a number of countries may be adopted by a particular country so as not to be outdone by rivals. international diffusion is therefore a source of policy. In Asia, Africa and Latin America implementation assumes more importance than policy formation; the nature of the policy can therefore often be altered by political activity at the stage of implementation. "The structure of influence at the point of impact may thus be a key source of operative policy" (Horowitz 1989: 250). While this statement may be particularly true of the countries cited, it is applicable in other parts of the world. The implementors of government policy must penetrate a bureaucratic and political strata to reach the final set of actors - the policy clients; during this "journey" the policy is susceptible to modification. "We all know that policies are shaped from beginning to end every time they are
implemented" (Lowi 1978: 179-180). An example of how implementation can change policy follows.

Over a decade ago a minister for education in Tasmania decreed that there would be common state-wide compulsory tests in literacy and numeracy at 11 and 13 years of age in all government schools as a response to public criticism that standards in these areas were declining. The policy decision filtered down the (then) Education Department hierarchy as shown in Figure 2.4.

![Hierarchical Layers of the Tasmanian Education Department](image)

*Figure 2.4 Hierarchical Layers of the Tasmanian Education Department Involved in the Implementation of Compulsory Literacy and Numeracy Testing*

There was flagrant disagreement from the teacher unions and disquiet from most of the hierarchical administrative layers of the Education Department. Therefore the transmission of the demand for action moved very slowly from one level to the next and, when it did reach the technical experts it sat on their desks for some time before they started on the project. In the meantime the teacher unions had mounted a publicity campaign condemning the decision and suggesting that such tests would only be useful if they served a *diagnostic,* not *examination* function - that is, that teachers would use the tests to pinpoint areas in which children had difficulty thus enabling corrective measures to be taken. As such, the results would not be public but would remain with the teacher and the student. The Minister did not agree and insisted on the implementation of his original policy. The tests were finally devised and transmitted from the technical experts back up the line to the Director of Secondary Education who then sent them to Regional Directors and so on down the other line to reach classroom teachers. The implementors had stalled sufficiently for a change of government to take place whereby a new minister for education allowed the tests to serve a diagnostic purpose only. So, while all the administrative, technical, human and financial resources were in place the "structures of influence" at various
implementation points were in such disagreement with the policy that they successfully changed it.

Lindblom (1980: 65) also states that implementation always makes or changes policy to some degree because of one or more of a number of other factors:

- incomplete specification of the policy
- conflicting criteria for application
- conflicting directions from more than one source
- limited competence
- inadequate resources

There is a constant intermeshing of the policy formation and implementation stages. "Policy is made as it is being administered and administered as it is being made" (Anderson 1984: 78).

The literature suggests, then, that diverse national cultures and ideologies are important but not sufficient to explain policy processes. Other factors unrelated to national characteristics and ideologies also play a part in the formation and adoption of similar policies by a number of countries. The nature of the policy itself will determine the mix of contributing circumstances.

A country's ideology is a reflection of elite beliefs. In political or military coups the cultural heritage of a country may be changed by the ruling elite; for example, the suppression of the French and English languages under the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia. Elite beliefs change over time and are affected by critical events. Therefore national culture and ideology, given their politically fickle potential, do not naturally produce policy consistency (Horowitz 1989: 278). Moreover, since the bureaucratic layers of a national government agency can diffuse, weaken and even work against a policy decision taken at ministerial level, it follows that this same potential is magnified across international bureaucracies where a wider variety of interpretations and reactions can occur and where checking on policy implementation becomes more expensive and time consuming.

Characteristics

The characteristics of a cross-national comparative model stem from the contrasting theories just discussed. There are variables which are culturally driven and there are cross-cultural variables which are not linked to national characteristics.

Culturally bound variables of the country will usually be manifest in the ideologies of the governing elite (unless a "coup d'état" alters or destroys previously existing cultural aspects). These variables include attitudes towards education, the elderly, the unemployed, capitalism, other races and countries. These attitudes will, of course, be coloured by the social,
economic and technological status of the country concerned, by the
religious or secular nature of its society, by the language, by its form of
government, the spread of private and state utilities, the climate, and so
on.

International diffusion, the cross-national imperatives of a particular
policy decision, and impact at the implementation stage are all possible
sources of policy in the context of cross-cultural variables. Technical
problems and political posturing during stages of implementation can
nullify or alter policies in both international and national contexts.
Organisations such as UNESCO and the World Health Organisation may
be important determinants and implementors of policy in a global
setting, particularly where national elite decisions may attract
international funding or approval.

Strengths

Clarification of international policy formation and implementation is
greatly assisted where elements of the contrasting models can be
judiciously identified as contributory and not exclusive determinants.
For the most part other models ignore the international dimensions of
the policy process (even the systems model implicitly identifies local
environmental factors though there is no reason why it should not
include the international environment).

The comparative model highlights the potential for policy change and
the generation of new policy during the implementation stage,
particularly in relation to so-called developing countries. This example
of the non-linear, reiterative nature of the policy process can be extended
to the implementation of government policy through the bureaucratic
networks of the developed world.

The role of the governing group in promulgating a country's ideology
and culture provides an interesting link with elite theory.

Weaknesses

Broad comparisons across nations necessarily compress subject matter
categories and differences among programs. Such comparisons also tend
to neglect change over time in favour of differences across space
(Horowitz 1989: 252).

To date, the comparative model has paid too little attention to the
importance of elite ideologies or beliefs: beliefs are not continuous over
time, consistent with each other, or uniformly applied across policy
Elite Theory

This model is attributed to the work of C. Wright Mills *The Power Elite* (1956). Gergen (in Bauer & Gergen 1968: 181-204) expounds in detail a method of assessing "leverage points", a concept which includes and is closely associated with elite theory. Hofferbert's (1974) systems model of policy formation sees executive or elite behaviour as central to analysing how policy comes about. Lineberry rates this model as critical to the determination of public policy:

"The elite do not just influence government, they are government. Power has flowed from small-scale institutions to three large ones: big corporations, the military and Federal elite. They share key values and interact readily with each other. Corporation executives become under secretaries, retired admirals become corporate executives and Federal bureau heads are lured by the corporations they once regulated (Lineberry 1978: 50-51).

Guiding Principles:

Elite theories assume that public services are controlled by socially or economically dominant elites who are adept at manipulating (Macpherson 1990: 15). The term "policy elites" includes "political and bureaucratic officials who have decision-making responsibilities in government and whose decisions become authoritative for society" (Grindle & Thomas 1989: 244). Policy elite is synonymous with decision makers and policy makers, but elites need not be part of the formal structure of government; they may be significant individuals at the head of large private enterprises, extremely rich individuals with economic power, or charismatic people with a large following such as some religious leaders, sportsmen and women, film or pop music stars.

The elite is a small group of people close to the process which determines what is to be public policy at any point of time (Hofferbert 1974: 263). The most influential people are not necessarily the most visible to the public or those vested with legal power such as government ministers. For example, it has been suggested that a number of present and past national leaders in various countries have been influenced in their decisions by their spouses who had or have no official power or position.

The elite are key actors who may or may not communicate with their public (Jones 1984: 24). That is, they may consult with the public on issues or they may make decisions unilaterally, solely on the basis of their own analysis. As Hofferbert (1974: 116) put it: "Congressmen determine what they will do and hear". Policy is elite preference. People are generally apathetic and elites shape mass opinion about policies rather than vice versa. Elites redefine existing policy with their values and thus bring about policy changes (Dye 1984: 28).

Policy formation and implementation is seen from the perspective of
individual actors who are influential in persuading others to their view (Lindblom 1980: 30). Moreover, elites often initiate policies by agenda setting and influencing the timing and content of proposals to make them more bureaucratically acceptable (Grindle & Thomas 1989: 221). The section on the rational model included a discussion of the Cabinet Submission format for the Tasmanian government of the day in which timing and content were important features. Obviously Cabinet Ministers (as one example of an elite) have the capacity to set their own agenda, to control timing and to initiate as well as respond to public pressure. However, as has already been noted, ministerial decisions and the timing of their application may be altered by other concerted or individual influences at various execution points during the implementation phase.

**Characteristics**

There are two dimensions: *who* are the elite and *how* do they arrive at policy decisions?

**Identification of the elite**

Most of the literature defines the elite as the decision makers at the top of the government hierarchy followed by administrators and interest groups in that order. Figure 2.5 is a visualisation of this.

![Figure 2.5 The Elite Model (adapted from Dye 1984: 28)](image)

In the political arena the elite may be a single minister or a group of ministers (the Cabinet) who take final decisions. The administrators correspond to heads and the administrative hierarchy of government agencies who may formulate policy suggestions for consideration at ministerial level but, according to elite theory, will usually translate a policy which has emanated from above into operational terms. The policy is then applied to those affected, some or all of whom may belong to interest groups.
The elite bring the following attributes to policy decisions: initiative, orientation, leadership, ideology, expertise and political sensitivity (Grindle & Thomas 1989: 223).

The elite may also be identified by other institutional contexts such as the board chairman of a prestigious international company, quite outside the government. Its future prosperity may depend on government decisions or it may be powerful enough to influence government decisions particularly where the company has a major bearing on the economic and employment prospects of a nation, for example.

The actions of formal officeholders are not the whole of relevant elite behaviour but such actions are a necessary condition of policy-making and serve as a point of departure in the search for sufficient conditions (Hofferbert 1974: 226).

Leverage is an important concept in identifying and determining the influence of the elite. A leverage point is "a person, institution, issue or subsystem of the overall system that has the capacity to effect a substantial influence on the output of the system" (Bauer & Gergen 1968: 21). The following procedures may be useful in identifying individuals as leverage points.

Reputational Studies
Reputational studies seek to elucidate perceived leadership qualities (Hofferbert 1974: 26). Methodologically this involves asking for nominations of the most influential people from "knowledgeable" persons. Two immediate problems are that perceived and actual influence may differ and that influence may be issue specific. It is, however, easy to administer and it identifies influential people not holding formal leadership positions.

Positional Approach
This is the selection of those occupying formal leadership positions. Personal efficacy is not considered nor is the fact that informal leaders may be more powerful than formal leaders (Bauer & Gergen 1968: 195).

Social Participation Approach
This involves the selection of leverage points according to the degree to which the individual participates in aspects of public life. Observable behaviour, not perceived influence, of the individual is "measured" (Bauer & Gergen 1968: 197).

Policy decisions by the elite
The elite do not implement policy. They formulate policy. They may, however, choose to consider or ignore the practicalities of implementing a proposal in arriving at a decision. They are unlikely to ignore the consequences of a policy.

At least four factors influence choices by elite groups or individuals:
- technical advice - the persuasion of sound problem analysis;
The impact of decisions on bureaucratic interactions - the extent to which decisions are made to enhance career opportunities or fortunes of the bureaucratic entities which the elite leads or forms a part of;

- change for political stability or support - decisions made to increase the longevity of the current government or leadership group in power;

- relationships with international actors - the extent of international economic and political dependency (Grindle & Thomas 1989: 223).

Moreover, policy elites are differentially influenced by particular criteria depending on the circumstances prevailing at the time. Under crisis conditions, decisions are dominated by macropolitical concerns about political stability and control. The other factors may assume importance but usually remain subordinate to concerns about the longevity of the regime in power (Grindle & Thomas 1989: 232). Under politics-as-usual (or non-crisis) conditions, bureaucratic and micropolitical concerns provide the major influence on policy decisions. Technical input and international pressure are important but not decisive, and issues of political survival are not salient to decision makers (Grindle & Thomas 1989: 233).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agenda</th>
<th>Characteristics of the decision process</th>
<th>Policy elites most concerned about…</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perceived crisis</td>
<td>pressure from interests outside government; high political and economic stakes; innovative (rather than incremental); small groups of high level decision makers involved.</td>
<td>macropolitical issues: survival and legitimacy of the regime in power;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>politics-as-usual</td>
<td>problems identified for action; low political and economic stakes; middle and lower level officials involved; incremental (rather than innovative).</td>
<td>bureaucratic issues: careers budgets, agency power within government; micropolitical issues: party support and narrow coalition building</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 Agenda Setting and Decision Making for Policy Elites (from Grindle & Thomas 1989: 235)

A full explication of the environmental context is necessary to illuminate the behaviour of policy elites whose decision making processes are somewhat elusive and difficult to measure (Hofferbert 1974: 226, 228). A paper by Grindle and Thomas attempts to elucidate, in part, elite decision making which they describe as an aspect "that is conventionally treated as if it occurred within a 'black box', especially by dominant theories in political science and political economy" (Grindle
The "black box" is the political process in the systems model.

**Strengths**

No other existing model attempts to explain to such an extent the reality of decision making in terms of who are the principal actors with maximum leverage and how they go about reaching a decision on policy.

**Weaknesses**

The identification of the elite through reputational studies leads to the problem of perceived versus actual leadership qualities. Further, reputational studies do not clarify whether these elite are discrete individuals, an integrated structure, an aggregation of political leaders or competing actors (Hofferbert 1974: 282).

The self-interest of policy makers (Grindle & Thomas 1989: 224) reduces the effect of all other factors which might influence a decision. The researcher is therefore confronted with situations where the real stimulus that finally prompts the executive, at a given moment, to make a policy decision is masked by a public rhetoric of selflessness.

**Interest Groups**

The first proponents of this model were David Truman (1951) and Harmon Zeigler (1964). Their work provoked a methodological debate concerning the extent to which all political behaviour could be explained in terms of group activity and conflict. The "Bargaining Model" (Peterson 1976) similarly sees policy decisions as the result of conflicting interests forming coalitions where the players bargain and reach compromises. For the purposes of this study, the differences (if they exist) between interest group theory and the bargaining model are negligible.

This is a pluralist model of the policy process where "everyone can govern at least some of the time" (Lineberry 1971: 52). Early political science discussions of political development implicitly adopted pluralist models that focused on "inputs" and "outputs" but not on how one was transferred to the other - the "black box" mystery. More recently the pluralist model has been explained as a "balancing act" among competing interests, "a process of conflict resolution in which social tranquillity and maintenance of power is the basic concern" (Grindle & Thomas 1989: 245).

Competitive interdependent groups form policies in situations of conflict (Dye 1984: 37). The task of policy makers is therefore to devise solutions acceptable to a range of conflicting interests. The policies thus formed are not solutions but the results of conflict - compromises by officials with
diverse interests and unequal influence (Harman 1980a: 61). This model has applications in international diplomacy where "brinkmanship" is often required to resolve the demands of competing interest groups within and across countries.

Interest groups can facilitate or hinder the implementation of policy. Where they are the recipients they may refuse to comply or acquiesce reluctantly so as to impair the delivery of a policy. They can be a powerful lobby group for a particular decision during the policy formation stage and an equally influential group in preventing a policy with which they disagree from being effectively put into practice during the implementation stage. Good implementation depends on reducing the number of steps and actors (Hargrove 1976: 10). This reduces the risk of delays, distortion of the policy as it filters through a network of actors and the counter-influence of groups or individuals.

The implementation process is a strategic interaction among numerous special interests all pursuing their own goals which might or might not be compatible with the goals of the policy mandate (Jones 1984: 168).

Moreover, the interest groups influencing policy formation may be different from those appearing during implementation. Rabinovitz et al (1976: 400) see implementation as a "continuation into another area of the political process" where contending views of different interest groups must be resolved. In many cases the technical capacity to implement will only come into effect after the political wrestling between interest groups and the administrative agency or between interest groups themselves is over.

Guiding Principles

Pluralist theories locate power with citizens who vote, influence party politics and lobby through interest groups. Non-professionals are powerful lobbyists, particularly in areas such as education (Macpherson 1990: 15,16). Influence by interest groups outside government may occur through riots and demonstrations, solidarity of groups, the ballot box or money (Hofferbert 1974: 26).

It is incomplete to explain public policy analysis without allowing for society's multiplicity of competing groups. Policy emanates from conflict, bargaining and coalition (Grindle & Thomas 1989: 218) between groups who control more than just officials - they incite other individuals and groups of non-professionals to become willing protagonists engaged in a cause (Hofferbert 1974: 84).

This model sees the source of public policy as "fragmented interest articulation in the public arena" (Grindle & Thomas 1989: 219). Activities of interest groups are those interactions through which individuals and
private groups not holding government authority seek to influence public policy (Lindblom 1980: 85). Policy decisions and their implementation represent an equilibrium reached in the struggle between interest groups (Dye 1984: 27).

Interest groups manipulate or influence elite decisions whereas in elite theory those in power manipulate, impose upon or influence the public. In reality who influences who is not always easy to determine. The interest group model and incremental theory both see elites as making minor adjustments to existing policy in order to appease conflicting groups. In the systems model interest groups are part of the environment (Hofferbert 1974: 135).

**Characteristics**

![Interest Group Model](adapted from Dye 1984: 28)

Bauer & Gergen (1968: 160) contend that the group is the smallest meaningful unit in policy making. It may comprise all or any of ordinary citizens, leaders, legislators, party activists, judges, civil servants, technical experts, business managers (Lindblom 1980: 3). In the realm of formulating and implementing educational policy, interest groups may be school board members, school administrators, teachers, teacher unions, parent organisations, members of student councils.

The influence of the interest group depends upon its internal characteristics, its relative strategic position and the political makeup of the government. Interest group influence is measured by decisional analysis: the investigation of specific issues or policy events. Decisional analysis traces the actions and relationships of actors retrospectively in regard to concrete circumstances.

The composition of interest groups may be similar or quite different as one moves from the formation to the implementation stage. New cohorts of people may gradually form to join a cause or conflicting groups may vie for supremacy of their ideology in the policy process.
While Hofferbert's model emphasises elite theory in a systems perspective, he does not deny the important role of interest groups in policy formation:

1. the policy decision is identified for investigation;
2. the historical development of policy in the same area is provided;
3. interests and individuals in the conflict are identified including the input of affected interest groups; and
4. within the context of the bargaining model the attitude of participants and their actions is reconstructed (Hofferbert 1974: 93-94).

The leaders of an interest group may be seen as an elite (Lindblom 1980: 88). Therefore elite theory may elucidate the actions of a particular interest group which, in turn, influences a "higher" elite.

**Strengths**

Due importance is given to group conflict and compromise in policy formation and implementation; this is not embraced by other models.

This model is a realistic representation of democratic government up to a point; mass opinion has its place in the formulation and implementation of public policy and setting the government agenda.

**Weaknesses**

In its extreme form it diminishes the role of administrators and politicians to that of adjudicators between rival groups (Grindle & Thomas 1989: 219). The role of individuals (including elite individuals), and of environmental and organisational factors is played down.

The stress on conflict resolution may result in a neglect of elements of consensus and integration which unite groups (Harman 1980a: 60 and Hofferbert 1974: 137).

**Process Model**

This is attributed to the work of Jones (1984), Lindblom (1980) and Dye (1984). The process model is a variation on the rational model whereby policy formation is seen as a political activity. The politics of the policy process are explained by this model.

**Guiding Principles**

The logical sequence of the rational model is not necessarily followed in order and elements may overlap. This model seeks to decipher the political aspects of the "complex set of forces which together produce effects called 'policies'" (Lindblom 1980: 3). This model subsumes the
elite and interest group models and espouses the view that policy
determination and application is predominantly interactive or political
rather than intellectual; solutions cannot be judged by standards of
rationality but by how they respond to a variety of interests (Lindblom
1980: 122-3). The democratic view of good policy is that which is preferred
by the majority, rational analysis notwithstanding. (The reader will note a
similarity with incremental theory).

Analysis is organised around those aspects of the policy process common
to the steps of the rational model but seen from a political perspective.
For example, the identification of the problem of street violence is guided
by politics, not by rational analysis, in this model. What is the cause of
street violence? Is it the decline of police services, racial discrimination,
poverty, alienation, impatience with the pace of reforms? Whatever the
"real" reason (if it could be scientifically identified) interest groups will
attribute it to a lack of government action in a certain area while elites
will attribute it to the need for action in an area where the government
has already devised a policy for reform. Issue definition for ns an
important part of Systems Theory (previously discussed) where Cobb and
Elder (1972: 2) propose that it grows out of dynamic interaction between a
triggering device (for example, a strike) and people (whom they call
initiators) waiting for the opportunity to articulate a problem which will
be accommodated into their preconceived notions about what is wrong.

Correct or incorrect reasons or solutions do not exist. Policy is set and
applied by the various ways in which people exert control, influence or
power over each other: decisions and their application follow acts like
voting, negotiating, silencing opponents, persuading. That is,
interaction rather than rational analysis produces and implements policy
(Lindblom 1980: 26).

This model encompasses both a society-centered and state-centered
approach to the policy process (Grindle & Thomas 1989: 217). The society-
centered model suggests that, as economic efficiency is derived from an
open and competitive market, public or group interest is best served
when policy emerges out of competition between a large number of
organised interests. It is interest groups in society which determine policy
and the effectiveness of its implementation; that is, the elite reacts to the
pulling and hauling of interest groups. The elite is the dependent
variable.

In the state-centered approach the perceptions and interactions of elites
and the broad orientation of the state account for policy decisions which
are passed down to administrators for implementation. Here interest
groups and the masses are the dependent variables. Both approaches
reduce the policy process to one of two extremes. Interplay and
adjustment occur in practice. While the elite of the state-centered
orientation make policy they may be encumbered to a greater or lesser
extent, particularly during implementation, by interest group pressures of the society-centered protagonists, not to mention the influence of historical context or legacies of past policies. The activities of the elite are choices in which the stakes are personal, organisational or positional.

Characteristics

Jones offers the most replete sequence of characteristics of the process model and cautions that it is difficult to isolate stages of policy formation and implementation as an identifiable, one-time, discrete procedure; events may occur in a different order or overlap. His is an extension of Lasswell's (Lerner & Lasswell 1951) seven stages previously identified in the discussion about the rational model.

1 problem perception
2 problem definition
3 aggregation and organisation
4 representation
5 agenda-setting
6 formulation
7 legitimisation
8 budgeting
9 implementation
10 evaluation
11 adjustment (Jones 1984: 27-29)

Policy Formation

Clearly the first six items concern policy formation. As has already been mentioned, identifying the problem involves organising a set of facts, beliefs and perceptions (Weiss 1989: 118). Once a problem is perceived its definition will depend more on political than rational analysis. Policy formulation may proceed without a clear definition of the problem (Jones 1984: 78). Aggregation of the people affected by the issue then occurs. They are united by a feeling of solidarity but may not be organised. The parallel with interest group theory is obvious. The extent to which an aggregation may influence policy formation depends upon the number of stake-holders and upon the degree and type of organised response. This organised response will, in turn, be influenced by the resources and quality of leadership available.

But aggregation alone is not enough. There may be a number of groups vying for attention, some of which are recognised by policy-makers. Therefore the stage of representation is important: which perceptions, definitions and aggregations become represented by whom? Agenda setting is determined by "interactions among people struggling with each other over the terms of their co-operation" (Lindblom 1980: 4). It is the "process by which some problems come to public attention at given times
and places" (Weiss 1989: 118). Who sets the agenda? It may be pressure groups (aggregations) or a government elite, depending on the issue and the extent of agreement about its definition. The media, by deciding what will be news, are a pressure group that sets the agenda for public discussion (Dye 1984: 340).

Formulation of the policy is the result of power play, not of rational analysis. It is not always easy to assess whether interest groups shape public policy or whether decision makers shape mass opinion. At the moment of decision, it is unlikely that elites operate independently of well-organised public representations. Nevertheless a compromise policy decision, rather than complete agreement with public demands is more often the result. Certainly the Tasmanian government took heed of the many petitions and outcry by organised groups against the establishment of a paper-pulp mill in the north of the state during 1989. The policy decision was to allow the project to take place while at the same time increasing the stringent pollution protection measures on the company proposing the venture. Here is an example where compromise failed: the cost of the anti-pollution measures was unacceptable to the company so it pulled out; at the same time a sufficient number of voters were disenchanted by what they perceived as a lack of government sensitivity to environmental issues and the government eventually lost the election.

**Policy Implementation**

Items 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 (legitimation, budgeting, implementation, evaluation and adjustment) of Jones' model represent the implementation phase whereby the policy is legitimated (for example, by passing a new law), funding is provided and the policy is applied through an administrative process during which feedback leads to improvements. This writer prefers the term "execution" for item 9, as "implementation" in this study (like policy formation) is a phase comprising a number of steps. As defined in Chapter 1, it is the translation of official policies into plans and programs of action.

Williams (1975: 532) identifies three implementation stages:
1. the development of program guidelines or design specifications;
2. the provision of technical skills, administrative apparatus and human and financial resources; and
3. the operational stage (of non-experimental activity).

The application of certain policies may require an experimental stage between 2 and 3, as in a curriculum innovation, before the policy is put firmly into place. Successful implementation depends on being able to arrive at the right mix of administrative and political elements (Williams 1975: 535).

Tymko (1979: 63) bases his conceptual framework for the implementation
of public policy partly on the work of Rabinovitz et al and agrees with the latter (Rabinovitz et al 1976: 401) that implementation is an attempt to reconcile three potentially conflicting imperatives:

- what is legally required;
- what is rationally defensible in the minds of administrators; and
- what is politically feasible to gain agreement amongst contending stake holders.

Rabinovitz et al (1976: 400) postulate two views of implementation. One is traditional whereby rational, bureaucratic processes (such as laws and regulations) ensure that subordinates in government agencies carry out policy directives. The problem is solved in a manner consistent with announced policy objectives and within the accepted institutional framework. The other opposing view sees implementation as an extension of the political process where power struggles and conflicting interests contend for supremacy. The authors emphasise the latter view and propose an implementation model moving through four stages:

1. development of guidelines
2. promulgation of guidelines
3. resource allocation

In the first stage the legislative intent of a policy is translated into administrative prescription for action. The guidelines are then distributed to appropriate personnel in a government department (or other bureaucratic structure) to administer the policy. A budget is allocated, personnel retrained (if necessary) or newly hired. In the fourth stage the policy is enforced by monitoring its application to verify whether practice complies with the guidelines. These stages are circular rather than sequential with no graceful one-dimensional transition from one to the other.

There is both a structural/procedural and behavioural aspect to policy implementation. Anderson identifies four implementation stages in relation to public policy and emphasises that politics and administration cannot be separated:

1. budgetary process
2. identifying participants
3. administrative process

The government authorises and appropriates a budget. Those who play a role in facilitating or obstructing implementation are identified: they may include government (or other) agencies, the legislature, the courts, pressure and advisory groups, community organisations and political party officials. "Administrative process" refers to the administrative structure through which the policy is applied. In government many bureaucratic agencies exist in many areas to fulfill this role; at times, a new organisation is created and may be staffed with people well disposed
towards the new policies to be administered. The legal authority of an agency to take action may not always be sufficient to ensure compliance, except in terms of the pure rational model; positive acceptance of the policy may be necessary to facilitate its implementation. Two of Anderson's stages require further elaboration: the administrative process of a government agency and compliance.

The effectiveness of implementation by an agency is dependent on both the political and technical/procedural context in which it operates. Environmental forces acting on an agency include:
- the agency's chief executive
- relevant laws, accepted procedure, fair play
- other governments - local, state, national
- interest groups
- political parties

The nature of the agency's task will decide the extent to which the above forces come into play. The Government Printer, for instance, is unlikely to have pressure from interest groups, political parties or the media whereas the Departments of Forestry or Education will find themselves in an often hostile environment. A political party in government may appoint people to key positions in an agency to ensure adherence to government policies and to their implementation. The media are a forum for pressure groups and they shape public opinion by publicising such information as an agency's actions and current financial state. "A number of forces operate on an agency, pushing and pulling against each other with varying intensity and growing and ebbing over time" (Anderson 1984: 93).

From the above field of forces the constituency of the agency is formed. It comprises a stable core of people who are more or less continually involved, such as teacher unions or parent organisations vis-à-vis an Education Department. Then there are others who become active only as particular issues arise or are settled, such as the conservation lobby protesting to the Education Department about the way environmental issues are being taught or not taught. The nature of the agency's constituency determines how effectively policy can be formulated and implemented. For example, an agency with a foreign clientele (such as an International Development Agency) can draw little aggregated, political support or hindrance from its constituents who are too geographically distant and too disparate to be able to form a concerted pressure group (Anderson 1984: 94).

Compliance relates to how public policies influence behaviour. People comply with government policy for one or more of the following reasons:
1 the policy is seen as legitimate and therefore has the authority of the law;
it is in the individual's self-interest (for example, compulsory retirement and health care payments);
there is the fear of punishment by law; and
acceptance of a policy increases with time and usage (Anderson 1984: 102-103).
Where non-compliance with a policy contravenes the law, even vociferous interest groups or individuals will tread warily or conversely, in certain countries, seek to overthrow the government in power.
Nagel's factors affecting compliance are as follows:
1 clarity of the policy;
2 the extent of its deviation from custom;
3 the prestige of those who formulate and implement the policy;
4 positive and negative sanctions to obtain compliance;
5 monitoring of non-compliance; and
6 the presence of facilitating and inhibiting environmental conditions (Nagel 1980: 32).
Nagel's 4 and 5 are similar to Anderson's legitimacy (4) and fear of the law (3). The remainder are additional factors for consideration. If the policy differs only incrementally from common practice, compliance will be more readily obtained. An unambiguous policy, formed and applied by people who have gained public respect, is more easily implemented and has credibility for the recipients. Any one or more of the environmental conditions discussed under "Systems Theory" could affect the compliance aspect of policy implementation.
Fullan stresses the importance of the political aspect and proposes four broad determinants of implementation:
1 characteristics of the new policy;
2 strategies for inservice training, resource support, motivating constituents, feedback;
3 characteristics of the implementing unit or agency: environmental context and structure; and
4 characteristics of the macro sociopolitical context (Fullan 1977: 367).
The more explicit (who, what, when, how) the policy statement and the less complex the changes required, the more effective is the application of the policy. Amongst the strategies for successful implementation is the "resocialisation of key actors" (Fullan 1977: 371) and establishing an interactive network of feedback mechanisms from the implementors and recipients. Determinants 3 and 4 have been previously explained and raised by other authors.
The work of the writers just discussed places them clearly within the process model of policy formation and implementation where political currents underly what appears to be a rational series of steps. The political context can propel, hinder, delete, change or reverse the order of stages in policy implementation just as it does in policy formation.
Finally, formation and implementation have been separated in this section on the process model to facilitate discussion; they are intertwined and do not necessarily follow a linear progression. Indeed Williams (1975: 534) remarks that policy makers at the time of choice ought to have reasonable estimates of the organisational capacity to apply alternative proposals. He advocates the consideration of both political and technical aspects of implementation during policy formation.

**Strengths**

This model has a logical but flexible framework which accommodates political reasoning. It is particularly appropriate where official actors (such as a government elite) are involved. By subsuming elite and interest group theories it provides a more complete picture of the policy process by other than scientific means.

**Weaknesses**

Applicability of the model to non-government activity may be limited. Little or no allowance is made for rational analysis which is likely to have a place even where most of the action appears to be politically motivated.

**Summary**

This chapter has examined seven models (or theories) which have potential for analysing IB policy formation and implementation: rational, incremental, systems, comparative, elite, interest group and process. One of the objectives of the discussion has been to seek to justify the placement of the models in this order along a continuum from rational to political activity; that is, from a purely scientific approach to the recognition of power conflict situations. The models are not discrete and often overlap. In the same way the identifiable stages of policy formation and implementation do not necessarily follow a linear sequence: the feasibility of applying a policy may affect the final decision just as implementation may result in changes to the policy or the creation of new policy.

Together the models provide the basis from which a conceptual framework can be constructed. The investigation itself may uncover other elements pertinent to policy formation and implementation at an international level not already forming part of the established literature.

The discussion has suggested that many human, political factors interpose in the policy process; the scientific model, as an ideal type, is useful in explaining observable phenomena but, alone, is unlikely to account for how public policy evolves and how it is implemented.
The models have been chosen and discussed because of their perceived contribution to this study which is a descriptive analysis of IB policy formation and implementation. Each model is reviewed by identifying its rationale (guiding principles), its characteristics ("measurable" units of analysis) and its strengths and weaknesses. Table 2.2 provides a summary of the salient features of each policy process model discussed in this chapter.

The next chapter will draw upon the models discussed, the writer's experience and the nature of the development of the IB to arrive at a conceptual framework which will direct and focus the research.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Main Proponents</th>
<th>Guiding Principles</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Strengths</th>
<th>Weaknesses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| RATIONAL MODEL        | Lasswell 1951 Simon 1957 | linear, purely intellectual process as an ideal type it is prescriptive rather than descriptive | 1 problem perception & definition  
2 set objectives & values  
3 consider alternatives  
4 policy decision  
5 translate decision into operational terms  
6 regulations, procedures, resources  
7 operation, evaluation & review | guides practice  
judged for measuring rationality of the policy process  
logically best decision is taken without regard to self-interest  
simple to understand | too perfect, unrealistic  
global picture may be missed by concentrating on sequential steps  
ignores political behaviour of actors |
| INCREMENTAL MODEL      | Lindblom 1959, 1964, 1968 Simon 1957 | paradoxical adjustment and changes to existing policies rather than a prescriptive policy  
reorientation & compromise | 1 issue definition  
2 model & analyze action  
3 propose action solutions  
4 evaluate intended consequences  
5 consider problem reduction  
6 decision which maximizes reconciliation | incremental changes appear conflicting interests  
it is realistic - relates to practice  
facilitates implementation - minor adjustments only | conservative rather than innovative  
"satisficing" decision  
political interaction is ignored |
| SYSTEMS THEORY        | Easton 1957, 1965 Dye 1966 Hoffert 1974 | policy process responds to environmental factors  
policy context as any event  
iss includes, but gives a few to actors  
emphasizes interdependence & feedback | INPUTS:  
- political systems  
- external environment  
- social structure  
- economic factors  
- national policies  
- international politics  
- political stability  
OUTPUTS:  
- public opinion  
- party system  
- government policies  | links environment, political system & policy processes  
includes notion of feedback & interdependence | fairly conservative - similar to rational model  
operating within an environmental context  
the "process" box remains unclear |
| COMPARATIVE THEORY     | Heldenheimer et al 1975 Dierkes et al 1987 Horowitz 1989 | policy is culturally determined, or mass-cultural variables (linked to national traits) determine policy | culturally & ideologically driven attitudes  
international diffusion  
impact at implementation can change policy | recognizes international variables  
emphasizes role of national ideologies  
recognizes that implementation can alter policy | emphasizes differences across space rather than changes over time  
elite ideologies are somewhat neglected |
| ELITE THEORY           | C Wright Mills 1956 Bauer & Gergen 1968 Hoffert 1974 | elites shape mass opinion & decide on policies  
- elites have leverage  
- mass-centered model  
- elite decisions  
administrators implement | additional identification by reputation, position or social power  
elite decisions influenced by the political, economic, social power of the country  
impact on policy, political stability, relationships & international action | Emphasis:  
- identification of influential actors  
- how the influential actors make decisions | reputational identification is personal, not structural  
both rational  
self-interest, difficult to detect, may negate all other influential factors |
| INTEREST GROUPS        | Truman 1951 Zeigler 1964 | pluralistic, power lies with interest groups  
- interest groups influence elite decisions  
- society-centered model  
- interest groups may differ from formation to implementation | interest group influences depend on internal characteristics, strategy, position, government policy  
interest groups may also have a "higher" role  
influence other "higher" roles | recognizes power of coalitions & conflict resolution  
realistic representation of democratic government | assimilates role of elites in resolving group conflict  
stresses on conflict resolution may mask consensus |
policy determined & implemented interactively, not linearly  
- political, not rational  
- comprises elite & interest group models  
policy determined & implemented interactively, not linearly | 1 problem definition  
2 aggregation & organizational interface  
3 representation  
4 agenda setting  
5 formulation  | accommodates politics of policy process  
apt for government actions  
complete & flexible - includes elite & interest group theories & is based on stages of the rational model | limited application to non-government activity  
simplified analysis is underplayed |

Table 2.2 Summary of Policy Process Models Discussed in Chapter 2
CHAPTER 3

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

Conceptual frameworks are more than simple angles of vision. Each consists of clusters of assumptions and categories that influence how the researcher perceives the issue, how he formulates his questions, where he looks for evidence and what he produces as an answer. "No single theory or model can fit adequately the variety of contexts and cover all the stages of the policy process" (Harman 1980b: 150-151).

Hogwood and Gunn (1985: 62) propose a contingency model whereby policy formation and implementation are in tune with the particular circumstances and issue in question. Some policy decisions may require a highly political, pluralist, process model approach. Others may lend themselves more to scientific analysis. Their contingency model is based very closely on the stages of Lasswell's rational model but it recognises political, non-scientific intervention.

The policy process is such that to seek to analyse all contributing elements would be impossible. On the other hand, too narrow a frame of reference may unduly restrict the investigation or predetermine the outcomes (Anderson 1984: 165). This study, like any research effort, began with some premises and assumptions about the value of the IB, who was involved and why. This is necessary to avoid an ad hoc approach, but the conceptual framework should not be so rigid as to limit results; it should be able to accommodate the unexpected. The interplay of human and contextual variables in the policy process is so delicately intricate that unanticipated variables and interdependences are likely to emerge. The following comment, although referring specifically to policy formation can be extended to the policy process in general.

Policy formation is ruled by the variable weight of a shifting complex of constraints. To see the elements of the policy formation process in tension at any given moment is also to recognise that, underlying the irregular cadences of the process are the multiple permutations of forces in tension and their changing relative importance over time ... This changing constellation of external events and conditions and of internal forces influential in policy making are important (Horowitz 1989: 209).

The conceptual framework for this study attempts to capture the permutations of elements in tension and to visualise their interdependence. It will identify those elements considered to be instrumental in explaining how IB policy developed and was implemented, bearing in mind the characteristics of the models discussed in the previous chapter. The construction of the framework also draws on the experience of the researcher in national and international schools and as Senior Private Secretary to the Minister for
Education in Tasmania from 1986-1989 where he was at the centre of policy formation and implementation at the highest government level.

The framework serves two purposes:
1. It guides the collection of information in the course of the research;
2. It provides a basis for analysis of the development of the IB and the IB Office.

Rationale for the Framework

The creation of the IB was due to the enthusiasm of a number of teachers in one particular school; its evolution prospered through the foresight and influence of a number of individuals in positions of authority. Students and parents did not petition governments or other authorities to introduce an international pre-university entrance qualification; they did not organise themselves into groups with the specific purpose of articulating such a request. The international and expatriate community involved was (and still is) far too dispersed around the globe, was far too small in number to carry any weight with national governments and there was no appropriate international authority to turn to (except UNESCO). It is interesting to speculate whether, in spite of their sparsity, expatriate parents might not have been a significant lobby group given their relatively important status: diplomats, high-powered business executives, researchers, etc. In any case, no such organised ground swell of concern was forthcoming. So, the origins of the IB diploma and the IB Office were vested in a group of dedicated teachers supported by a number of influential people with skill in using existing bodies and institutions.

The tenets of elite theory and interest group theory, then, seem to be pertinent for elucidating IB policy formation. But other dimensions are necessary. We are not just concerned with leverage, but with international leverage where some of the characteristics of comparative theory and the environmental aspects of the systems model may provide useful insights.

Incremental theory has little place in the origins of the IB and its organisation; this was a completely new concept not involving policy variations on the past to satisfy conflicting interest groups. Some years later incremental decisions may well have occurred as a result of lobbying by the IB world-wide network for improvements once the basic "enterprise" had been established.

The rational model has its usefulness here since it assumes that the decision maker will accumulate information, make an intellectual analysis of all alternatives, select the alternative most consonant with his stated beliefs or value system and implementation will follow. As an ideal type this model could not explain reality, but neither could the process model be used exclusively to analyse IB policy formation and implementation with its emphasis on political rather than intellectual
processes. IB elite policy decisions are likely to be determined by a mix of purely rational analysis unaffected by self-interest or power games and interaction with other elites involving political sensitivities at a national and international level. Since the rational model places absolute faith in the intellectual capacity of an elite (unencumbered by interest groups) to choose the right policy, some stages of the rational model will be appropriate for this study's conceptual framework.

Policy implementation has been viewed as a continuation of the political process implicit in policy formation into another arena (Rabinovitz et al. 1976: 400). This process model approach is important for the implementation stage which has tended to be seen as more technical and less prone to political vicissitudes. The discussion of policy implementation in relation to the process model in the previous chapter suggests the most useful basis for this part of the conceptual framework provided that the procedural, rational elements are not ignored. Interest group theory appears to have more relevance during the implementation stage than during policy formation in relation to the evolution of the IB diploma and the IB Office.

The Conceptual Framework

This conceptual framework is a response to a fundamental question: who did what and why? It is a three-dimensional model (Figure 3.1) in which the who are the actors (people and institutions), the what are the stages of policy formation and implementation (largely attributable to the process model but not excluding scientific analysis) and the why are a series of factors including the local, national and international environment which influence the way actors deal with each stage.

As an abstract representation of reality, no model can account for all the nuances of what actually occurs. The present attempt specifies a set of parameters (which are not exhaustive) and complies with Dye's (1984: 42) criteria of an acceptable model already discussed at the beginning of Chapter 2: that is, it helps explain the policy process through units of analysis which are meaningful. It is not an attempt to include all characteristics of a number of existing models; this would form a hybrid and make for a ponderous analysis. Each element on the three axes has been selected for its relevance to IB policy formation and implementation. With minor adjustments the model could, however, be used to analyse instances of international policy making and application in areas other than education.

This model assumes that there are three interdependent dimensions to all policy making and implementation: a set of actors, a series of steps (which are followed, not necessarily in order, by actors to arrive at a policy and put it into practice) and a set of factors which influence the behaviour of actors at each step of the policy formation and implementation process. The specificity of this model is that the actors, the stages of the policy process and the influential factors have been delimited to those aspects considered pertinent to educational policy.
Figure 3.1 Model of International Policy Formation and Implementation in Education.
formation and implementation at an international level.

This is a model of three-dimensional interaction over time. The timing of the actors' involvement and of environmental occurrences will affect the nature of the policy process. The units of analysis may be viewed as analytically separate yet functionally interwoven. An explanation of each of the dimensions follows. In order to structure the discussion, the stages of the policy process on the vertical axis AB have been divided into two sections: formation and implementation.

Stages of Policy Formation

The first four of the seven steps shown ascending the central axis AB of Figure 3.1 are concerned with policy formation: problem definition, aggregation, agenda setting and policy decision. These stages are related to the process model which gives more emphasis to the political aspects of policy making; it sees conflict and power play as an important source of policy. Nevertheless the stages of the process model take their origin from the rational model; indeed, many of the steps are the same but are disposed towards a political interpretation. In particular the order of events is not fixed - they may overlap and some stages may be omitted, unlike the pure rational model.

Problem Definition

Firstly a problem is perceived: there is the recognition of an event which needs a solution. For example, declining student enrolments at government schools creates a problem of redundant staff, most of whom are permanent government employees and therefore cannot be dismissed. At this stage no attempt is made to define the parameters of the problem: the fact that there is an oversupply of teachers due to insufficient students is noted by certain actors. Following this initial awareness, the issue is carefully delineated through problem definition which "creates an intellectual framework for further action" (Weiss 1989: 117). It organises a set of facts, beliefs and perceptions about events. Issues arise from contending definitions of policy problems by different groups; the very definition of problems often generates more conflict than consensus (Lineberry 1978: 24, 26). In the rational model, scientific analysis defines the problem but the process model is sensitive to political power play.

The definition of problems at the beginning of the policy formation process may have various sources:

... the lonely analyst wrestling to impose intellectual structure on a messy array of facts and dilemmas; savvy politicians crafting issues to appeal to the winning mix of voter demographics; a crisis event splashed across the front page to galvanize attention to previously neglected corners of social life; the insistence of disenfranchised groups that their concerns be taken seriously by those more comfortably circumstanced (Weiss 1989: 97).
Notice that technical analysis does have a place here. But problem definition is not necessarily fixed from start to finish. As the policy formation process unfolds, a problem definition may shift as evidence is considered and alternative solutions are debated or proffered by different aggregations. The problem definition legitimates some courses of action rather than others, enhances participation by some actors while diminishing the importance of others and focuses on indicators of success thereby signalling the irrelevance of others. "Much policy making, in fact, is preoccupied with whose definitions shall prevail" (Weiss 1989: 98). The political strength of actors plays its part.

A good problem definition depends on whether it:
- considers the whole problem;
- implies alternatives that have realistic promise of improved outcomes;
- permits systematic analysis of alternatives;
- focuses attention on a manageable set of factors;
- is clear about objectives to be achieved; and
- is meaningful to decision makers (Weiss 1989: 117).

The perceived problem of falling enrolments in government schools might be defined in terms of whether there is a decline in birth rates and whether this is desirable or reversible by offering more financial incentives to larger families. Or there may be an increase in birth rates but more children are attending private schools; is this because of perceived superior educational opportunities at those schools? If so, what can government schools do? What is their perceived problem? And so the discussion might continue until the actors involved at this stage arrive at a definition of the problem with which they agree.

The problem definition has important implications for actors in the policy formation process. It indicates which individuals participate in decision making, which are placed on the offensive or defensive, which institutions are legitimised and which groups become more credible and powerful.

The problem definition is also shaped by elements on the axis AD which influence actors. In the example above, the political, socio-economic, demographic context and the rigours of scientific analysis may play prominent roles.

Aggregation

"Aggregation" replaces the stage of "preparation and consideration of scientifically determined alternatives" in the rational model. Aggregations are coalitions of like opinion, not necessarily arrived at through purely rational debate; in fact, more politically motivated alternatives arise from aggregations. They are the pooling of similar interests to support a particular view or to propose solutions to a problem; they build consensus through forming interest groups or
coalitions of elites (Coleman & LaRocque 1983: 243). A formal structure such as an association or agency may grow out of an aggregation. Gergen (in Bauei & Gergen 1968: 187-185) recognises that intra-elite groups occur and exert much influence on a "higher" decision making elite.

Aggregations of like opinion are usually bound together by a common ideology or set of values which dictate action. In the rational model values and beliefs pertain only to the decision maker who is never mentioned. In the sequence of logical steps they have a place between "problem definition" and "proposing alternative solutions": setting objectives and values to guide decisions. The position of this step in the rational model is inappropriate as values and ideologies shape the problem definition. Therefore in the linear structure of the rational model as it stands the problem is defined by scientific analysis only. Moreover, this writer has included "ideologies", not in the stages of policy formation, but on the axis of elements which influence all the stages and which may help to identify some actors by their beliefs. If the rational model were presented as a psychological test to find the element that did not fit, the "statement of values" stands out: it is a factor which shapes the actions of all the other stages and therefore belongs outside the series of steps. The allocation of values or ideologies is not represented by a step in the process model because it is likely to permeate each stage.

There are eight categories of actors for this study. Aggregations may form, composed of individuals from within any one category, or individuals from a number of categories may join together to form a particular coalition which recognises a problem and suggests solutions. For example, teachers may aggregate as a teacher union, as the staff of a particular school or as an official association concerned with, say, the teaching of mathematics. Aggregations may be task-specific and disperse at the completion of the work or they may continue. UNESCO is itself a "collection" of member states all with the same purpose in mind: to promote cooperation and collaboration amongst countries in education, science and culture as a response to the conflict of the two world wars.

The aggregation must be organised and have a spokesperson if it is to attract the attention of decision makers, otherwise the proliferation and partially contradictory nature of the claims create noise which policy makers may easily ignore. It may be a formal group such as an association with executive officers or an informal gathering.

*Agenda Setting*

This is concerned with bringing an issue to the notice of decision makers and with having an impact on their consideration of alternative proposals. In fact varying solutions may be proposed by representation from competing groups. It ensures that the issue raised is treated with enough importance to place it on the agenda for discussion by the elite. In a government setting, educational issues must compete
for attention alongside other areas. "The biggest problem in the world
(by some objective definition) won't achieve agenda status if those who
run the system don't perceive it as requiring attention" (Jones 84: 66).
Agenda setting in a competitive policy context means selling the issue
so it is placed on an agenda for discussion. The attractiveness of an issue
may be enhanced by
1 the size and nature of the population to be affected;
2 compelling evidence that the problem is serious and real;
3 the existence of an easily understood and economically viable solution;
4 the quality of the representation and its access to decision makers; and
5 the preoccupations of the policy makers (adapted from Jones 1984: 65).

Clearly a government elite would ignore at its peril representation from
stakeholders comprising the majority of the population. On the other
hand high socio-economic status of a small group of stakeholders may
be equally persuasive if the consequences of agenda exclusion may lead
to a disastrous economic situation (by a huge private industry
withdrawing, for example) or to diminished support from highly-
placed and respected individuals. The second characteristic may be
upheld by technical advice while repeated remonstrations in the press,
petitions and demonstrations may assist and will normally be of an
intensity corresponding to the perceived seriousness of the issue
(unless political activists whip up concern out of self-interest).

A government will be more prepared to recognise an issue if the
solution is already in sight and can be financed. (This is an example of
an aspect of the implementation phase contributing to the formation of
policy). However, this third characteristic could be overridden by the
first two: if the problem is patently serious and affects many people or a
few important people it must be addressed.

The fourth characteristic is quite political: it relies on the quality of the
leaders representing the issue and how they gain access to decision
makers. What is their relationship with policy making elites? Is it
hierarchical, democratic, bargaining? How are the leaders chosen? Are
they aggressive, sensitive, authoritative? Who will represent which
problem definition and which aggregations? It is the articulation of
diffuse demands in terms of specific proposals.

The actors who perform this task will be at least partially identified by
the way the problem has been defined and aggregated. For example, if
technical analysis (from the axis AD) prevails up to this stage of policy
formation, a technical expert (such as an educator) is more appropriate
to represent the issue than a politician.

The last characteristic will be decisive if policy makers have already
been considering an issue related to or identical to that arising from
interest groups. On the other hand, if their preoccupations have been
with other competing agenda items, policy actors will not be so easily
persuaded to engage themselves in an issue which will take time and
Policy Decision

At least three types of policy making have been identified:
1. routine - taking a decision on an issue already well established on the
government agenda;
2. analogous - treating new issues by relying on past solutions; and
3. creative - treating each problem with an essentially unprecedented
solution (Jones 1984: 87).

Jones stresses that policy makers perform important linkage functions
between problems and policies; they "look in both directions at once" (Jones 1984: 108). The actors operate with problem definitions
(sometimes vague) while having an eye ahead to the hard realities of
how acceptable particular solutions might be in a political and
economic context; that is, they consider the potential effects of
implementation. The whole process is often spasmodic, spread over
time and with episodic contributions from people with many other
things to do.

This stage is the accumulation of all that has taken place in the
previous stages, except that the progression is not necessarily linear. The
actor may revisit the problem definition, for example, and modify it or
ask for a redefinition which may have repercussions on other stages.

In elite decision making, the stages of aggregation and agenda setting
may be omitted when the elite act unilaterally without interest group
pressure. Or they may remain in the absence of interest groups where
the elite aggregate and set the agenda for a "higher" elite. Alternatively
the elite may consult with individuals or interest groups that already
exist before reaching a decision. The ways in which a decision is reached
include the following:
1. unilaterally by an elite;
2. by an elite after selective consultation;
3. by an elite as the result of interest group demands, aggregated and
   adequately represented; or
4. by a committee comprising elite and interest group representatives.

The policy decision stage includes the nature of the policy statement
itself. This will determine what is required during the implementation
stage. The policy decision may be expressed as a general goal without
detailing who the actors are or the acts in which they must engage to
achieve the desired result. "To increase employment among
Aboriginals" is such an example. It is not explicit and leaves to the
implementors an important strategic task of specifying who will do
what to put the policy into effect. This is policy expressed as a
"disembodied objective" (Pressman & Wildavsky 1984: xxii).
Governments are sometimes partial to such general statements which
are likely to meet with universal approval; it appeases the public,
enhances the government's popularity rating and leaves the politicians
beyond reproach if the method of implementation is badly handled by
the government agency and produces a public backlash. Some elite
decision makers would also say that such a policy statement recognises
the limits of their role and that specifications about applying the policy
are properly the province of implementors.

Policy statements may, however, be more explicit about who is
involved, how and where. For example, the same policy concerning the
improvement of Aboriginal employment might be extended thus: "50%
of award salary will be paid during the first year by the government to
employers employing Aboriginals residing in the suburb of x in
Sydney." Some of the actors have been identified, what is to be done is
clear, and an area of high Aboriginal unemployment has been targeted.
There still remain a number of planning and administrative tasks for
implementors before the policy can be applied, but implementation will
be more essential and certainly more in keeping with the policy intent than
if the policy decision is expressed as an objective only. The wording of
the policy decision therefore determines the amount of work required
for the following stage of implementation and the extent of the
implementors' licence to devise means of achieving the policy
objective.

Stages of Policy Implementation

"Implementation may be viewed as a process of interaction between the
setting of goals and actions geared to achieving them" (Pressman &
Wildavsky 1984: xxiii). Goals are established in the policy statement
which may or may not include more specifications to guide
implementors, as the preceding discussion showed.

After consideration of the various policy process models explored in
Chapter 2, the implementation phase in this study is represented by
the last three steps on the central axis AB of Figure 3.1: design,
administration and execution. Collectively they answer the
fundamental questions concerning this stage: what is to be
implemented and how? (where? when? by whom? to whom?). Policy
content shapes implementation by indicating the area in which the
process takes place, the identity and role of the principal actors, the
range of permissible tools for action, and by supplying resources
(Pressman & Wildavsky 1984: 174).

Design

The word "design" is defined in the Oxford dictionary as a "preliminary
outline for something that is to be made" and as a "scheme of attack or
approach." This first stage of implementation has exactly this dual
purpose: it is the translation of the policy into operational guidelines
concerning what is to be implemented and how. Sometimes there is
nothing to be "made." Consider a policy decision to levy a tax of x cents
per hour of television viewing for each receiver in a household. The
policy statement specifies what is to be carried out; the "thing" to be
implemented is clear. There is nothing to create and therefore the first
part of the definition of the design stage is not applicable. On the other hand, a policy to launch an enterprise education curriculum in schools would involve the specification of curriculum guidelines as part of the implementation of the policy and then the design of a plan to introduce it into schools.

In other words the "characteristics of the innovation" (Fullan 1977: 367) or the "elements of the treatment" (Williams 1975: 539) may or may not form an important part of the design stage, but the method of implementation always will. Both design aspects are subject to alteration by the political manoeuvring of actors which Pressman & Wildavsky (1984: 165) call "the lumpy stuff of life."

The design stage is a key link between the policy decision and the rest of the implementation phase. In the policy process, design "determines whether a decision with imprecise operational language can be translated into a set of useful guidelines for action in the field" (Williams 1975: 539).

**Administration**

Once the plan is in place there are a set of administrative procedures which must operate in order to bring the policy to the point of execution. The elements comprising this stage will almost certainly have appeared in the guidelines of the design stage; now these elements must be brought into play to form the vehicle by which the policy is put into operation. An administrative structure is necessary. It may range from something extremely simple, such as giving a person an extra task to perform, up to the creation of an agency. In education the administrative structure will usually be a government bureaucratic agency, a local education authority or a school board which will manage any one or more of the following aspects in line with the policy implementation design:

- a budget
- guidelines for the innovation or "treatment"
- human resource provision - training, hiring or reallocating staff
- arranging legislation
- provision of materials
- promulgating policy guidelines

The administrative structure is responsive to the political and technical environment in which it functions: individuals, interest groups, the media, laws and regulations may influence activities in preparation for the execution of a policy. The nature of the policy will determine the extent to which forces militate for or against it. Those who design the implementation may not be the same people who undertake the administrative tasks in the second stage, and even if they are, the potential for changing the policy is ever present. "Policies are continuously transformed by implementing actions that simultaneously alter resources and objectives" (Pressman & Wildavsky 1984: 170).
Many political and technical problems associated with a policy remain hidden until implementation. During this stage administrative discretion by bureaucratic actors is a euphemism for arbitrary behaviour that is inconsistent with policy intentions as it attempts to overcome unforeseen contingencies.

The administrative structure generates its own constituency comprising a stable base of people who are regularly involved together with spasmodic groups whose involvement is determined by particular issues which affect them. The constituents include policy recipients outside the agency (or other administrative structure).

Execution

This phase corresponds to "enforcement" (Rabinovitz et al 1976: 402); "compliance" (Anderson 1984: 79) or "operational stage" (Williams 1975: 532). The term "enforcement", and to a lesser extent "compliance", conjure up negative connotations of unwilling policy recipients resisting the imposition of some policy mandate; hence the term "execution" (defined in the Oxford dictionary as "carrying into effect") is preferred.

The central concern of this stage of implementation is: contact with policy recipients who will modify their actions according to the policy statement. Many government policies have the authority of the law which is usually sufficient for the policy constituency to respond. Most of the literature discusses public policy processes; that is, government generated policies which are legitimated by acts of parliament and enforced through the authority of the law for all. Policy decisions concerning the origins of the IB are not public policies in the sense just defined. The constituency of IB policies is a voluntary one: governments, education authorities, schools, individual students and tertiary educational institutions choose to become involved if they consider it to be in their interests to do so. The perceived quality or otherwise of the program and the educational credentials of those involved are also deciding factors. There are, of course, no legal sanctions for people or organisations which do not participate.

Implementation ends with execution of the policy. This may be when the experiment is ready to test or when the non-experimental activity is judged fully operational (Williams 1975: 532) and reaches the final set of actors. The latter group are not policy recipients only. Execution requires at least two sets of actors: the policy deliverer and the policy recipient. There are, for example, at least three groups of final actors during execution of a policy "to offer a single, international university entrance qualification around the world":

1. teachers and examiners delivering a curriculum and the student evaluation process corresponding to that curriculum;
2. students as recipients of the IB program; and
3. universities (or the central authority responsible for universities) in different countries recognising the qualification.
The timing of the final actors' involvement for one occurrence of the policy may extend over a long period. In the above example examiners and university admissions officers act two years after the first cohort of teachers and students commence the IB. The execution stage from beginning to end is usually repeated many times after its first occurrence, resulting in overlapping involvement of the actors.

Execution includes testing of the "treatment." Testing is an implicit evaluative process which provides feedback, both formal and informal, leading to possible adjustments at any stage of the policy process. While feedback can and is given by actors at all stages of formation and implementation the impact of a policy decision on its constituency at the execution stage will yield responses of considerable value to those actors concerned with forming and implementing the policy. In the case of a government policy statement with which the population must comply, feedback from the people might be ignored and the policy remain unchanged, even if unpopular. This is not so for policy concerning the IB which schools and universities are not obliged to accept. Since the IB operates in a free enterprise market it must be attractive to its consumers; therefore those actors responsible for its formation and implementation must pay careful attention to feedback and react accordingly. In this study, formal and informal evaluation of policy impact is thus considered an integral part of the execution stage.

As at the design or administration stage, political or technical issues may arise during this final stage. For example, classroom teachers (as deliverers) may be in opposition to a particular curriculum innovation. Their reaction may be to accept it reluctantly (which could sabotage the project) or not accept it at all. This creates implications for revision of the policy itself or its mode of implementation.

Successful implementation requires "a recipient who is both able to benefit from a treatment and willing to receive it" (Williams 1975: 548). This applies absolutely to a non-compulsory policy such as that concerning the establishment of the IB diploma. Recipients of a policy are the most essential actors in the whole policy process. Without them the existence of a policy and all other actors pertaining to it is meaningless - the policy was meant for someone! For instance, a government policy "to increase environmental awareness" may appear to have no particular audience but its recipients include the general public, industries, educational curriculum designers, and teachers and publicity firms who deliver the program to students and the public respectively, having "received" it from the government.

Actors

These are people or organisations (formal aggregations of people) who engage in activity towards a desired end. Actors do not figure in the rational model but they gain significance as we move along the continuum of policy models (Figure 2.1 p22) from the "scientific" end to the process model at the other extreme. The basic premise of interest
group theory, elite theory and the process model (which incorporates
the other two) is that policy is formed and implemented by people
exerting influence over each other. These models involve human
beings with all their political acumen or lack thereof, self-interest or
selflessness, party allegiances, personalities, ambitions and influence
taking precedence over the pure intellectual capacity of the robot-like
decision maker of the rational model, unaffected by anything outside
logical reasoning.

This axis AC is concerned with the identification and behaviour of
actors in IB policy formation and implementation. Factors influencing
their involvement at various stages of the policy process form the
elements of the remaining axis AD.

The "Rationale for the Framework" section of this chapter has already
referred to the likely role of elites in developing the IB and its
organisation. Throughout those early years there was a hierarchy of
elites, including some intra-elite groupings of individuals with equal
status and influence. As the IB organisation grew and the number of IB
schools increased throughout the globe, students, parents and
classroom teachers grew in importance as interest groups to lobby the
now-established elite of the IB Office in Geneva. Hence, a whole range
of actors have affected IB policy development over time.

Nine actors appear on the AC axis: headmasters, teachers, parents,
students, university staff, funding organisations, education officials,
UNESCO and non-education professionals.

The school is still the agency through which students are educated. At
the centre is the student as "client"; teachers, the headmaster and
parents complete the group of school community actors. Any policy
decision which does not improve educational opportunities for the
students has missed its mark. This study's conceptual framework
includes the sets of actors belonging to the school community:headmasters, teachers, parents and students. The latter did not play an
important role in the policy formation stages as their needs were
represented by their parents. Students became more active during the
implementation phase, particularly at the execution stage where they
were, of course, the recipients of the IB program.

As a group of educators outside the school community, university staff
play an important role related to administration, research, examining
and university admissions offices. University admissions officers were
significant in convincing the implementation - acceptance of the IB by
tertiary educational institutions. This was (and is) essential to its existence
and development. These latter actors are included on the axis AC
under the heading "university staff."

Education officials are administrators and others formally concerned
with education outside the school. They include ministers of education,
inspectors and directors of government departments of education; they
may be private education consultants or members of statutory
curriculum or examination boards sometimes associated with
universities or governments.

Funding organisations included the Ford Foundation, the Twentieth
Century Fund, the Dulverton Trust, the Gulbenkian Foundation and
the Wenner Gren Foundation. (These and other benevolent
foundations are listed in Appendix 3). This category also includes
national governments, a number of which made annual contributions
to the IB over several years.

UNESCO deserves a category of its own. Any conceptual framework
dealing with international policy making and implementation needs to
include the UN or UNESCO and its appropriate associated
organisations; these are the official inter-governmental agencies
established to deal with policy on an international scale. UNESCO is
also a funding organisation although it offered more moral support and
cloth than money to bring together educators concerned with
international education and to support IBO curriculum projects. When
UNESCO provided venues, secretarial assistance or simply the presence
of its officers, the involvement of such an important and far-reaching
international actor always added an air of authority and respectability.

The final category is “non-education professionals”. These are
individuals whose profession is not concerned with education but who
played a part in the IB policy process. They include businessmen,
lawyers, company executives, newspaper editors and politicians. There
is a possible overlap here with the category of “parents”. Is a member of
a school board who happens to be also a senior partner in a law firm
classified as a parent or a non-education professional? In this
classification such an individual would be a parent because he or she is
acting in his or her capacity as a parent - that is why the person was
elected to the school board. This “parent” category is for any individual
acting in an official or unofficial capacity by virtue of being a parent. In
other words, if the individual had not been a parent, the activity or
function would not have arisen. Those employees of the UN
organisation who pressed for an international school were acting as
parents not as non-education professionals.

The nine categories of actors should provide sufficient scope for
identifying who were the significant actors at different stages and why.

Gergen’s (Bauer & Gergen 1968: 181-204) chapter on assessing leverage
points is extremely pertinent to the identification of elite actors. It must
be remembered that a leverage point may also be an institution or an
existing policy. Three procedures for identifying actors with leverage
were discussed under elite theory:

Reputational studies - asking “knowledgeable” people to nominate the
influentials will identify non-institutional, non-formal leaders.
Positional approach - people in formal leadership positions are
selected regardless of personal efficacy and “real” influence.
Nevertheless, the same individual holding multiple key positions or fostering a great number of interactions with key individuals such that there are joint payoffs is in an optimal position to form elite coalitions. Such functional reciprocity is a powerful influence.

Social participation approach - leverage points are located according to the degree of involvement in public life. One measure of this is the number of public appearances and newspaper reports over a given period of time.

Leverage points are issue-specific. Elite actors in IB policy development will not be the same as those for international policy development in health, except where the same benevolent foundation may provide financial assistance to quite disparate causes. In this case such a foundation may or may not become part of the decision making elite, depending on the terms of the assistance. Funding organisations may also contribute to the implementation of policy.

Actors may participate in the issue from the beginning to the end of the policy process or come in at certain stages or points in time. Cobb & Elder (1972: 2) have developed four categories of actors which give clues about the reasons for their behaviour; the corresponding factor influencing policy formation and implementation on the AD axis is shown in parentheses. "Readjusters" perceive an unfair distribution of power or resources (political context); "exploiters" create an issue for their own gain (self-interest); "circumstantial reactors" launch an issue after an unanticipated event (the event determines the element on the AD axis); and "do-gooders" have a sincere commitment to improvement (ideologies). These types provide a further layer of analysis when considering actors and their behaviour.

Gergen (Bauer & Gergen 1968: 192) notes that there is a positive correlation between the size of the community and the number of influentials identified. Where these elite unite to support a common cause their power is great, especially where they are firmly embedded in the society they represent or influence. Since IB policy development is concerned with a dispersed, relatively small number of individuals, the degree of influence may be less in the international setting than with local elite actors who know best the specific details of national power structure, the balance of forces among constitutional actors, the peculiarities of the patterns of conflict and accommodation in a given milieu, the system of national values and the key elements of national memory.

International elites may form and sway national elites who have the power base to influence the local authorities, school boards, headmasters and parents for example. This framework will identify international actors (who may also have some direct national influence in the country in which they live and are known) and their interplay with national actors to bring about IB development. International actors are those executive officers of associations or organisations whose membership comprises individuals from a number of countries. Such
an association or organisation is itself an international actor.

Not all actors will be elite. Interest group activity at the local, national and international levels needs to be gauged and identified. It will vary over time and in relation to the growth of the IB Office and the IB world of schools. The extent to which interest groups have influence will be closely tied to the aggregation and agenda setting stages of the policy process axis. Organised interest groups with sound and persuasive representation are likely to have more success at agenda setting. Interest groups also perceive and define issues but rarely make the final policy decision; they will, however, make a tangible contribution if the ballot box is used.

Interest groups will be affected by environmental factors but are in general less influenced by self-interest and technical analysis because their aggregation is often for political (as distinct from rational) reasons. Nevertheless in education a group of teachers may form to oppose a curriculum initiative based on technical analysis of the program. As previously discussed, the leaders of interest groups may themselves form another strata of the elite.

Other actors play important roles during the implementation phase in particular. Curriculum designers are often teachers in schools or universities. Implementation planners may be educational administrators at school and university level with assistance from personnel attached to benevolent foundations. During the execution stage members of school communities act as deliverers (teachers) and recipients (students) of policy. Parents may be considered vicarious recipients. IB examiners, as educational leaders in their respective disciplines, are usually drawn from schools, universities, education departments and examining boards (as “education officials”).

Media reports can influence opinion about policies, particularly during the execution stage when recipients must respond and the policy is in visible operation. The acceptance or otherwise of the IB was certainly influenced by media accounts. Most of these involved actors on the AC axis being interviewed or contributing articles to newspapers and journals, therefore a separate category for the media was not deemed necessary. Appropriate reference to this publicity aspect will be made as it arises via particular actors.

Influential Factors

This axis AD includes the environmental context plus other factors which may influence the way actors behave at different stages of policy formation and implementation. Specific elements of the axis will be brought into prominence as actors work through the process from problem definition to the execution of a policy. These elements may also determine which actors are involved. For example, the problem which led to the establishment of the IB diploma may well have been perceived and defined in a context where rational analysis played a
major part; that is, where the actors were technical experts. Later
decisions concerning the establishment of the IB diploma and Office
may have been made by different actors who needed to be more
sensitive to the political context in seeking assurances of national
government support and funding from international foundations.
Thus the actors are designated to some extent both by the factors on this
axis and by the stage of the policy process operating at the time - hence
the three dimensional framework.

Influential factors may be concrete events or concerns in the mind of an
actor. For example, the creation of an association of heads of
international schools is an event which can be identified by date,
membership and objectives; its existence may constitute an important
part of the educational environment in which an actor behaves.
Coordinating school curricula and standards across the globe may be a
belief of one actor who has never spoken or written about this
preoccupation; it exists only in the mind, yet it could be a persuasive
force which governs his or her actions. Both are valid influential factors
of an educational nature.

**Environmental Context**

In his chapter on systems theory Dye (1984: 40) defines policy formation
and implementation as the response of a political system to
environmental forces. He defines the environment as "any condition
or circumstance ... external to the boundaries of the political system".
The framework for this study expresses the view that actors
(individually or collectively) are at the heart of policy making and
implementation (in rational as well as non-rational models). It is
therefore actors representing the political system (for example,
government) who respond and who are influenced by the political
context (partisanship, power play, ideologies). The political context is
not restricted to political parties; it includes relationships between any
actors where influence, power play and favours operate.

Thus, in this study, the environment comprises those conditions which
are societal and institutional in the sense that they affect the population
of a country or an institution as a whole, evolve largely beyond the
control of any one individual and are often identified through
statistical analysis: social, economic, cultural, political, demographic,
historical, geographical, educational and technological elements.

Four of these environmental conditions - demography, culture, history,
geography - are grouped together under "social context" to reduce the
number of elements on this axis of the conceptual framework, making
it manageable as an analytical tool. The importance of each condition
comprising the social context should not, however, be overlooked.
During certain stages of the policy process, a particular condition
subsumed under this heading may be highly appropriate and deserve
separate treatment. The characteristics of each environmental condition
are those discussed in Chapter 2 under "Systems Theory."
These environmental contexts may be international, national or local. Seen from an institutional perspective (such as a school) it is useful to distinguish between the internal environment (within the boundaries of the institution) and the external environment (the national and international context outside the boundaries of the institution). As an internal environmental element, then, demography includes "population" statistics about actual and projected student enrolments and mobility patterns of families. International diffusion or Anderson's (1984: 23) "other nations" also forms part of the environmental context: the effect that policy adoption in one country may have on similar policy decisions in another country. This is the international version relating to the effect that other policies can have on the formation and implementation of a particular policy. There are then six environmental factors represented on the axis AD: economic, educational, social, political, technological and international diffusion.

For this study the environment is defined as any societal or institutional condition or circumstance external to the actors; where the actor is an organisation and not an individual the environment is the local, national or international context external to that organisation. Any one or more of the environmental factors may create the setting in which the problem is perceived and defined; they may determine the way aggregations occur or do not occur, the quality and success of agenda setting, the behaviour of the actor(s) in reaching the final policy decision, how the policy is translated into practice, administrative arrangements and the effectiveness of policy execution. At any one of these policy formation and implementation stages the environment may also be acted upon and altered by the very changes it has itself brought about. For example, the aggregation of a particular interest group within a country to seek the introduction of the IB into a number of government schools will, by its very existence and activity, raise community awareness about the IB. The political context in which agenda setting occurs and the elite actors make a decision will therefore be different from that which prevailed at the problem definition stage.

The environmental elements often interact with each other in various degrees of interdependence.

The other factors on this axis are not environmental according to the definition above.

**Technical Analysis**

Technical analysis is not to be confused with the technological context (an environmental factor). The former refers to the scientific analysis of an event or phenomenon, usually in order to produce recommendations to those who requested the analysis. It is carried out by one or more experts in the field. A technical report on, say, the transmission of IB exam results by computer or the use of conference telephone facilities may be compelling evidence for actors wishing to improve the efficiency of world-wide interaction at a reasonable cost.
The technological context refers to the evolution and spread of technological knowhow both in society and in more closed scientific circles. The advent of the fax machine, for instance, has improved international communication and enabled accurate, written information to be disseminated immediately to all corners of the globe. This technological factor has obvious implications for the expansion of the IB and would therefore influence policy making and implementation in this area.

Technical analysis is an important part of the rational model of decision making; it is a function, not a context - a function which brings scientific objectivity to the decision maker's desk. This is an appropriate influence in educational policy formation and implementation where actors may be at least as responsive to reports by technical experts as to political capriciousness.

Education is not a parochial national institution; it is a rationalised part of the technology of progress and modernisation - a world-legitimated goal everywhere.

Education is itself a scientific construction, built not around the primordial traditions of society, but around a general technology of resocialising populations to achieve progress (Dierkes et al 1987: 188-189).

It the conception of education is scientific rather than political (as described by Dierkes et al), technical analysis may have special relevance to the following stages of policy making and implementation in education: problem definition, agenda setting, the policy decision itself and the design of an innovation. Compelling evidence from a technical report is difficult to ignore, even though alone it may not be sufficient grounds for a particular decision concerning a policy and its implementation.

Self-Interest

Self-interest may play a vital role in policy formation and implementation. It is more personal than the influence of one individual over another or than party-interest, which may mean sacrificing personal beliefs to preserve the stability and solidarity of government. Self-interest may mean adherence to party-interest if the individual does not wish to be ostracised or removed from a position of power. It may also involve making policy decisions which are not in the best interests of the stake holders but which will increase an individual's chances of promotion, better remuneration, admiration from recognised and respected elites or acceptance by powerful and wealthy elites who may be feared more than respected.

Self-interest exists only at the personal level but it may be propelled by national or international factors such as the arrival of a new, democratic, political regime in country X previously subjected to communist rule - financial gains for an enterprising businessman from country Y, with a long history of democracy and capital expansion, may
now be a real prospect. Self-interest is not necessarily an undesirable quality (although this has become the more accepted connotation); in policy formation and implementation this writer considers it to be negative when decision makers quite clearly sacrifice the larger good for personal self-advancement or gain. It is, however, a natural, often positive and legitimate reason for action. Certainly it may be a powerfully motivating force which overrides all other influential considerations including technical advice.

While it is difficult to measure because rarely admitted by incumbents themselves, observed behaviour of the actor before and after critical events together with a subsequent reward may lead to the conclusion of perceived self-interest. From 1978 until 1981 the Director of the Mission Laïque (a semi-governmental organisation for the promotion of French schools overseas) in France had been the official representative of the IB in that country. A new socialist government won the election in May 1981. Shortly after in the same year, at an international IB conference at Sèvres reported in the press, this person spoke out vehemently and unexpectedly against the IB, branding it as elitist - this was the previously supportive IB representative for France! A few weeks after the conference he was appointed to a very senior position in the education ministry, a ministry which from that day until now has expressed concerns about the elitism of the IB. "Knowledgeable" people at the time attributed the action to self-interest.

Ideologies

This term is used in the sense of visionary speculation, based on a set of beliefs or values which guide action. In this study ideologies, beliefs and values are treated as synonymous. Ideologies may be collective and societal and therefore form part of the cultural (social) and political elements of the AD axis or they may be personal (and may be at odds with the majority ideology). "Ideologies" as a separate element refers to the personal beliefs of actors which are critical at the moment of deciding on a policy or when defining a problem. As with self-interest, the individual's beliefs may be shaped by the local or global environmental context.

The ideology or beliefs of an actor "are pole stars of policy reasoning, but they are invoked and altered by interests responding to events that create opportunities to set a new agenda" (Horowitz 1989: 277). Beliefs guide policy action; the action creates new interests which, in turn, modify the beliefs of policy actors. The most powerful ideologies arise from a number of sources:

1. formative events such as the success of a political party or ethnic group;
2. "lessons of experience" which should be respected;
3. commitments not easily broken with impunity; and
4. patterns of relations or collective aspirations and anxieties (Horowitz 1989: 227).
Ideologies form the bedrock of policy discourse, particularly at the moment of decision making, but ideologies do not act autonomously. "Beliefs do not prevail over interests; they prevail because they are propelled by interests" (Horowitz 1989: 278). The eclecticism and fickleness of personal beliefs (because new interests continually arise) belie, then, the notion that national beliefs, culture, ideas and ideologies naturally produce policy consistency. Universally-held educational goals are under the control of national purpose, but policy actors may have personal, changing ideologies not in tune with the national purpose, especially where the actors are looking from an international vantage point as with the IB.

There is a congruence at times between personal ideology and self-interest (or other interests) which may change the direction of policy even in the face of powerful national values.

In summary,

... elite beliefs change over time ... one set of beliefs can overcome another inconsistent set; ... critical events can alter the balance of authoritative beliefs, and ... where beliefs are in conflict, organised interests have room for manoeuvre (Horowitz 1989: 249).

Family Welfare

While this may be considered part of the social context, it is important enough in this study to have a place of its own. It is closer to the individual than social context; actors responding to this factor are usually personally involved as a member of the family whose welfare is in jeopardy. It is a concern in the mind of an individual and has a potentially high emotional impact.

Family welfare has not figured in any of the literature concerning environmental or other factors which affect the policy process, but the Tasmanian Government gave it a great deal of prominence when considering government policies (see the discussion of the "Rational Model" Chapter 2). Family welfare impinges on much of government policy making either explicitly or implicitly in many countries. It has obvious implications for winning votes at elections because it has universal acceptance: few will deny the importance of the family unit for the nurture and development of children. Hence government policies which morally and financially support the family will be tangibly applauded by the voting public, many of whom are parents. Policies may affect, for example, the desirable size of families, mobility, family finances, entry to school or university, religious content in the school curriculum or state versus private school education.

In the government system of education the financial impact on the family is small unless the child attends a private fee-paying school by choice, and disruption of the family unit is rarely linked to the educational program. On the international scene, however, suitable schooling becomes a major issue for a family living abroad, particularly
if its members are to stay together. Questions of cost, curriculum, examinations, language of instruction, location, security, adaptation and university recognition in the home country or elsewhere loom large. Conversely the IB curriculum may have a positive impact on the children of a family in their own country by opening more easily the doors of universities world wide and providing an international outlook which is lacking in the national curriculum.

People who are voluntarily active on school boards and parent organisations often undertake such tasks in the interests of their children attending the school. This is an aspect of family welfare which has propelled many parents to become official participants in the policy process of education. Family welfare has, then, the potential to be influential for IB policy formation and implementation actors.

Interdependent Characteristics of the Conceptual Framework

Simultaneous Involvement of Elements on the Same Axis

Thus far the discussion has attempted to elucidate the elements of each axis and the overlap which may occur amongst some of them along the same axis. The environmental factors of the axis AD will rarely operate discretely. For instance, the decision to purchase up-dated computer equipment to keep students abreast of technological advances will also entail financial considerations which may be tied to the prevailing economic conditions, particularly in government schools. History may also play a part if consideration is given to when the school was first built and equipped, and at what intervals computer equipment has been up-dated. A decision not to purchase new equipment at this time may mean that the impact of the economic context and/or the historical context has been greater than technological considerations. A decision to purchase the up-dated computers may mean that the technological factor was the most persuasive, even if the other two factors played a part.

The framework cannot indicate such nuances of influence; to attempt to do so would produce an unwieldy conceptual model whose usefulness would greatly diminish. Where appropriate the discussion will include comment on the varying impact of influential factors - likewise for the degree of involvement of different actors. Where the research shows that particular factors or actors had the most impact they will be identified for that stage of the policy process and the less influential factors or actors ignored.

Categories of actors along the axis AC are discrete with no overlap occurring. The distinction between parents (as non-educators) and non-education professionals has been explained.
Linear Representation of the Stages of Policy Formation and Implementation

The stages of policy formation and implementation are shown as a linear sequence (A to B in Figure 3.1) for ease of conceptualising the whole framework and to structure the analysis of the IB policy process. In reality some steps may be omitted. It may be that other stages are not completed until a later stage has been accomplished and there is a return to previous stages. For example, a drug problem is perceived amongst some adolescents at school. The problem is defined as students' lack of knowledge about the consequences of taking drugs. Parents aggregate to bring the issue to the headmaster who, at the agenda setting stage, says that the problem should be defined more fully: information on the consequences of drug taking can be included in a compulsory chemistry course but what is the cause - alienation, boredom, family tensions? And what about legislation and penalties, is this not part of the problem?

The stages of policy formation and implementation appear, then, in a sequential array to organise discussion of the whole framework and to focus the analysis to come. The centre of the model in Figure 3.1 is the axis A to B, moving through seven policy process steps in ascending order as indicated by the arrow at the top of AB. Similar arrow heads appear at the top of the three remaining vertical axes to emphasise the upward movement and to give a sensation of the evolution of time.

The Dimension of Time

Policy formation and implementation is seldom, if ever, a process taking place at a single point in time. Between the perception of a problem, its resolution in a policy statement and the final execution of the policy many events transpire. Each stage of the policy process represents, in general terms, a passage of time which starts with the definition of the problem at A and moves through aggregation, agenda setting, policy decision, design and administration, finishing with the execution of the policy at B. In the model each policy process step is temporal on the axis AB.

Any backward or parallel movement will increase the overall lapse of time beyond what is shown in simplified form as a linear progression. The engagement of actors seldom remains static over time; the expectation is that different actors will come into prominence, perhaps for different reasons, from the beginning to the end of the policy making process. While any or all of the vertical axes CE, AB, DF and HG represent the stages of policy formation and implementation over time, the reader will more quickly grasp the significance of the framework if he/she sees it as focused around three axes of which AB is the central, guiding axis. AC (or any of its parallel axes BE, FG, DH) represents national and international actors in random order; AD (or any of its parallel axes BF, EG, CH) represents the factors which influence the policy process. Except for the grouping of environmental factors these...
are also distributed randomly along the axis; within their section, the environmental factors are indiscriminately placed. Elements on axes AC and AD may be varyingly relevant for a given stage (and hence given time-span) of policy formation and implementation; relevance of one element may or may not be related to relevance of another.

**Geometric Properties of the Conceptual Framework**

The framework suggests that any stage of policy formation and implementation can be placed in at least one point in three dimensional space to show which actors are involved and how their behaviour is influenced during the time-span of that stage. In other words, the model conceptualises the question: *who does what and why?*

- who = national and international actors = axis AC
- what = stages of policy formation and implementation over time = axis AB
- why = factors influencing the policy process = axis AD

Note that axis AB is central; it is the point of departure for following and understanding the model.

The matrix consists of 560 cubic spaces representing 560 locations within the graphic three dimensional model. The numbers along the three axes enable any one of the 560 locations to be pin-pointed. The model emphasises the interdependence of actors being influenced as they engage in the process of policy formation and implementation: no element on one axis can operate independently of at least one element on each of the other two. The following illustration should make this clear.

Taking the policy process axis as the constant, choose the "agenda setting" stage, that is AB3, the third layer along the vertical axis AB. The agenda setting step has been designated. Which actors are involved in this stage? Assume it is the parents putting forward a case for the establishment of an "I" diploma; this is the third vertical segment along the axis AC. It is designated by AC3. But since AB3 is established, nothing above or below it is of interest on the vertical axis; the intersection of AB3 and AC3 defines an area of, in fact, 10 cubes - the geometric shape IJKLMNOP in Figure 3.2 (which should be consulted for the rest of this discussion).

The next question is: why did the parents act? Assume that one of the reasons is mobility of expatriates seeking appropriate schooling abroad (that is, a demographic factor belonging to the "social context" heading). AD7 now becomes activated and intersects the area of 10 cubes, already delimited by the meeting of AB3 and AC3, pin-pointing one of the cubes.

The inside of the whole geometric framework is an empty space with the potential of 560 cubic locations each of which may come into
Figure 3.2 Cubic Space in the Conceptual Framework
existence by the intersection of three co-ordinates: one from each of the axes AB, AC and AD. Thus, in the example, a cubic space has taken form, "suspended" within the geometric matrix at a location which may be exactly identified as AB3, AC3, AD7 - see Figure 3.2. This cube is a visual realisation of one aspect of the agenda setting stage of the policy process. It shows that parents were principal actors at this stage, prompted by a demographic problem (concerned with internationally mobile expatriates).

There are, of course, other possible interactions for the agenda setting stage (AB3). Perhaps a non-education professional (AC9) such as a political figure is equally active in promoting the establishment of the IB diploma out of self-interest (AD4). These three co-ordinates (AB3, AC9, AD4) identify another cubic space, always within the volume of the third layer of the vertical axis AB since we are still considering the agenda setting stage. Alternatively or additionally, the political figure (AC9) may have been propelled into representing the IB idea because of his/her own ideologies (AD3).

Assume that the three examples of interaction at the agenda setting stage are all equally important; they could visually appear as in Figure 3.3.

The cubic spaces thus become "filled" when the analysis produces correlations between elements on the three axes. Each filled cubic space represents an interdependence which the analysis has established as important for the policy process. They form a configuration for each layer (assuming each stage is addressed). Note that they do not show gradations of involvement (of actors) or impact (of influential factors); these are treated in the discussion. Where the element is judged important enough it will contribute to the formation of a cube somewhere in the total matrix.

While the method of visualising policy formation and implementation according to each of its stages (layers on the AB axis) makes for a geometric representation which is easy to grasp, the whole matrix must be considered if the position of cubes in particular locations of the three dimensional figure are to point to any discernible trends over time (axis AB), to yield additional information or to prompt questions. After analysis of the contribution of various elements on each axis, a matrix with a number of occupied cubic spaces will result. Suppose that a significant number of cubes occur in the vertical slice of space corresponding to "family welfare" (AD2). It will be possible to visually trace which actors are most influenced by this factor and at what stage(s) of the policy process. Or it may be of interest to know with which stages of policy formation and implementation the family welfare factor most frequently occurs; and to speculate why. The incidence of a significant number of cubes on one particular vertical or horizontal segment may indicate an interactive phenomenon of special importance in policy formation and implementation.
Figure 3.3 The Agenda Setting Stage (Layer) of Policy Formation: Possible Actors and Factors Influencing their Behaviour
Conclusion

The conceptual framework seeks to give a visual impression of the overall picture of policy formation and implementation. It is possible to subdivide elements as they appear on the axes in order to arrive at configurations representing more precise events, but this increases the size and reduces the simplicity of the figure. In any case, the framework is not meant to indicate detail (that will arise in the discussion) but to provide a focus for the methodology and a broad concept which will accommodate more detailed analysis.

The essence of the model is the interdependence between the stages of the policy process, the actors and the factors which influence them. The matrix is faithful to this aspect as no cubic space can come into existence without these three dimensions; that is, without one co-ordinate on each of the three axes. For the sake of structure the axes of the actors and the influential factors contain elements dependent on the stages of policy formation and implementation, which are treated as constant.

The model is extremely flexible. Elements can be added or subtracted from any axis. For example, “scientific context” might replace “educational context” where policy concerning the establishment of an international network of biochemical industries is being considered. The only constraint is not to have too many elements leading to an enormous number of permutations which defy synthesis or meaningful assimilation by the reader. The present attempt is to provide a schema that will identify a set of parameters which seem relevant to international policy making and implementation in education with particular reference to the development of the IB diploma and Office, while trying to steer between oversimplification and superfluous, distracting detail. The model thus isolates three dimensions and a number of elements of each, rather than concentrating on technical problems of methodology which is the subject of the chapter to follow. The model should enable the research questions posed in Chapter 1 to be answered.

The framework should be applicable to policy analysis in other disciplines or to other parts of the policy process, such as evaluation, providing that the importance of actors and the influences on their behaviour are considered central to the subject under analysis.

Summary

This chapter has discussed the rationale for the framework and has described in some detail the conceptual framework itself. The three axes - stages of policy formation and implementation, actors, and influential factors - were presented and the elements of each explained with examples. The interdependent characteristics of the framework have been emphasised and illustrated through the geometric properties of the three dimensional matrix.
Limitations of the graphic representation have also been discussed. The policy formation and implementation process (which includes the dimension of time) is shown as a linear progression when in reality the process is not necessarily sequential either in steps or in time. The subtleties of the degree of involvement of particular actors and the degree to which various factors might influence their behaviour are not part of the model but will form part of the discussion.

Finally, mention was made of the flexibility of the model for analysing policy formation and implementation in different disciplines or other parts of the policy process from an international or national perspective.

The next chapter will discuss the methodology by which the conceptual framework will be used to analyse policy formation and implementation relating to the development of the IB.
CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

It is time to reassert the nature of this study. Nagel (1980: 3) defines policy analysis research as the "how-to-do-it methods associated with determining the nature, causes and effects of government decisions or policies designed to cope with specific social problems." From a research perspective "nature" means the substance of the policies, "causes" refers to the how and why they came about, and "effects" implies an evaluation of implemented policies and their outcomes.

Nagel goes on to identify four foci for policy research:
1. taking policies as givens and determining what causes them;
2. taking social forces as givens and determining for what policies they are responsible;
3. taking policies as givens and determining what effects they have; or
4. taking effects/goals as givens and determining what policies will achieve or maximise those goals.

A major part of this study's focus is on the first of the above types - an investigation of policy causation, that is, how and why policies came about. The third type above presupposes that implementation has taken place in order to determine policy effects. The other major part of this study is concerned with implementation. This research is a descriptive, empirical analysis of past events in relation to the creation of the IB Office and the IB diploma.

This chapter is concerned with how the investigator collected what from where to answer the research question which is now reiterated.

What are the characteristics of policy formation and implementation which have led to the establishment of the IB diploma and the IB Office?

Quantitative and Qualitative Research

Quantitative and qualitative research methods have provoked much comment in the literature. The usefulness of quantitative research in the analysis of policy processes has at times been disparaged. It has been described as a form of "hit and run" social science whereby pre and post tests form the basis for conclusions about policy effects. "Having little idea about what worked or why, but only that relationships were statistically significant is not an informative contribution to the needs of the policy maker" (Coleman & LaRoque 1983: 248). Qualitative research has its roots in social anthropology. It encompasses non-statistical techniques where the "researcher gets into the social world being studied, especially through participant observation and interviewing ... supplemented by documentary sources" (Finch 1986: 5).
These methods allow the research to focus upon the actors who are involved in the formation and implementation of policy.

Doing qualitative analysis means dealing with phenomena that are complex, elusive and often ambiguous; the researcher must come to terms with these intangibles "and ultimately pass them on to the reader in a form that clarifies and deepens" (Miles & Huberman 1984: 251). For qualitative analysis to be taken seriously the researcher should be fully explicit about what is being done each step of the way. Full explanation does not mean the amassing of an enormous amount of data; the researcher can easily be swamped in a surfeit of information. What is required is careful selection of which data from what sources to permit an analysis of how IB policy was developed according to the variables (and their interdependence) of the conceptual framework. "The quality of analysis and the use of solid evidence ... determine the value of a study" (Anderson 1984: 164).

Techniques of qualitative social science research methodology will be explained and employed in this study to respond to the research question in accordance with the conceptual framework.

A Study in International Policy Formation and Implementation

The cross-cultural setting of this research has some important implications for methodology. The goal of research is the acquisition of hard facts about who did what, why and to what effect? In this study on policy formation and implementation the who, what and why exist within an international setting, not simply a national one. Policies concerning the growth of the IB and its development in numerous countries had to (as they still have to) accommodate the particularities of various national contexts. Key actors or initiators in different parts of the world supported the idea of an IB diploma and an IB Office to administer it. These actors had an international outlook which was not always shared by other elite actors in national governments or school authorities to whom the ideals of the IB had to be sold.

Sometimes the acceptance of the IB hinged on the degree to which it was in tune with the country's culture and ideologies (or those of the government). At other times national decision makers were influenced by IB developments in other countries - international diffusion whereby policies concerning the growth of IB schools were adopted by national governments or education authorities in various parts of the world. The adoption of the IB by a school authority, for example, means that the IB is seen as a solution to a problem which had already been perceived or to a problem which knowledge of the IB suddenly raised. (Where international diffusion influences policy formation and implementation the perceived problem in country X may be that it is not keeping abreast of educational developments in country Y where the IB is already taught in some schools).

From the definition of the problem through to policy execution it is
important to probe national actors within the contexts of their country, their ideologies, their ways of thinking, their education system and their perceived needs. Expression and thought are culture-bound and, even if expressed in similar words, may have a totally different meaning from that understood by the researcher. The interaction between national and international actors is extremely important in elucidating the dimensions of the conceptual framework and ensuring that culture-specific elements are able to be meaningfully compared and comprehended.

The Case Study Approach

This research is a case study of the development of the IB diploma and Office from its beginnings to just beyond the end of the implementation phase in 1975. It is an historical study - an approach which has been said to be under-utilised in all policy areas although such research is needed for two reasons. Firstly, to expand the number of cases available for study by seeking examples from earlier periods. Secondly, an overview of the development of policies, institutions and issues is necessary for an adequate comprehension of the current state of affairs (Dierkes et al 1987: 507).

The research spans more than fifty years and may therefore qualify as a longitudinal study. Investigations over a protracted time period identify non-linear developments and contribute to an understanding of their preconditions; "they pinpoint contractions, reversals and sharp historical breaks. Short-term perspectives based on short data runs and insufficient historical underpinnings have tended to overlook patterns of non-linear growth" (Dierkes et al 1987: 508). This case study is well placed to identify temporary aberrations, turns and any unusual juxtaposition of events as the chronology of IB development unfolds.

The definition of a case study in relation to the policy process which best suits this research is the following:

A case study is a chronological narrative that portrays how one or more persons (usually officials) went about the business of making (or influencing the making of) a government decision; or how they went about carrying out such a decision; or how they sought to deal with a particular problem of government administration (Bock et al 1962: 89).

It emphasises the importance of actor behaviour in arriving at a policy decision and its implementation, although the problem and resultant policies are not exclusively defined by or decided by government: non-governmental organisations (both national and international) and private education authorities are often involved. The analysis is a chronological narrative (an indispensable ingredient of the case study) of IB policy formation and implementation. In essence it is a phenomenological approach, highlighting the actors and depending on the natural powers of people to be able to experience and understand.

Case studies are most frequently criticised for not allowing
generalisations to be made. Yet they can:

- test existing theories;
- provide detailed analysis of particular events;
- provide an intuitive feel for the subtleties of the policy process (Anderson 1984: 165); and
- test hypotheses which may be tested in many contexts (Hofferbert 1974: 138).

One of the main virtues of the case study approach is the contextual richness of detail with which phenomena are portrayed and the lucidity it offers for illuminating the human dynamics of the policy process (Hofferbert 1974: 94,138).

The format of the case study itself comprises the following:

- presentation of the historical background;
- identifying central actors and their interests;
- reconstructing participants' attitudes and actions;
- isolating decisions on a policy; and
- pinpointing implementation action.

Difficulties may arise at any of these points. Choosing which historical information is relevant and ensuring that all pertinent actors (including those "behind the scenes") have been identified requires much diligence and patience on the part of the researcher and a sound methodology. Reconstructing past events and attitudes is fraught with the problem of impaired recall and biased perceptions when an interviewee casts his or her mind back twenty or thirty years (as in this study); available written documentation is unlikely to treat the human dimension of feelings and attitudes and, if it does, it will almost certainly be less candid than the utterances from an oral interview or informal discussion. The use of multiple sources to elucidate the same event will alleviate this problem to some degree. Finally, the developmental nature of the policy process may thwart attempts to pinpoint the policy decision since the cut-off point of the continuous process is unclear and, where it can be identified, almost immediate modifications to the policy will be requested and considered. Policy is never static. It is always subject to change brought about, for example, by interest groups or by modified ideologies (propelled by new interests) on the part of elite policy makers. The researcher needs to be as explicit as possible about when policy decisions occur and implementation ceases; he should limit the analysis by designating a final moment beyond which events will not be considered. As Hofferbert (1974: 139) says: "The case study gives a snapshot when a movie would be more appropriate."

The principal analytical elements of this case study are reflected in the conceptual framework of international policy formation and implementation in education. These elements have been chosen because of their relevance to IB development. In this research, the sections of the case study format described above are directly represented in the stages of policy formation and implementation which structure the discussion and the analysis: problem definition, aggregation, agenda setting, policy decision, design, administration and
execution (the AB axis of the conceptual framework Figure 3.1).

Since policy formation and implementation deal with human actions and interactions the case study needs to respond to the multiplicity of perspectives present in social situations. The researcher must be discreet, tactful, dispassionately observant and sensitive to the hidden agenda; this will enable him to determine a "feeling for what is right, a judgment of what to emphasise or what to play down, a sense of justice and fair play" (Bock et al 1962: 11).

The case study makes a particular contribution to cross-cultural policy formation and implementation as it takes into consideration a number of environmental factors which a quantitative study may ignore.

In educational policy analysis case studies are at least as important as the statistical ones because they represent the indispensable link to the specifics of the economic, political, administrative and cultural conditions of the individual countries (Dierkes et al 1987: 507).

**Primary and Secondary Sources of Data**

The use of primary sources is preferable to avoid the misinterpretation which inevitably results from second or third hand versions of an event. Secondary sources are useful in confirming contentious areas such as the perception of attitudes and the reasons actors behaved as they did, but alone they are insufficient. The importance of primary sources, especially in case studies, is well expressed by Kerlinger (1973: 702 quoted in Tymko 1979: 46):

> A primary source is the original repository of an historical datum, like an original record kept of an important occasion, an eyewitness description of an event, a photograph, minutes of organisation meetings.

The primary sources of data for this study are shown in Table 4.1.

Secondary documentary sources include newspaper reports, articles and books written about key events and key actors by people who were sometimes key actors themselves, sometimes not. Similarly, interviews and conversations took place asking important actors how they perceived events and the attitudes of others. A book such as A. Peterson's *The International Baccalaureate; An Experiment in International Education* (1972) provides primary data about his attitudes and behaviour and secondary data about the actions and attitudes of others. Cross-referencing of multiple sources of data, from both primary and secondary origins, gives more credibility to the analysis.

Primary source material was necessary for the compilation of an accurate chronology of events relating to the creation of the IB diploma and Office; the minutes of the ISA, ISES, the Board Meetings of the International School of Geneva and the recollections of participant actors provided this data. Secondary sources included a book entitled *Diploma: International Schools and University Entrance* (1968) by M.
Mayer of the Twentieth Century Fund in New York, which described the beginnings of the IB. The Fund had provided finance to develop an international curriculum. Although Mayer attended meetings of the founders of the IB in Geneva, he himself could not be described as a key actor; his role was to see that the money was being well spent and in this capacity his book provides interesting data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>written minutes</td>
<td>Conference of Internationally Minded Schools (CIS)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>International Schools Association (ISA)</td>
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<td>International Schools Examination Syndicate (ISES)</td>
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<td>IB Council of Foundation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Board of the International School of Geneva</td>
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<tr>
<td>correspondence</td>
<td>CIS, ISA, ISES, IB Office and personal letters between key actors and</td>
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<td></td>
<td>between key actors and the researcher</td>
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<tr>
<td>official reports</td>
<td>IB, ISA and ECIS (European Council of International Schools) conferences including transcripts of key speakers; IB bulletins; IB regional offices; national governments and education authorities</td>
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<td>books and articles</td>
<td>literature search</td>
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<td>verbal</td>
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<td>focused interviews</td>
<td>key actors</td>
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<tr>
<td>informal discussion</td>
<td>key actors</td>
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Table 4.1 Primary Sources of Information for the Study

Sampling

The collection of data is focused by the research question and the conceptual framework; it is bound by sampling. In this study sampling occurs with respect to the choice of the most important actors for interview.

Sampling of key actors was directed by the documentation (including minutes of meetings) concerning the origins of the IB and its development. The researcher's ever-increasing network of contacts in the head office and regional offices of the IB, and at the government and school level in Australia and in several other countries (relating to the early days of the IB) also influenced the selection of important actors.

Validity and Reliability

Validity is the "extent to which the observation chosen to demonstrate a characteristic of a situation or an individual reflects what is consensually felt to be the 'true' characteristic" (Bauer & Gergen 1968: 208). Face validity is a direct and intuitively obvious relationship with the characteristic being measured; for example, one method of determining the influence of elite actors might include calculating the
amount of newspaper space given to certain individuals. Usually, however, the causes of behaviour, attitudes, and other psychological traits can rarely be measured in this way because perceptions of these internal, personal characteristics vary. Construct validity is helpful here. It is obtained by correlating one's observations to other observations of the individual that should be rationally or theoretically related.

The internal validity of a case study (as distinct from external validity or the extent to which the findings are generalisable) is demonstrated through consensual agreement from multiple, independent data sources. External validity is, by definition, suspect in a case study, but it is assisted in two ways.

Firstly, the philosophy, values and purposes which prompted the creation of the IB become apparent during the discussion; these characteristics motivated the founders and promoters and presumably were appealing to those schools and governments which then went on to adopt the program. These and other influential factors, identified with the types of actors who assisted the development of the IB, may be some of the same elements which would help to explain or plan its adoption in government and non-government schools in western industrialised nations. There may be less external validity in relation to non-western industrialised nations such as some African or South American countries where cultural, political and technological contexts differ.

Secondly, thick description provides enough information about a context to “impart a vicarious experience of it and ... to facilitate judgments about the extent to which working hypotheses from that context might be transferable to a second or similar context” (Guba & Lincoln 1983: 328). The extent to which this is applicable in this research will be discussed in the findings.

Reliability means the degree to which the conclusions would be the same if the research were replicated; it concerns the dependability of the results. Case studies cannot comply with the reliability test of replicability. Instead, reliability is based on “stability of data after site or design changes have been accounted for. Thus procedures under internal and external validity contribute towards reliability” (Hocking 1989: 53). Where policy formation and implementation studies rely on a single set of observations over a relatively short time span the use of multiple observers or multiple measures administered during the same “testing” sessions reduces bias and increases reliability (Bauer & Gergen 1968: 208).

Selected Methodological Issues

Investigator bias and potential problems with interviews will be discussed.
Investigator Bias

The researcher has been directly involved in IB policy formation and implementation at a national government level in Australia and represented the Australian Education Council (of Ministers of Education) at the annual IB Council of Foundation meetings in Geneva from 1987 to 1990. Subsequently the writer has been headmaster of the International School of Sophia Antipolis, a bilingual IB school near Nice in the south of France. He is a supporter of the IB. This "attitudinal disposition of the researcher may cause him to scan his environment in a biased fashion" (Bauer & Gergen 1968: 213). To minimise the risk of a value-laden interpretation, cross checking of multiple sources of information and assumptions occurred. As previously stated, this reliance on multiple sources of data for the same event and the use of many primary sources enhances the objectivity of the investigator and therefore the internal validity of the study.

Hocking (1989: 54) advocates a number of other precautions to diminish investigator bias. The researcher must be quite explicit about the nature of the evidence: distinctions between primary and secondary sources, description and interpretation, and verbatim accounts and summaries should be made. The accuracy of transcripts should be independently checked.

The international perspective of this study raises another aspect of potential bias: ease of access to data by an insider (a national or local) and an outsider (foreigner). The insider has in-depth knowledge of the national or local context which provides background to the issues, the language, and credibility within the country. The outsider, on the other hand, has an objective, fresh view, posing questions from a different frame of reference and with the advantage of anonymity which may foster more openness. Ideally, interaction between researchers who are insiders and outsiders stimulates discovery of new aspects and "corrects for positive biases in interpretation stemming from conscious or unconscious normative comparisons with the 'standard' of the researcher's home country" (Dierkes 1987: 510).

The writer has, during the course of this study, been both an outsider and insider in relation to the IB Organisation in Geneva: first as an observer from Australia and then as a member of the principal policy making body, the IB Council of Foundation.

Interviews

The importance of the interview in this study is its power to bring out the informal influences and internal (psychological) characteristics of the protagonists. Solid data on values and motives of policy makers and implementors is much less accessible by written means and even when forthcoming from interviews or casual conversations must be treated with circumspection. The researcher must be alert to the possibility of self-serving explanations by key actors and must resist the urge to treat
assumptions or speculations about what happened as indisputable facts.

The problem of inaccurate recall introduced by the retrospectivity of the study has already been mentioned; it can be partially alleviated through cross checking by other available data sources. A multiple approach to the collection of data is called triangulation which Guba (1981: 87) describes as "collecting data from a variety of perspectives, using a variety of methods." As previously mentioned, this enhances the validity and reliability of research. In this study a combination of documentary (literature, minutes, reports, etc.) and interviews concerning the same events constitutes triangulation. It also provides a more vivid comprehension of the action.

Elements of the context are illuminated. In this sense, triangulation may be used not only to examine the same phenomenon from multiple perspectives but also to enrich our understanding by allowing for new or deeper dimensions to emerge (Jack 1979: 603-4).

Different types of face-to-face interviews exist. The standardised survey (structured) interview where the same questions are asked in the same manner of all respondents is most useful at the following two stages of policy research:

1. At the introductory stages where the researcher is testing unexplored terrain it can yield a rich volume of information to be used in formulating more specific hypotheses (or frameworks). Open ended questions are more useful here.
2. Once frameworks have been developed and the researcher has a better understanding of appropriate response alternatives, more specific questions can be devised to elicit information relevant to the study (Bauer & Gergen 1968: 222).

Then there is the semi-structured or focused interview which is sensitive to unanticipated responses. Here the investigator shapes an interview guide based on the major areas of enquiry as defined by the research questions and the conceptual framework. All interviewees may receive a few questions in common, but the guide provides the foci and there is considerable freedom as the interviewer determines, often spontaneously, the exact form and structure of questions and decides when to probe more deeply. The very active role of the researcher as interviewer and the lack of a set of standardised questions increases the potential for investigator bias, but cross checking of multiple sources is one way of reducing this potential. The focused interview is particularly apt for elite actors in the policy process. It is "especially advantageous with persons of high prominence who play such a distinctive role in the policy making process that greater flexibility of questioning is desirable" (Bauer & Gergen 1968: 223).

In this study the emphasis was on the focused interview, including just a few structured questions. Care was taken to frame the latter in such a way as to elicit information pertinent to the study without "loading"
the questions to prompt a particular response; this increases their content validity.

A focused or semi-structured interview is particularly suited to qualitative research where the generation of concepts and understanding is more important than in quantitative research.

The semi-structured interview ... has the advantage of being reasonably objective while still permitting a more thorough understanding of the respondent's opinions and the reason behind them than would be possible using the mailed questionnaire (Borg & Gall 1983: 442).

Impressions, opinions and perceptions concerning key actors will be told more frankly and with more feeling through the personal contact and interest shown by a focused interview. Interviews add a warmth to cold data (Carruthers 1990: 67).

Bhowon (1990: 91) suggests informal questions and discussion around a key theme (the focused interview) as superior to questionnaires for elite actors who treat the latter with neglect because they are loathe to put their thoughts on paper (particularly concerning other people's actions) and often simply do not have the time!

Numerous informal discussions with key actors also took place at conferences, at dinners, or when the researcher found himself next to an actor on the plane. Such occasions are invaluable for seeking information providing the timing is right; that is, providing that the interlocutor is not preoccupied with preparing reports or other business.

The Conceptual Framework and the Data

From the preceding discussion it should be clear that two methods were used to collect relevant information:

1 scrutiny of the literature and documentation (meeting minutes, organisation files, correspondence, reports); and
2 interviews and informal conversations with key actors external to and connected with the IB Office (some now in retirement). These were obtained while attending various meetings mostly in Europe where these actors were present. Site visits to some schools also occurred.

Exact sources of data are indicated during the analysis and, where appropriate, the place and date obtained. A list of primary sources of data was provided in Table 4.1.

The conceptual framework contains the characteristics of policy formation and implementation selected to respond to the research question which is restated in the introduction to this chapter. How does the data collection process and the information it provides relate to the
conceptual framework?

**Stages of Policy Formation and Implementation over Time**

The axis AB (Figure 3.1) of the model shows four stages of policy making: problem definition, aggregation, agenda setting, policy decision. These are followed by three stages of implementation: design, administration and execution. The reader will remember that this process is indicated as linear and temporal although in reality backwards and forwards shifts may occur, and steps may be omitted. These stages of the policy process are the constants for the study; AB is the central axis of the framework. Each step needs to be broken down into its major components to facilitate questions which will assist the analysis of policy formation and implementation. The following identification of constituent factors and associated questions relates to the discussion of each stage in Chapter 3 and stems from an idea by Jones (1984: 66-67).

**Problem definition**

*Scope: How many people are affected and who are they?*  
*Perception: Who perceives what? What are the objective facts?*  
*Event: Which actors perceive different causes? Why?*  
*Definition: Does it arise from the causes? How many contending definitions are there? Are realistic solutions implied?*  
*Influences: Which factors most influence which actors in arriving at a definition? Do influential factors restrict appreciation of the whole problem? Will the definition be meaningful to decision makers?*

**Aggregation**

*Extent: Which groups form and who are their members? Why?*  
*What needs and/or solutions do they express?*  
*Structure: What is the relationship between members and leaders - hierarchical? democratic?*  
*Leadership: How do leaders arise? How much authority do they have? How do they behave - aggressively, tactfully, etc.?*

**Agenda Setting**

*Articulation: Who articulates the needs and proposed solutions?*  
*Context: What will appeal most to decision makers at this stage of policy formation - family welfare? technical analysis? self-interest? political considerations? Is the person (or persons) representing the aggregated opinion the one who can perform best in this context?*  
*Access: Are those affected by consequences of the problem represented by those in policy making positions?*  
*Empathy: Are policy makers likely to empathise with those affected?*  
*Structure: What relationships exist between policy actors and those affected - hierarchical? democratic? bargaining?*  
*Agenda: How full is it? What are the current preoccupations of policy makers? How compelling is the evidence or the representation?*  
*Responsiveness: How responsive are policy actors to those affected? What is the tradition of responsiveness?*

**Policy Decision**

*Type: Is it unilateral, consultative or responsive to interest*
group demands?

**Actors:** Who are the policy makers? Are they the same people who were involved at other stages (such as in the definition of the problem)? Do the policy actors share the same perceptions of the problem definition and its proposed solutions with those bringing the issue to their attention?

**Context:** What influenced the actors to take the decision?

**Design**

**Actors:** Who designs the "treatment" or innovation? Are they the same people who plan its implementation?

**Context:** What influences action at this stage?

**Structure:** Were any of the actors involved during the formation phase? What relationship exists between implementors and policy makers? Will this relationship enhance or obstruct policy implementation?

**Administration**

**Resources:** What are the budget, human and material needs for policy implementation?

**Structure:** What administrative organisation is necessary? Is parliamentary legislation involved?

**Actors:** Is their training of policy deliverers? By whom?

**Execution**

**Actors:** Who are the recipients? Who are the deliverers?

**Responsiveness:** How responsive are the recipients?

**Structure:** What relationship exists between those who execute the policy, those who design its implementation, and those who receive it? - hierarchical? democratic?

The components identified for each stage are not definitive; other facets could be included. Each of the above questions relates directly or indirectly to elements on one or both of the other axes: actors (axis AC) and factors (AD) influencing policy formation and implementation. Moreover, the components and questions lead naturally to an analysis of the policy process and its interdependence with the actors involved and the factors influencing their behaviour. The answers to the questions are gleaned from a combination of the data sources already described.

The time dimension is implicit in each of the stages and is not restricted to the linear representation of the AB axis as has been previously discussed. Generally, the AB axis structures the chronological development of the analysis, allowing for historical breaks and shifts backwards or forwards as the events of IB policy formation and implementation dictate.

**Influential Factors**

Features of the factors influencing policy formation and implementation (on the AD axis) have been drawn out in Chapter 3; descriptions of the environmental elements are to be found in the discussion of Systems Theory in Chapter 2. The environment was defined (in Chapter 3) as any societal or institutional condition or circumstance external to the actors. In the conceptual framework it comprises international diffusion, technology, politics, society, education and economics. Except for the first, these factors may exist at
three levels: internally (within an institution), nationally (external to an institution) and internationally (external to a country). Components of environmental factors are easily identifiable amongst the data which have been gathered and which often include comments to help gauge the intensity of influence of one factor vis-à-vis another.

The four remaining factors on the AD axis are: self-interest, ideologies, family welfare and technical analysis. As discussed in Chapter 3, self-interest and ideologies exist on a personal level, although they may be respectively propelled and shaped by the national or international context. Data concerning these aspects comes from the protagonists themselves, from other actors' opinions and from observations of marked behaviour changes followed by rapid promotion or other objectively recognisable gains. Effects on the expatriated family of seeking appropriate pre-tertiary education for the children come through quite clearly in the interviews and other documentation. Conversely, the widening of horizons provided by an IB curriculum for children of a family in their home country is also there in the data. The impact of family welfare on policy formation and implementation is quite discernible. The influence of technical information provided by experts is identifiable in the data, particularly in relation to the moment of taking the policy decision and to the design stage of implementation.

As each stage of policy formation and implementation is considered, one or more of the elements on the AD axis will have influenced the behaviour of actors at that stage and/or identified the context in which the action of policy formation and implementation takes place. For example, take the questions relating to the extent of aggregation in the discussion concerning the policy process axis (AB): which groups form and who are their members? Why? The response to the last question lies amongst one or more of the factors influencing the policy process on the AD axis; there is a reason why people aggregate around a particular issue. The interdependence of the three dimensions of the conceptual matrix is inevitable: "there is a reason why (influential factor, axis AD) people (actors, axis AB) aggregate (stage of policy formation, axis AB) around a particular issue (the development of IB policy). Via the data collection methods outlined, information is gathered which enables the complexities of policy formation and implementation to be analysed within the framework of the conceptual model. This may include the use of multiple sources of answers to the same question to identify the response which is the most accurate; less objective information about the attitudes of actors and why they conducted themselves as they did have more validity if they are subjected to this comparative aggregate analysis. Multiple sources could include the verbal account of several actors (including the actor under investigation who thereby constitutes a primary source), minutes of association meetings (primary source) and the written comments of dispassionate observers in articles or books (secondary sources).

Actors
Axis AC concerns the identification and behaviour of actors throughout
the policy formation process. Bauer and Gergen (1968: 205) see data concerning this dimension as spotty and unsystematic; influential actors are not always easily identified and, when they are, the reasons for their behaviour are often difficult to determine objectively. Nevertheless policy formation and implementation relies on social interplay because it is primarily social in character (Bauer & Gergen 1968: 226). The data-gathering methods in this study seek to overcome as far as possible the inherent difficulties in obtaining information which permits adequate explanation and analysis of human interaction.

Categories of actors appear on the AC axis: headmasters, teachers, parents, students, university staff, funding organisations, education officials, UNESCO and non-education professionals. The problem is not identifying people belonging to the listed categories, it is determining which of these people (or organisations) had the greatest leverage at which stage of the policy process. According to Gergen (in Bauer & Gergen 1968: 181-204) influential actors may be identified by their reputation, position and extent of social participation. The first two of these approaches in particular contribute to the identification of elite actors in this study.

In the correspondence, the focused interviews and the casual conversations, "knowledgeable" individuals were asked to nominate whom they considered to be the most influential actors in the particular instance of IB policy formation or implementation under scrutiny; this was identification by reputation, that is, by perceived influence. Actors occupying formal leadership positions were able to be distinguished amongst the data according to their titles; this was the positional approach and it depended on objective data. The social participation approach is measured by observing the degree to which the actor is publicly involved; for example, patronage of educational or artistic events, charitable work, media coverage, published works and public recognition of achievements. These are direct, objective measures, not perceived influence and they form part of the data gathered in this study. A combination of at least two of the three methods increases the validity of the analysis. Furthermore, if individuals determined by the reputational approach are not nominated by the reputational method, elite actors not occupying leadership positions will have been unearthed and the perceived unimportance of some formal leaders will have been confirmed. In fact, Hofferbert (1974: 226) reminds us that "policy making elites .... are denoted by their proximity to points of decision, not by the mechanism of investiture." Some actors with leverage are elected by popular preference, some are appointed legally and others participate through stakes in private groups.

Cobb & Elder (1972: 2) distinguished four types of initiators or actors: readjusters, exploiters, circumstantial reactors and do-gooders. These were discussed under the "Systems Model" in Chapter 2 and under "Actors" in Chapter 3. The method of data collection outlined previously provided information which identified these actor types in relation to elements on the AD axis. The categorisations are themselves
clues as to why the actor became involved: readjusters because of political reasons, exploiters through self-interest, circumstantial reactors respond to unexpected events, and do-gooders are propelled by their ideologies.

This leads to the behaviour of actors, including their thoughts, perceptions and feelings. The systematic gathering of data concerning the behaviour and the "internal state" of relevant actors relied heavily on focused interviews with the protagonists, supported by verbal perceptions and observations and written documentary evidence from others. Works by actors sometimes divulged their inner thoughts during policy making and implementation and were therefore also useful. Bauer & Gergen (1968: 207) place importance on the following as indicators of the behaviour and leverage of elite actors:

1. information fed to them from various sources;
2. social influences to which they are subjected;
3. larger systems of which they are members; and
4. role specifications in which they are enmeshed.

The data sources for this study provide such information as appropriate for various elite actors.

While elite actors are identified by reputational, positional and social participation considerations, interest groups are measured by decisional analysis through interviews, public records and direct observation (Hofferbert 1974: 83). In this study the views of parents, and indirectly of students, is assumed to be represented by those parents who were members of various educational organisations and school boards at the time of the development of the IB. From the time of the pilot schools, sufficient documentary evidence relating to these interest groups and their involvement in the acceptance of the IB in various countries has become available and forms part of the data for this research. Elite actors have, however, been far more prominent in IB policy formation than interest groups.

Summary

This chapter has been concerned with how the investigator collected what from where to answer the research question in line with the conceptual framework. It began with a reiteration of the research question and the nature of the task: a qualitative, descriptive, empirical case study of IB policy causation and implementation. Quantitative and qualitative research methods were briefly compared followed by a consideration of the methodological implications of an international setting. Advantages and disadvantages of the case study approach were discussed and the superiority of primary over secondary data sources was examined. The use of the various data collection methods for this study were described. Sampling was discussed, and measures to maintain high validity and reliability for the study were outlined.

Ways of reducing investigator bias were proposed and particular attention was given to the delivery of the focused interview. The final
section of the chapter dealt with the link between the data gathered and the dimensions of the conceptual framework. The examination showed how the methods of tapping the data sources provided the information necessary to identify and explore the elements on each axis and to analyse the dynamic interplay between the stages of the policy process, the actors and the factors which influence their behaviour.

This section concludes with Table 4.2. It outlines which data were collected (concerning actors and influential factors), where they were collected (data sources) and how they were collected (methodology) for each stage of policy formation and implementation in relation to the research question: what are the characteristics of policy formation and implementation which led to the establishment of the IB diploma and the IB Office?

The next chapter begins the analysis of the development of the IB from its very beginnings. It focuses on problem definition by various actors within different influential contexts and at different periods in time. This is the first of the analyses of the policy process stages to attempt to answer the research question.
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<th>Policy Process Stage</th>
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<th>Methodology</th>
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**Table 4.2** Research Question: Outline of Data Sources, Data Collected and Methodology for each Policy Formation and Implementation Stage